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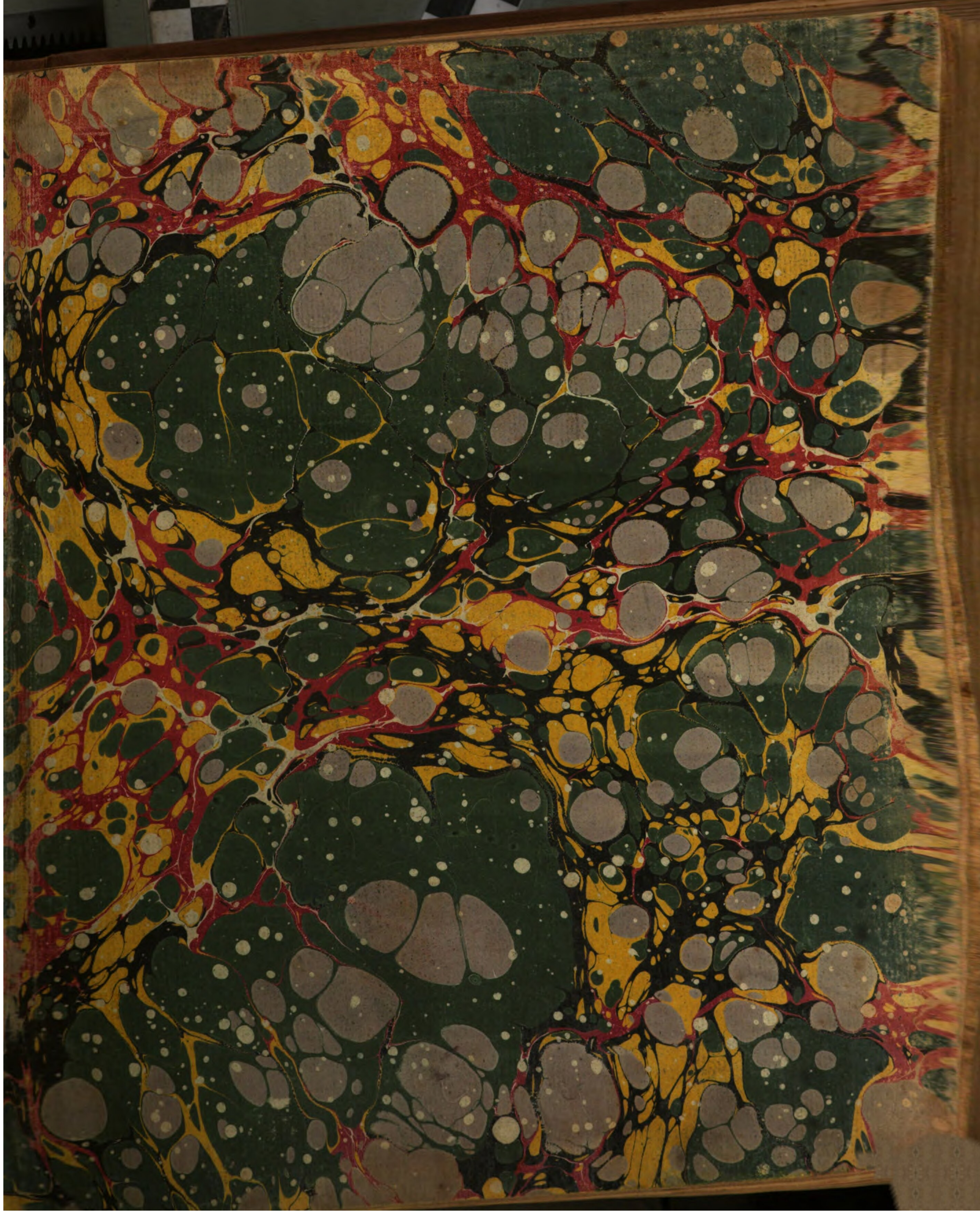
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N,
FROM THE
R E S T O R A T I O N,
TO THE ACCESSION OF THE
H O U S E O F H A N N O V E R.

BAYERISCHE
STAATS-
BIBLIOTHEK
MÜNCHEN

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

VOL. II.

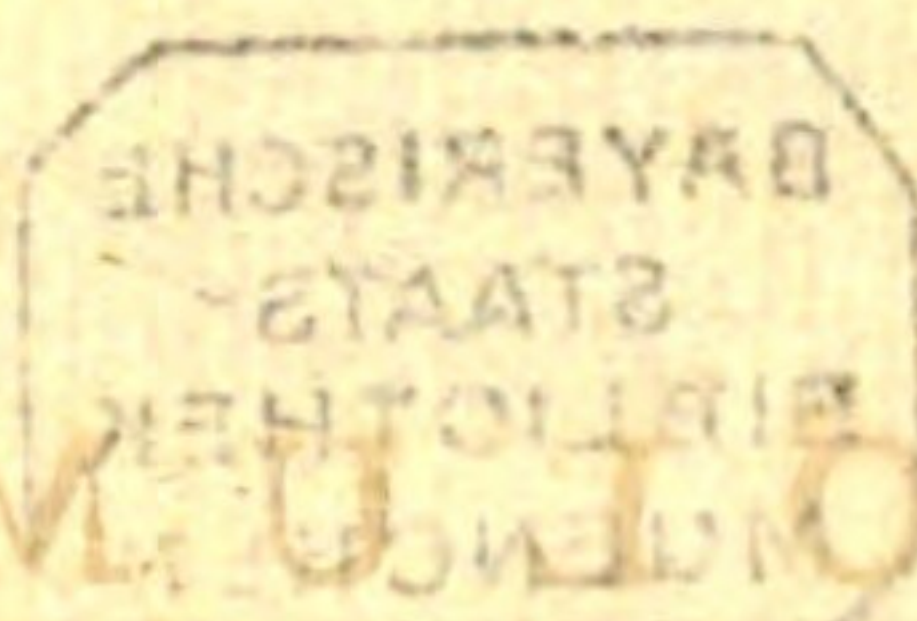
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MDCCLXXVI.

CHOICE TO R Y S
 OF THE
 SECOND VOLUME
 GREAT BRITAIN
 WILLIAM AND MARY
 RESTORATION



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SECOND VOLUME.

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WILLIAM had obtained the crown, through the folly of his predecessor. He was now in danger of losing it, by his own negligence. Disappointments in their views, had estranged from him the minds of the Whigs. He disgusted

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the Tories with the coldness of his manner, even when he distinguished them most with his favour. The dissolution of the convention-parliament, had diminished the influence of the former, to a degree that offended their pride. They saw a Prince, who had ascended the throne upon their own principles, throwing himself into the hands of their political opponents, from an avowed affection for those prerogatives which he was called to circumscribe. The same conduct which deprived the King of the attachment of his first friends in England, destroyed his interest with the party which had accomplished the revolution in Scotland. In both kingdoms, the seeds of discontent had been sown with a lavish hand; and they gradually rose to maturity, in the progress of events. The people in general, inflamed by disappointment, misled by designing men, or from levity, fond of change, began to shew a manifest dislike to the behaviour of the King, and the measures of the crown. They became jealous of foreigners. They complained of an expensive war, in which victory itself could produce no advantage to Britain. They murmured against a standing army. They repined at the little use made of the navy, the great and natural bulwark of England.

Discontents.

THOUGH the enemies of William exaggerated his mismanagements, it must be allowed, that men who judged of causes by events, had just reason to complain. The expences of England, from the landing of the Prince of Orange, on the fifth of November 1688, to the twenty-ninth of September 1691, had amounted to near eighteen millions*. Besides, great arrears were owing to the army in Ireland, the navy was destitute of stores, and the ships were out of repair. The service done in the intermediate time, exclusive of the change made in the person of the Monarch, was far from being adequate to that enormous sum. The war in Ireland had been at first strangely neglected. It was

* MS. 1691. Journals passim.

afterwards

afterwards prosecuted with little judgment, and it terminated in no honour. The inhabitants of a few parishes in the Highlands of Scotland, without any aid from abroad, and destitute of the means of war at home, remained in arms against the King, for more than two years. They had once totally defeated his army in the field. The checks which they had received, were neither splendid nor decisive; and he owed the pacification which ensued, to the influence of his rival, and his own money^b, and not to the terror of his power. England had been, in the mean time, wounded in her pride. Her fleet had been twice defeated. Her enemy rode in triumph in the channel. Her coasts were insulted. She was left naked of troops, and exposed to invasion^c.

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BUT William ought not, in common fairness, to be blamed for all these misfortunes. He reigned over a divided people. His title was disputed by one party. He lost the other, by not yielding to their claims upon his exclusive favour. His rival, in the mean time, supported by a powerful Monarch, either maintained war against him, within his kingdoms, or hovered over the coast with threatened invasions. Deprived by his unhappy manner, and avowed attachment to foreigners, of the affection of the English, he had no friends among his servants. His councils were betrayed, his orders neglected, his person hated, his authority despised^d. His only safety lay ultimately in the folly of his enemies; and that invincible aversion to the French nation, which the people of England had derived from their ancestors. James had scarce landed in France, when many of those, by whose desertion he had lost his throne, began secretly to favour his return. Men, who apparently had the chief hand in the revolution, admitted his agents into conferences, and encouraged their hopes^e. The unprepared state of France, in the beginning of

Secret in-
trigues^b MS. 1691.^c Nottingham to William, 1690.^d Intell. from England, MS. 1691.^e Reresby.

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the year 1689, rendering an immediate invasion of England impracticable, James, contrary to his own opinion^f, was induced to sail to Ireland. He knew that it was impossible to hold that exhausted kingdom, against the wealth and power of the English nation. To render his rival uneasy in the possession of his throne, and to furnish France with an opportunity of aiding him with effect in England, was all that he expected from his expedition^g.

with the
Whigs.

WHILE James was on the worst terms with his favourite sect, the Catholics of Ireland, William, by the coldness of his manner, and his exertion of the prerogative, lost his influence with the Whigs in England and Scotland. Discontented friends are frequently the most dangerous enemies. A plot was formed in Scotland, by the Presbyterians, in favour of James. Many of the Whigs in England were privy to a conspiracy, which threatened the subversion of their former principles. In both kingdoms, those inferior agents of the party, who had ruined the late King, were now busy in procuring his restoration. Sir John Cochran, Ferguson, Wildman engaged themselves deeply with James^h. The leaders of the party, though they had not avowedly espoused the cause of that Prince, became very indifferent concerning the fate of William. The very secrets of the cabinet were said to have been betrayed, by the Earl of Monmouth to Wildman; and by the latter to the late Kingⁱ. The Duke of Bolton, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Montague were suspected^k. The party in general made no secret of their disappointment, in the Prince whom they had raised to the throne. Those who came over with him from Holland, and such as first joined him on his arrival, hated his person and his government the most^l.

^f Mem. to Lewis, MS. 1689.

^g Ibid.

^h Caermarthen to William, June 13, 1690.

ⁱ Mary to William, 1690.

^k Caermarthen to William, 1690.

^l Dalrymple's Appen. Stuart-papers.

THE retreat of James from Ireland, though unadvised, precipitate, and weak, neither lessened his influence nor increased the interest of William. The Tories, urged by their principles, favoured the former. The Whigs, swayed by their resentment, still continued adverse to the latter. The agents of James were, in the mean time, extremely active. The Colonels Bulkley and Sackville founded the Marquis of Halifax and the Lord Godolphin. The Earl of Marlborough, inflamed by recent injuries from William, and, perhaps, remembering his former obligations to James, began, as shall hereafter appear, to correspond with the latter. Admiral Russel, disappointed in his own private views, as well as in his public expectations from William, entered into the cabals, in favour of the late King. The Marquis of Caermarthen, in all his avowed zeal for the revolution, listened, in secret, to proposals for the restoration of James^m. While the great offered their service to the late King, that Prince neglected not to support his interest with conspiracies among the inferior ranks. He corresponded with Ferguson. He informed him of his intentions. He asked his adviceⁿ. A party was formed in the city in his favour. The Tower was to have been surprised. The guards were to be attacked, on the first news of his landing. The persons of William and Mary were to be seized^o.

THE affairs of James wore a like favourable aspect in Scotland, toward the end of the preceding year. The cessation of arms made by Breadalbin with the Highlanders, had been begun and finished by his consent. His firm friend the Earl of Arran had promised "body for body," to use his own expression, for the Earl of Argyle and the Marquis of Athol. The Highlanders were again prepared to take the field. Ten thousand men, under the Duke of Berwick and the Earl of Dumbarton, were to have

Their views.

^m Dalrymple's Appen. and MS. 1691.ⁿ Instructions to G. H. MS. C. 1691.^o Ibid.

been

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been sent to Scotland. The Marquis of Athol, the Earls of Argyle and Home, were to have received commissions, as lieutenant-generals, from James. The intrigues of James extended, in England, to the projected measures of parliament, and even to the very appointment of William's servants. The delay, at first, in granting the supply, the facility with which it was afterwards obtained, proceeded from the secret machinations of the late King's friends. Some of them wished to leave the kingdom naked to an invasion, by refusing money. Others to vote the excise, that their old master might enjoy the benefit, without the odium, of that unpopular tax. Under the mask of patriotism, they proposed to attack his enemies. The Bishops of Salisbury and St. Asaph were to be impeached, for persuading the clergy to take the oaths to William, as a conqueror. The Marquis of Caermarthen, though he might not obstruct a restoration, was not, from his temporizing character, to be trusted. He was, therefore, to be terrified from office by an impeachment, for declaring that no King could reign in England, as long as the act of *habeas corpus* should remain in force. The choice of his successor, as minister, was left to James; and the contest, for preference, lay between the Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Rochester^p. To keep alive the spirit of discontent in the kingdom, Ferguson employed, for King James, that very private press, with which he had, some years before, so much annoyed the Duke of York^q.

Correspondence of
Marlborough
and Ruffel.

THOUGH the Whigs, by their leaders, and the most of the Tories, in their own names, had made engagements with the late King, he relied chiefly upon Marlborough and Ruffel. Marlborough had asked, in the most abject terms, and obtained forgiveness for his former conduct, from James and his Queen^r. He even became an agent for that Prince. He gained the Earl of Shrewsbury. He

^p Ferguson's Memorials, MS. Oct. 1691. ^q Ibid. ^r Jan. 10th, 1691.

tampered

tampered with Caermarthen. He promised to bring back the Princess of Denmark to her duty to her father*. He undertook, in some degree, for the army. He requested James to invade England, with twenty thousand men. Though he was not trusted by James, he was, perhaps, sincere in his professions, and he effected what he promised. The Princess of Denmark, gained by his solicitations, warmed with a returning affection for her father, or urged by resentment for personal injuries received from William and her sister, made her peace with the late King. She wrote to him a letter full of contrition†. She asked his forgiveness, and promised to join him whenever he should land in England‡. Marlborough judging in vain to corrupt the captains of men of war, as they durst not communicate the secret to the sailors, was the person who advised James to accept of the services of Ruffel§. To avoid an action with the French fleet, should they fall in his way, would have been impossible. But it was always in the admiral's power to carry the fleet from the course held by the enemy, under the specious pretence of orders. The conspiracy was so great and general, that William seemed to have no friend to apprize him of his danger. Though he dismissed the Earl of Marlborough from all his employments, in the month of January, though he disgraced and deprived of her guards the Princess of Denmark, his resentment seems to have rather proceeded from a renewal of private quarrels, than from any discovery of their secret negotiations with the court of St. Germain's.

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JAMES himself had taken all the precautions, which prudence or the advice of his friends could suggest, to render his return agreeable to the nation. He endeavoured to awaken the feelings of his former subjects, with a detail of the injustice of his rival and his own misfortunes. He hoped to rouse their resentment, by re-

Intrigues of
James in
England.

* May 20th, 1691.

† Dec. 10th, 1691.

‡ Dec. 1691.

§ Marlborough's Message, MS. 1694. James II., 1692.

presenting;

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Project of an
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ENCOURAGED by favourable accounts from Britain, and eager to turn the scale of the war, by placing that kingdom in the hands of a friend, Lewis the Fourteenth began to think seriously of an invasion. James possessed of his native subjects an army almost equal to the purpose of the expedition. The transports which had carried to Ireland five thousand French, in the year 1690, had brought back to France as many Irish. The English government had been at the expence of sending fourteen thousand more troops to James, after the capitulation of Limerick. Lewis promised to transport to Britain ten thousand of this army, with a like number of French troops, under the convoy of his whole fleet, early in the year 1692. He began, in the month of January, to equip squadrons of men of war, at Toulon, Brest, Rochfort, and

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II.

1692.

THOUGH so many persons were privy to the designs of James, though every channel of intelligence brought news of the preparations of France, William was still a stranger to his own danger. He, however, made all necessary preparations for manning the fleet. Press-warrants continued to be executed, throughout the month of February; and all sailors fit for service, were forced to enter on board the navy. The utmost expedition was used in the docks and yards. In the first week of March, all the ships of force had come round from Portsmouth. Many had fallen down from Deptford, Woolwich, and Chatham, to the Nore. William, upon his arrival in Holland, hastened the Dutch fleet to sea. The Amsterdam, the Maese, the North-Holland, the Zealand squadrons were ordered to proceed successively to the Downs. The combined fleets formed a greater naval force than had ever covered the sea. They consisted of ninety ships of the line, with many frigates and fire-ships; and they carried more than forty thousand men, with near six thousand guns. Ruffel, in the Britannia, a first rate, commanded in chief the whole. He resolved to adhere to his engagements with James, but time and accident broke through all his designs.

Preparations
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I.1692.
James arrives
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THE late King had concerted with his friends in England, that the French fleet should sail early in the year. Had the preparations of Lewis answered his expectations, he proposed to put to sea in the middle of March. He, however, left not St. Germain until the eleventh of April. He had, even then, sufficient time to carry his army to England, before the junction of Ruffel with the Dutch fleet. Besides, that officer continued his correspondence, and assured him of his firm intention to serve his cause. He proposed one of two alternatives. That James should suspend his expedition till winter; or that he himself should, under the pretence of making a descent on the coast of France, permit the French fleet to pass. He accordingly applied, but in vain, to the court of England, for permission to attack St. Maloes. He advised James, by all means, to prevent the meeting of the fleets. None of his officers was trusted with the secret; and he would, therefore, find himself under a necessity to fight. A contrary wind, which blew incessantly for four weeks, hindered the French from sailing, and prevented James from conveying his instructions to Ruffel. The Toulon squadron was kept, by the same adverse wind, from passing the Streights. Tourville, with the Brest squadron, was, after repeated efforts, driven back to his port. During this interval, the Dutch joined the English in the Downs². Ruffel, proceeding immediately to St. Helens, ordered two small squadrons, that cruized on the coast of France, to join him in that place.

Vigorous
measures in
England.

DURING this time of suspense, the government of England were not remiss in their duty. Several of the servants of the crown were in correspondence with the late King; but they endeavoured, by a show of alacrity against him, to prevent every suspicion of infidelity. Some imperfect insinuations of a plot had been carried

² May 8.

to William in Flanders. The Earl of Portland arrived, with secret instructions for the Queen. The Earls of Huntington and Marlborough were sent to the Tower, with others of lesser name. A proclamation was issued, for apprehending several other persons of rank, who had absconded. A camp was formed between Petersfield and Portsmouth. Six regiments, under orders to embark for Flanders, were countermanded. The lieutenancy were ordered to raise the militia; and the same precautions were used in Scotland; but Ireland was left to its fate. Orders were sent to the fleet to sail in quest of the enemy. A declaration, issued by James before he left St. Germain's, was published and answered, by authority. Activity and spirit prevailed every where; and that terror, which commonly precedes danger, was lessened by the bustle of preparation^a.

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THE communication between France and England was, in the mean time, completely interrupted. James, during all the time he had remained at La Hogue, received no intelligence from his friends in London^b. Captain Lloyd, who had been dispatched to him by his adherents, with an important message, and a letter from the Princess of Denmark, was detained two months on his way. Tourville, upon a change of wind, failed at length from Brest, with forty-four ships of the line. He directed his course to La Hogue; but, unfortunately for him, the combined fleet of the enemy, consisting of many more than double his number of ships, arrived, at the same instant, in the neighbourhood of that place. The weather, in the mean time, was extremely hazy. On the nineteenth of May, about four of the clock in the morning, the sun having cleared a little the fog, admiral Ruffel descried the enemy holding, with a very small gale at west and by south, their course southward, on the same tack with himself. They began on both sides to form the line. Tourville, who had been

The fleet fails
toward La
Hogue.

^a Gazettes, 1692.^b James II. 1692.

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An engage-
ment.

irritated by a reflection thrown on his courage, by M. de Seignelay, resolved to fight the enemy, though he was not ignorant of their force. He bore down upon the combined fleets at ten of the clock. The Dutch were in the van. The French admiral threw out the signal of battle, as he advanced on Ruffel, who lay to receive him, with his fore-top-sail to the mast^c.

At half an hour after eleven, Tourville, in the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, brought to, within three quarters of a musket shot, of the Britannia of one hundred guns, commanded by Ruffel. The rest of the French admiral's division fell in with the English line. A smart engagement ensued. The two commanders plied their guns very warmly, till one of the clock. The weather, during the engagement, fell almost calm. Tourville was disabled. His rigging, sails, and yards were shot, and his fire began to slacken. He ordered his boats to tow him to windward. Five fresh ships of the squadron, with a furious fire, covered their admiral's retreat. About four of the clock, a thick fog fell on the battle; and the firing ceased. At half after five, a small breeze of wind arose at East; and the weather clearing up a little, the French were seen running on every side. Ruffel gave the signal for the fleet to chase; but the fog returned and night came on. The French stood to the West, with all their sails. The breeze was so light, that little way could be made. The fog continued the greatest part of the next day. Toward the evening, Ruffel took in the signal for the line of battle; and ordered each ship to make the best of her way, in pursuit of the enemy. The tide of ebb being done, both fleets came to anchor; both resolving to take advantage of the next return of the tide^d.

Sixteen
French ships
burnt.

In the morning of the twenty-first of May, all the French ships were far advanced toward the Race of Alderney. One and

^c Ruffel's Letter to Nottingham, June 2, 1692.^d Ibid.

twenty however were driven eastward, from the entrance of the Race, by the tide of flood, toward Cape La Hogue. Three of that number endeavoured to tack to the westward, against the current; but one of them, after two or three short boards, ran ashore. The other two were weathered by the sternmost ships of Ruffel's squadron. Sir Ralph Delaval, rear admiral of the red, was ordered to destroy the three ships, and Ruffel himself stretched after the remaining eighteen, who hauled in for La Hogue. Five made their escape eastward in the night. Thirteen were observed, on the twenty-second, hauled in close with the shore. On the twenty-third, rear-admiral Rooke was ordered, with several men of war, the fire-ships and the boats of the fleet, to destroy the enemy's ships. Though the men of war could not approach, Rooke burnt six ships in the night. The remaining seven were destroyed in the same manner, the next day. Little resistance was made by the French. Their officers had retired, and the men fled, upon the approach of the English sailors. James himself is said to have been a spectator of this last action, yet Tourville refused to receive his advice. The army intended for the invasion were near; but they had the mortification to behold a destruction which they could not prevent.

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THE French owed their misfortunes in the battle, or rather in the affair of La Hogue, as it has been more justly called, to their presumption, at first, and afterwards to their want of spirit and skill. Tourville supported with little courage and less conduct, the battle into which he had wantonly entered. The superior skill of the English, in managing light breezes of wind and impetuous tides, gave them a great advantage over an enemy, who were manifestly conquered in their own minds. The French suffered little in the engagement. Tourville's ship was the only

Observations

* Ruffel's Letter to Nottingham, June 2, 1692.

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one in any degree disabled. None was taken, none sunk, few even suffered in their rigging. Russel himself, though a man of too much courage not to fight with spirit, owed his success more to accident and the folly of his enemies, than his own conduct. Had the Dutch shewed the same alacrity in fighting, which they had exhibited upon a former occasion against Tourville, the ruin of the French fleet might have been rendered complete. But the haziness of the weather; the very fears of the French, upon perceiving themselves much outnumbered; the confusion and want of plan which prevail in all naval engagements, ought to have saved the victors from the censure which some writers have thrown on their conduct. The chief loss of the French consisted in that of their ships. Sixteen men of war, between fifty-six and one hundred and four guns, were burnt. Twenty transports shared the same fate. Few were killed on either side. Among the slain, on the part of the victors, the most regretted were admiral Carter and captain Hastings^f.

on the affair
of La Hogue.

RUSSEL, it is certain, meant nothing less than to obstruct the service for which the French fleet were to sail. His loitering at St. Helens, for ten days after he had passed through the Downs; his applying, in concert with the late King, to the ministry for leave to attack St. Maloes; his calling in the squadrons that observed, under Carter and Delaval, the motions of the enemy; seem all to have been calculated to accommodate the intended invasion. He knew that the same winds which carried himself out of the river, would have favoured Tourville, in leaving Brest. A few days would have brought the French fleet to La Hogue. A few hours would have waisted the invaders to the coast of Suffex. When James should land, he was determined to throw off the mask, and declare for that Prince. The prudence, or perhaps, the terrors of the government, defeated his measures. They refused

^f Gazette.

to agree to the proposed descent. They ordered him to take the advice of a council of war. The result was, that the fleet stretched over to La Hogue, but with a design to return to St. Helen's in four days. The fate of the British kingdoms depended upon accident. Had Tourville arrived on the coast of Normandy a few days before, or had the winds retarded him till Ruffel's proposed return to his old station, the crown of England would have been transferred to the late King, without contest ^h.

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JAMES was rather disappointed than rendered desperate, by the success of the English fleet. He laid the blame upon accident. He continued his correspondence with Ruffel. He held his former communication with his friends in England. Though the object of his restoration was rendered a little more distant, he kept it still in view. His agents were busy. The discontented caballed in his favour. Men in office betrayed to him the secrets of the cabinet; and, sometimes, guided their conduct by his advice ⁱ. He retired to St. Germain's, where his queen had born a daughter in his absence. The English fleet remained in a state of inaction, during the rest of the summer. The ministry proposed to carry into execution a descent on the French coast, which had been projected in the preceding winter. Ruffel, discontented with government, and provoked by some orders sent to him by the Queen, which he deemed the effect of ignorance ^k, rendered ineffectual a scheme which promised no great success. The French fleet retired to their ports. They had lost but a very few men in their late misfortune. They filled the whole channel with their privateers. The merchants sustained great losses. The expectations which the nation derived from the late victory, were damped with its want of beneficial consequences. The ministry complained of Ruffel, and Ruffel of the ministry. Cla-

Conduct of
James.
Transactions
at sea.

^h Stuart-papers.

ⁱ Stuart-papers, 1692. James II.

^k Burnet, vol. iii.

mour,

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Campaign in
Flanders.

mour, disappointment, and ill humour prevailed every where, after an event which promised general satisfaction and joy¹.

THOUGH the fate of England seemed to depend on the operations at sea, William turned his principal attention to the war by land. He was, if the expression may be used, the chain of union between the heads of the grand confederacy, the life and spirit of their councils and armies. The force of the confederates had however been, in some degree, diminished, by the intrigues of Lewis the Fourteenth, and misunderstandings between themselves. Disputes between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony, had induced the latter to recal his troops to his own dominions. Sweden and Denmark continued their neutrality. The Helvetic body discovered an inclination to favour the cause of France. To supply the place of the Saxons, the Emperor and King of England gained the younger branch of the house of Lunenburgh to their party. The Dukes of Zell and Hannover, upon the promise of an electoral cap, with a certainty of the investiture before the end of the year, undertook to march six thousand troops to join the Imperialists, and four thousand to reinforce the army of the allies in Flanders. The Spaniards had raised to the government of that country, the Elector of Bavaria; a Prince whose spirit and abilities promised to support the feebleness of the common cause, on that side. France was, in the mean time, active in her preparations, and prudent in the disposition of her armies. The Mareschal de Lorges commanded on the upper Rhine. M. de Joyeuse occupied the country of Eyfeldt. Boufflers lay between the Sambre and the Meuse; and Luxembourg, in the name of the Dauphin, commanded in Flanders^m.

Namur
taken.

LEWIS the Fourteenth and William set out, on the same day, to join their respective armies. The first arrived in his camp, on the twentieth of May. On the twenty-third, all the French troops were

¹ Burnet, vol. iii.^m Hist. de France, tom. iii. Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

in

in motion. Lewis suddenly sat down before Namur, and with forty-five thousand men, prosecuted the siege of that important place. He was covered by Luxembourg, with another army. The town was strong, the citadel was deemed impregnable. The Prince de Barbason commanded in the place, with a well-appointed garrison of ten thousand men; and the famous Coehorn defended, in person, a new fort called by his own name, while Vauban directed the attack. The eyes of all Europe were turned toward Namur. Two great Kings, at the head of two powerful armies, turned their whole thoughts to this important enterprise. A battle, which was to decide the fate of the war, was daily to be expected. The French attacked ^a the place with incredible vigour, and the town was forced to capitulate in six days ^b. William, in the mean time, advanced, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and sat down within cannon shot of Luxembourg's lines. The small river Mehaigne ran between the armies; and an ineffectual cannonade ensued. The French pressed with vigour the siege of the new fort. Coehorn made an obstinate defence, but being driven from the covered way, on the twenty-second of July, and forced to retire with great loss into the body of the place, he capitulated. The fate of the citadel was soon after decided. The garrison evacuated the place, on the thirtieth of July; and Lewis returned in triumph to Versailles ^c.

THOUGH William lost reputation, by permitting a place of such importance as Namur to be taken in his sight, his inactivity may be justified, in some degree, by the strong position of the enemy. The Duke de Luxembourg, one of the best generals of the age, had posted himself to great advantage, on the banks of the Mehaigne. The unseasonable rains had unexpectedly swelled the stream, and formed into morasses the adjoining fields. To make, at first, an attack, was to risk a defeat; and the

Batt'e of
Steinkirk.

^a June 29. N. S.

^b July 5.

^c Hist. de France, tom. iii.

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place surrendered before William, who was always slow in his councils, could determine upon any vigorous measure to raise the siege. To retrieve the glory which he had lost before Namur, William endeavoured to surprise the French army under the Duke of Luxembourg at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly carried on by the English in columns. They ascended with amazing resolution and spirit the rising ground, on which a wing of the French army lay encamped. They took possession of their batteries, and were, for some time, masters of their line. The whole camp was in confusion, but the assailants were not properly supported. The second line of the French advanced. The rencounter was obstinate and bloody, and the contest was maintained for four hours. The confederates were at length repulsed, having left many thousands of the enemy, as well as of their own number, dead on the field. Though this bloody battle was attended with no material consequences, an undisputed victory remained to the French. The King gained no reputation for his conduct, but the valour of his troops deserved great applause. The generals Mackay, Lanier, and Douglas, the Earl of Angus, and several officers of distinction were killed in this unfortunate field. The Prince de Turenne and the Marechal de Bellefons were numbered among the slain, on the side of the French¹.

A conspiracy
against Wil-
liam.

THE campaign in Flanders having languished after the battle of Steinkirk, the discovery of a plot against the life of William, and the execution of one Grandval, the pretended assassin, gave occasion to much reflection and noise. Lewis the Fourteenth and the late King of England were involved by the discoverers in this conspiracy. But as there is no probability that the former would be guilty of such a villanous design; so there is now a certainty, that the latter rejected, always, with becoming horror, every proposal of the like kind. The incident, however, served, at the time, the

¹ Hist. de France, tom. iii. Gazettes, passim.

views of party; and loaded, with a degree of infamy, an unhappy Prince, already ruined by his folly and misfortunes. The hopes of a reward for the discovery, gave birth, in all appearance, to a plot, laid chiefly at the door of de Louvois, who was lately dead. His son, M. de Barbesieux, was accused of carrying on what his father had begun. But as the odium of the murder itself would do more harm, than what could be derived of advantage from the death of William, the prudence of the French court may be trusted with regard to their innocence.

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THE French, in exerting their chief force in Flanders, left their own country exposed, on the side of Dauphiné. The army under M. de Catinat was found too weak to resist the Duke of Savoy. That Prince sufficiently revenged himself for the insults which he had received in his own dominions, in the two preceding campaigns. He entered Dauphiné, in the month of July. He ravaged the open country. He attacked the fortified towns. The surrender of Embrun, on the seventeenth of August, was soon followed by the taking of Gap. In the midst of his success, the Duke fell ill of the small-pox. Diffensions prevailed among the nations which composed his motley army, and he found himself obliged to retire, and to evacuate the places which he had seized. On the Rhine, the Marechal de Lorges defeated the Prince of Wertemberg, on the seventeenth of September. He forced the Prince of Hesse to raise the siege of Ebenbourg. The Marquis d'Harcourt obtained some advantages in the county of Chinei; and Boufflers bombarded Charleroy, on the nineteenth of October. The campaign, upon the whole, ended with sufficient glory to France. Her allies were not equally successful, on their side of the war. Great Waradin was taken by the Imperialists, after a long blockade; and those distractions, which usually attend the misfortunes of the Ottomans, involved the Seraglio in blood.

Campaign in
Savoy, on the
Rhine, and
in Hungary.

* Hist. de France, tom. iii.

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been sent to Scotland. The Marquis of Athol, the Earls of Argyle and Home, were to have received commissions, as lieutenant-generals, from James. The intrigues of James extended, in England, to the projected measures of parliament, and even to the very appointment of William's servants. The delay, at first, in granting the supply, the facility with which it was afterwards obtained, proceeded from the secret machinations of the late King's friends. Some of them wished to leave the kingdom naked to an invasion, by refusing money. Others to vote the excise, that their old master might enjoy the benefit, without the odium, of that unpopular tax. Under the mask of patriotism, they proposed to attack his enemies. The Bishops of Salisbury and St. Asaph were to be impeached, for persuading the clergy to take the oaths to William, as a conqueror. The Marquis of Caermarthen, though he might not obstruct a restoration, was not, from his temporizing character, to be trusted. He was, therefore, to be terrified from office by an impeachment, for declaring that no King could reign in England, as long as the act of *habeas corpus* should remain in force. The choice of his successor, as minister, was left to James; and the contest, for preference, lay between the Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Rochester^p. To keep alive the spirit of discontent in the kingdom, Ferguson employed, for King James, that very private press, with which he had, some years before, so much annoyed the Duke of York^q.

Correspondence of
Marlborough
and Russell.

THOUGH the Whigs, by their leaders, and the most of the Tories, in their own names, had made engagements with the late King, he relied chiefly upon Marlborough and Russell. Marlborough had asked, in the most abject terms, and obtained forgiveness for his former conduct, from James and his Queen^r. He even became an agent for that Prince. He gained the Earl of Shrewsbury. He

^p Ferguson's Memorials, MS. Oct. 1691. ^q Ibid. ^r Jan. 10th, 1691.

tampered

tampered with Caermarthen. He promised to bring back the Princess of Denmark to her duty to her father^a. He undertook, in some degree, for the army. He requested James to invade England, with twenty thousand men. Though he was not trusted by James, he was, perhaps, sincere in his professions, and he effected what he promised. The Princess of Denmark, gained by his solicitations, warmed with a returning affection for her father, or urged by resentment for personal injuries received from William and her sister, made her peace with the late King. She wrote to him a letter full of contrition^b. She asked his forgiveness, and promised to join him whenever he should land in England^c. Marlborough judging in vain to corrupt the captains of men of war, as they durst not communicate the secret to the sailors, was the person who advised James to accept of the services of Ruffel^d. To avoid an action with the French fleet, should they fall in his way, would have been impossible. But it was always in the admiral's power to carry the fleet from the course held by the enemy, under the specious pretence of orders. The conspiracy was so great and general, that William seemed to have no friend to apprize him of his danger. Though he dismissed the Earl of Marlborough from all his employments, in the month of January, though he disgraced and deprived of her guards the Princess of Denmark, his resentment seems to have rather proceeded from a renewal of private quarrels, than from any discovery of their secret negotiations with the court of St. Germain.

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JAMES himself had taken all the precautions, which prudence or the advice of his friends could suggest, to render his return agreeable to the nation. He endeavoured to awaken the feelings of his former subjects, with a detail of the injustice of his rival and his own misfortunes. He hoped to rouse their resentment, by re-

Intrigues of
James in
England.

^a May 20th, 1691.^b Dec. 10th, 1691.^c Dec. 1691.^d Marlborough's Message, MS. 1694. James II, 1692.

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I.

1692.

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Project of an
invasion.

ENCOURAGED by favourable accounts from Britain, and eager to turn the scale of the war, by placing that kingdom in the hands of a friend, Lewis the Fourteenth began to think seriously of an invasion. James possessed of his native subjects an army almost equal to the purpose of the expedition. The transports which had carried to Ireland five thousand French, in the year 1690, had brought back to France as many Irish. The English government had been at the expence of sending fourteen thousand more troops to James, after the capitulation of Limerick. Lewis promised to transport to Britain ten thousand of this army, with a like number of French troops, under the convoy of his whole fleet, early in the year 1692. He began, in the month of January, to equip squadrons of men of war, at Toulon, Brest, Rochfort, and

^w Stuart-papers, 1693.

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C H A P.

II.

1692.

THOUGH so many persons were privy to the designs of James, though every channel of intelligence brought news of the preparations of France, William was still a stranger to his own danger. He, however, made all necessary preparations for manning the fleet. Press-warrants continued to be executed, throughout the month of February; and all sailors fit for service, were forced to enter on board the navy. The utmost expedition was used in the docks and yards. In the first week of March, all the ships of force had come round from Portsmouth. Many had fallen down from Deptford, Woolwich, and Chatham, to the Nore. William, upon his arrival in Holland, hastened the Dutch fleet to sea. The Amsterdam, the Maese, the North-Holland, the Zealand squadrons were ordered to proceed successively to the Downs. The combined fleets formed a greater naval force than had ever covered the sea. They consisted of ninety ships of the line, with many frigates and fire-ships; and they carried more than forty thousand men, with near six thousand guns. Russel, in the Britannia, a first rate, commanded in chief the whole. He resolved to adhere to his engagements with James, but time and accident broke through all his designs.

Preparations
of William.

* Stuart-papers, 1692. Dalrymple's Append.

y Stuart-papers, 1692.

C H A P.

I.

1692.
James arrives
at La Hogue.

THE late King had concerted with his friends in England, that the French fleet should sail early in the year. Had the preparations of Lewis answered his expectations, he proposed to put to sea in the middle of March. He, however, left not St. Germain until the eleventh of April. He had, even then, sufficient time to carry his army to England, before the junction of Ruffel with the Dutch fleet. Besides, that officer continued his correspondence, and assured him of his firm intention to serve his cause. He proposed one of two alternatives. That James should suspend his expedition till winter; or that he himself should, under the pretence of making a descent on the coast of France, permit the French fleet to pass. He accordingly applied, but in vain, to the court of England, for permission to attack St. Maloes. He advised James, by all means, to prevent the meeting of the fleets. None of his officers was trusted with the secret; and he would, therefore, find himself under a necessity to fight. A contrary wind, which blew incessantly for four weeks, hindered the French from sailing, and prevented James from conveying his instructions to Ruffel. The Toulon squadron was kept, by the same adverse wind, from passing the Streights. Tourville, with the Brest squadron, was, after repeated efforts, driven back to his port. During this interval, the Dutch joined the English in the Downs². Ruffel, proceeding immediately to St. Helens, ordered two small squadrons, that cruized on the coast of France, to join him in that place.

Vigorous
measures in
England.

DURING this time of suspense, the government of England were not remiss in their duty. Several of the servants of the crown were in correspondence with the late King; but they endeavoured, by a show of alacrity against him, to prevent every suspicion of infidelity. Some imperfect insinuations of a plot had been carried

² May 8.

to William in Flanders. The Earl of Portland arrived, with secret instructions for the Queen. The Earls of Huntington and Marlborough were sent to the Tower, with others of lesser name. A proclamation was issued, for apprehending several other persons of rank, who had absconded. A camp was formed between Petersfield and Portsmouth. Six regiments, under orders to embark for Flanders, were countermanded. The lieutenancy were ordered to raise the militia; and the same precautions were used in Scotland; but Ireland was left to its fate. Orders were sent to the fleet to sail in quest of the enemy. A declaration, issued by James before he left St. Germain, was published and answered, by authority. Activity and spirit prevailed every where; and that terror, which commonly precedes danger, was lessened by the bustle of preparation.

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THE communication between France and England was, in the mean time, completely interrupted. James, during all the time he had remained at La Hogue, received no intelligence from his friends in London^b. Captain Lloyd, who had been dispatched to him by his adherents, with an important message, and a letter from the Princess of Denmark, was detained two months on his way. Tourville, upon a change of wind, sailed at length from Brest, with forty-four ships of the line. He directed his course to La Hogue; but, unfortunately for him, the combined fleet of the enemy, consisting of many more than double his number of ships, arrived, at the same instant, in the neighbourhood of that place. The weather, in the mean time, was extremely hazy. On the nineteenth of May, about four of the clock in the morning, the sun having cleared a little the fog, admiral Russel descried the enemy holding, with a very small gale at west and by south, their course southward, on the same tack with himself. They began on both sides to form the line. Tourville, who had been

The fleet sails
toward La
Hogue.

^a Gazettes, 1692.^b James II. 1692.

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An engage-
ment.

irritated by a reflection thrown on his courage, by M. de Seignelay, resolved to fight the enemy, though he was not ignorant of their force. He bore down upon the combined fleets at ten of the clock. The Dutch were in the van. The French admiral threw out the signal of battle, as he advanced on Ruffel, who lay to receive him, with his fore top-sail to the mast^c.

At half an hour after eleven, Tourville, in the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, brought to, within three quarters of a musket shot, of the Britannia of one hundred guns, commanded by Ruffel. The rest of the French admiral's division fell in with the English line. A smart engagement ensued. The two commanders plied their guns very warmly, till one of the clock. The weather, during the engagement, fell almost calm. Tourville was disabled. His rigging, sails, and yards were shot, and his fire began to slacken. He ordered his boats to tow him to windward. Five fresh ships of the squadron, with a furious fire, covered their admiral's retreat. About four of the clock, a thick fog fell on the battle; and the firing ceased. At half after five, a small breeze of wind arose at East; and the weather clearing up a little, the French were seen running on every side. Ruffel gave the signal for the fleet to chase; but the fog returned and night came on. The French stood to the West, with all their sails. The breeze was so light, that little way could be made. The fog continued the greatest part of the next day. Toward the evening, Ruffel took in the signal for the line of battle; and ordered each ship to make the best of her way, in pursuit of the enemy. The tide of ebb being done, both fleets came to anchor; both resolving to take advantage of the next return of the tide^d.

Sixteen
French ships
burnt.

In the morning of the twenty-first of May, all the French ships were far advanced toward the Race of Alderney. One and

^c Ruffel's Letter to Nottingham, June 2, 1692.^d Ibid.

twenty however were driven eastward, from the entrance of the Race, by the tide of flood, toward Cape La Hogue. Three of that number endeavoured to tack to the westward, against the current; but one of them, after two or three short boards, ran ashore. The other two were weathered by the sternmost ships of Ruffel's squadron. Sir Ralph Delaval, rear admiral of the red, was ordered to destroy the three ships, and Ruffel himself stretched after the remaining eighteen, who hauled in for La Hogue. Five made their escape eastward in the night. Thirteen were observed, on the twenty-second, hauled in close with the shore. On the twenty-third, rear-admiral Rooke was ordered, with several men of war, the fire-ships and the boats of the fleet, to destroy the enemy's ships. Though the men of war could not approach, Rooke burnt six ships in the night. The remaining seven were destroyed in the same manner, the next day. Little resistance was made by the French. Their officers had retired, and the men fled, upon the approach of the English sailors. James himself is said to have been a spectator of this last action, yet Tourville refused to receive his advice. The army intended for the invasion were near; but they had the mortification to behold a destruction which they could not prevent.

THE French owed their misfortunes in the battle, or rather in the affair of La Hogue, as it has been more justly called, to their presumption, at first, and afterwards to their want of spirit and skill. Tourville supported with little courage and less conduct, the battle into which he had wantonly entered. The superior skill of the English, in managing light breezes of wind and impetuous tides, gave them a great advantage over an enemy, who were manifestly conquered in their own minds. The French suffered little in the engagement. Tourville's ship was the only

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* Ruffel's Letter to Nottingham, June 2, 1692.

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one in any degree disabled. None was taken, none sunk, few even suffered in their rigging. Ruffel himself, though a man of too much courage not to fight with spirit, owed his success more to accident and the folly of his enemies, than his own conduct. Had the Dutch shewed the same alacrity in fighting, which they had exhibited upon a former occasion against Tourville, the ruin of the French fleet might have been rendered complete. But the haziness of the weather; the very fears of the French, upon perceiving themselves much outnumbered; the confusion and want of plan which prevail in all naval engagements, ought to have saved the victors from the censure which some writers have thrown on their conduct. The chief loss of the French consisted in that of their ships. Sixteen men of war, between fifty-six and one hundred and four guns, were burnt. Twenty transports shared the same fate. Few were killed on either side. Among the slain, on the part of the victors, the most regretted were admiral Carter and captain Hastings^f.

on the affair
of La Hogue.

RUSSEL, it is certain, meant nothing less than to obstruct the service for which the French fleet were to sail. His loitering at St. Helens, for ten days after he had passed through the Downs; his applying, in concert with the late King, to the ministry for leave to attack St. Maloes; his calling in the squadrons that observed, under Carter and Delaval, the motions of the enemy; seem all to have been calculated to accommodate the intended invasion. He knew that the same winds which carried himself out of the river, would have favoured Tourville, in leaving Brest. A few days would have brought the French fleet to La Hogue. A few hours would have waisted the invaders to the coast of Suffex. When James should land, he was determined to throw off the mask, and declare for that Prince. The prudence, or perhaps, the terrors of the government, defeated his measures. They refused

^f Gazette.

to agree to the proposed descent. They ordered him to take the advice of a council of war. The result was, that the fleet stretched over to La Hogue, but with a design to return to St. Helen's in four days. The fate of the British kingdoms depended upon accident. Had Tourville arrived on the coast of Normandy a few days before, or had the winds retarded him till Ruffel's proposed return to his old station, the crown of England would have been transferred to the late King, without contest ^h.

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JAMES was rather disappointed than rendered desperate, by the success of the English fleet. He laid the blame upon accident. He continued his correspondence with Ruffel. He held his former communication with his friends in England. Though the object of his restoration was rendered a little more distant, he kept it still in view. His agents were busy. The discontented caballed in his favour. Men in office betrayed to him the secrets of the cabinet; and, sometimes, guided their conduct by his advice ⁱ. He retired to St. Germain, where his queen had born a daughter in his absence. The English fleet remained in a state of inaction, during the rest of the summer. The ministry proposed to carry into execution a descent on the French coast, which had been projected in the preceding winter. Ruffel, discontented with government, and provoked by some orders sent to him by the Queen, which he deemed the effect of ignorance ^k, rendered ineffectual a scheme which promised no great success. The French fleet retired to their ports. They had lost but a very few men in their late misfortune. They filled the whole channel with their privateers. The merchants sustained great losses. The expectations which the nation derived from the late victory, were damped with its want of beneficial consequences. The ministry complained of Ruffel, and Ruffel of the ministry. Cla-

Conduct of
James.
Transactions
at sea.

^h Stuart-papers.

ⁱ Stuart-papers, 1692. James II.

^k Burnet, vol. iii.

mour,

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Campaign in
Flanders.

mour, disappointment, and ill humour prevailed every where, after an event which promised general satisfaction and joy¹.

THOUGH the fate of England seemed to depend on the operations at sea, William turned his principal attention to the war by land. He was, if the expression may be used, the chain of union between the heads of the grand confederacy, the life and spirit of their councils and armies. The force of the confederates had however been, in some degree, diminished, by the intrigues of Lewis the Fourteenth, and misunderstandings between themselves. Disputes between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony, had induced the latter to recal his troops to his own dominions. Sweden and Denmark continued their neutrality. The Helvetic body discovered an inclination to favour the cause of France. To supply the place of the Saxons, the Emperor and King of England gained the younger branch of the house of Lunenburgh to their party. The Dukes of Zell and Hannover, upon the promise of an electoral cap, with a certainty of the investiture before the end of the year, undertook to march six thousand troops to join the Imperialists, and four thousand to reinforce the army of the allies in Flanders. The Spaniards had raised to the government of that country, the Elector of Bavaria; a Prince whose spirit and abilities promised to support the feebleness of the common cause, on that side. France was, in the mean time, active in her preparations, and prudent in the disposition of her armies. The Marechal de Lorges commanded on the upper Rhine. M. de Joyeuse occupied the country of Eyfeldt. Boufflers lay between the Sambre and the Meuse; and Luxembourg, in the name of the Dauphin, commanded in Flanders^m.

Namur
taken.

LEWIS the Fourteenth and William set out, on the same day, to join their respective armies. The first arrived in his camp, on the twentieth of May. On the twenty-third, all the French troops were

¹ Burnet, vol. iii.^m Hist. de France, tom. iii. Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

in

in motion. Lewis suddenly sat down before Namur, and with forty-five thousand men, prosecuted the siege of that important place. He was covered by Luxembourg, with another army. The town was strong, the citadel was deemed impregnable. The Prince de Barbason commanded in the place, with a well-appointed garrison of ten thousand men; and the famous Coehorn defended, in person, a new fort called by his own name, while Vauban directed the attack. The eyes of all Europe were turned toward Namur. Two great Kings, at the head of two powerful armies, turned their whole thoughts to this important enterprise. A battle, which was to decide the fate of the war, was daily to be expected. The French attacked ^a the place with incredible vigour, and the town was forced to capitulate in six days ^b. William, in the mean time, advanced, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and sat down within cannon shot of Luxembourg's lines. The small river Mehaigne ran between the armies; and an ineffectual cannonade ensued. The French pressed with vigour the siege of the new fort. Coehorn made an obstinate defence, but being driven from the covered way, on the twenty-second of July, and forced to retire with great loss into the body of the place, he capitulated. The fate of the citadel was soon after decided. The garrison evacuated the place, on the thirtieth of July; and Lewis returned in triumph to Versailles ^c.

THOUGH William lost reputation, by permitting a place of such importance as Namur to be taken in his sight, his inactivity may be justified, in some degree, by the strong position of the enemy. The Duke de Luxembourg, one of the best generals of the age, had posted himself to great advantage, on the banks of the Mehaigne. The unseasonable rains had unexpectedly swelled the stream, and formed into morasses the adjoining fields. To make, at first, an attack, was to risk a defeat; and the

Batt'e of
Steinkirk.

^a June 29. N. S.

^b July 5.

^c Hist. de France, tom. iii.

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place surrendered before William, who was always slow in his councils, could determine upon any vigorous measure to raise the siege. To retrieve the glory which he had lost before Namur, William endeavoured to surprise the French army under the Duke of Luxembourg at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly carried on by the English in columns. They ascended with amazing resolution and spirit the rising ground, on which a wing of the French army lay encamped. They took possession of their batteries, and were, for some time, masters of their line. The whole camp was in confusion, but the assailants were not properly supported. The second line of the French advanced. The rencounter was obstinate and bloody, and the contest was maintained for four hours. The confederates were at length repulsed, having left many thousands of the enemy, as well as of their own number, dead on the field. Though this bloody battle was attended with no material consequences, an undisputed victory remained to the French. The King gained no reputation for his conduct, but the valour of his troops deserved great applause. The generals Mackay, Lanier, and Douglas, the Earl of Angus, and several officers of distinction were killed in this unfortunate field. The Prince de Turenne and the Marechal de Bellefons were numbered among the slain, on the side of the French¹.

A conspiracy
against Wil-
liam.

THE campaign in Flanders having languished after the battle of Steinkirk, the discovery of a plot against the life of William, and the execution of one Grandval, the pretended assassin, gave occasion to much reflection and noise. Lewis the Fourteenth and the late King of England were involved by the discoverers in this conspiracy. But as there is no probability that the former would be guilty of such a villanous design; so there is now a certainty, that the latter rejected, always, with becoming horror, every proposal of the like kind. The incident, however, served, at the time, the

¹ Hist. de France, tom. iii. Gazettes, passim.

views of party; and loaded, with a degree of infamy, an unhappy Prince, already ruined by his folly and misfortunes. The hopes of a reward for the discovery, gave birth, in all appearance, to a plot, laid chiefly at the door of de Louvois, who was lately dead. His son, M. de Barbefieux, was accused of carrying on what his father had begun. But as the odium of the murder itself would do more harm, than what could be derived of advantage from the death of William, the prudence of the French court may be trusted with regard to their innocence.

THE French, in exerting their chief force in Flanders, left their own country exposed, on the side of Dauphiné. The army under M. de Catinat was found too weak to resist the Duke of Savoy. That Prince sufficiently revenged himself for the insults which he had received in his own dominions, in the two preceding campaigns. He entered Dauphiné, in the month of July. He ravaged the open country. He attacked the fortified towns. The surrender of Embrun, on the seventeenth of August, was soon followed by the taking of Gap. In the midst of his success, the Duke fell ill of the small-pox. Diffensions prevailed among the nations which composed his motley army, and he found himself obliged to retire, and to evacuate the places which he had seized. On the Rhine, the Marechal de Lorges defeated the Prince of Wertemberg, on the seventeenth of September. He forced the Prince of Hesse to raise the siege of Ebenbourg. The Marquis d'Harcourt obtained some advantages in the county of Chinei; and Boufflers bombarded Charleroy, on the nineteenth of October. The campaign, upon the whole, ended with sufficient glory to France. Her allies were not equally successful, on their side of the war. Great Waradin was taken by the Imperialists, after a long blockade; and those distractions, which usually attend the misfortunes of the Ottomans, involved the Seraglio in blood.

Campaign in
Savoy, on the
Rhine, and
in Hungary.

* Hist. de France, tom. iii.

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Young's for-
geries.

THE defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue had removed the fears of the nation from a foreign enemy; but the domestic tranquillity was still disturbed, by surmises of plots, conspiracies, and treasons. Men in general believed, that some secret machinations existed, in favour of the late King. No proofs had appeared against the suspected. The Earls of Huntington, Scarfsdale, and Marlborough, had been sent to the Tower, upon the accusation of one Young; a criminal, actually under the execution of the law, in Newgate; for forgery. This infamous person, by the advice of a prisoner for debt, in the same gaol, and by the aid of one Blackhead, framed a copy of an association against the government; to which he annexed the names of the Earls of Salisbury and Marlborough, the deprived Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and other persons of rank. The Bishop of Rochester being confronted with Blackhead, detected the villany of the accusation, to the satisfaction of the council; but the court, suspecting Marlborough of some secret intrigues with James, still encouraged Young. His fine was paid, and he himself was discharged from prison. Marlborough, in defiance of the *habeas corpus* act, was detained in the Tower, by a chicane of law, even after the grand jury of Middlesex had found a bill of forgery and subornation of perjury, against Young*.

Discontents.

THESE legal severities recalled the memory of former times; and they seemed more grievous, as they were now less to be expected. The passions of men, inflamed by faction and party were ready to receive impressions of the worst kind. The press groaned with polemical pamphlets. The Jacobites attacked the measures of government, and accused the King of a breach of faith to the nation. The Whigs complained of the management of the war, the burden of taxes, the imperfect securities of the liberties of the people. They affirmed, that the aid given for the maintenance of

* Case of the Earls of Huntington and Marlborough.

the war at land had been absolutely lost. That, instead of breaking the power of France, the efforts of the allies had covered her arms with renown. The grand army, under the King in Flanders, they said, had lost ground to the enemy. The Germans had received a check on the Rhine. The efforts of the Spaniards in Catalonia had been feeble and ineffectual. The retreat of the Duke of Savoy, had put an end to the hopes of the allies on that side. The navy, though successful against the fleet of the enemy, had not been able to protect the commerce of the kingdom against their privateers. These suggestions were received with avidity, by a people accustomed to blame the measures of every government. The facts, though exaggerated, were true in the main; and men found, in their own burdens, that they had some reason to complain¹.

IN the midst of these discontents, William returned to England. Having arrived from Brussels at the Hague, on the eleventh of October, he embarked, on the fifteenth, in the Maese; and on the twentieth came to Kensington. Having met his parliament at Westminster, on the fourth of November, he expressed his joy, at an opportunity of thanking them again for their large supplies. He hoped, he said, for their future advice and assistance against the excessive power of France. They had great reason to rejoice, he said, at the late victory at sea; and he wished that he could tell them of an equal success by land. He informed them, that the French were repairing the loss, which they had sustained in their fleet. That they designed to augment their army against the next campaign. He, therefore, declared, that it was absolutely necessary that, at least, an equal force should be maintained in the ensuing, as in the present year; and he desired the commons to give a suitable supply. He was sensible, he said, of the heavy charge upon his people. He regretted the inconve-

Parliament
meets.

¹ Publications, An. 1692.

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nience of sending great sums of money out of the kingdom, for the payment of troops abroad. He promised to attempt a descent on France. He took notice of the signal deliverance from the French invasion. He entertained no doubt of their support, and he requested dispatch in their councils. He assured them, that he had no interest separate from theirs, that he had no aim, but to render his people happy; and he concluded with observing, that as he never spared his person for the good of his subjects, he would continue to encounter dangers, for the honour and advantage of England".

Ill humour in

THOUGH this speech seemed calculated to gain the good opinion of parliament, neither of the houses returned their thanks by an immediate address. The commons adjourned for a week, and the lords for three days. The latter, when they met, instead of paying their compliments to the King, began to vindicate their own privileges. The lords, who had been committed to the Tower, represented their grievances, and they were supported, with great warmth, by their friends. The constable of the Tower was ordered to produce the warrants of commitment. The judges of the King's Bench were commanded to appear before the house, to answer for their refusal to discharge the recognizance, into which the imprisoned peers had entered for their appearance. Violent debates ensued. The opposition, in every motion, prevailed; and resolutions were framed to guide the judges of oyer and terminer, in their proceedings on the *habeas corpus* act. The lords declared, that two witnesses of the delinquency were necessary to justify the remanding any person to prison, upon his application to be admitted to bail. A motion was made and carried, for entering this resolution on the books, as a standing rule to all future judges. The mode of setting free the accused prisoners becoming a matter of great debate, the King interfered; and to end

^a Journals, Nov. 4th, 1692.

the contest, he promised to give directions for discharging the bail of the lords, in the King's Bench. But so much inflamed were the majority, that they determined to enter upon no business till the King's promise was actually performed^v.

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THIS concession from the court, was not sufficient to allay the heats in parliament. The commons, on the tenth of November, had voted thanks to the King for his speech. They ordered an address to the Queen, acknowledging her prudent administration in the absence of her husband; but they, at the same time, resolved to present an address, desiring that the alliances made with the States, in the months of April and August 1689, and all other alliances with the princes and states of Europe, should be laid before the house^w. They entered into an examination of the management of the war at sea. They voted thanks to Admiral Ruffel for his victory; yet they resolved to inquire, why that victory had not been pursued. This, however, was soon after dropt, and a resolution to offer advice to the King, was attended with no better fate. A great animosity against the preference given to foreigners, exhibited itself in the debates of the house. They resolved, that one article of the proposed advice should bear, that he should fill all vacancies, as they should happen among the general officers, with the subjects of Great Britain; and that the commander in chief of the English troops, next to the King himself, should be an Englishman. This resolution was aimed at the Count de Soimes, on whose conduct toward the national troops, at the battle of Steinkirk, they severely animadverted^x.

both houses.

NOTWITHSTANDING these symptoms of discontent among the commons, that assembly seemed more hostile to the ministry, than averse to the King. Though James was in correspondence with some leaders in the two houses, he had de-

A supply granted.

^v Journals of the Lords.

^w Nov. 10.

^x Journals passim.

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failed of guiding the conduct of either, long before the parliament met^y. The previous motion of advice was introduced and managed by his friends, supported by some zealous Whigs. But this attempt was defeated, by frequent adjournments. On the twenty-second of November^z, a general supply was voted. The commons, on the second of December, specified the sums granted for each service^a. Near four millions were allowed, for the land and sea service; together with seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to supply the deficiency in the poll-tax of the preceding year. These great sums were raised by various ways and means. A tax of four shillings in the pound, was charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value; with a vote of credit to enable the King to raise money at seven *per cent.* upon that fund. A fund of credit, for one million, was also established, on the hereditary excise, by way of tontine. But all these provisions appearing inadequate to the wants of government, an additional imposition was laid upon merchandise, before the end of the session^b.

The lords
refractory.

THE lords were much more refractory than the commons. The former seemed offended with the King, as well as with his measures. The latter shewed only their dislike to the acting minister, the Earl of Nottingham. The discontented lords availed themselves of the article in the speech, where William asked advice of his parliament; and under this cover, they endeavoured to send a remonstrance to the throne. Those who had distinguished themselves most for the Revolution, were the chief promoters of a measure, which distressed and offended the King. The Earl of Devonshire, though lord-steward of the household, preferred his principles to the adherence to the court expected from his office. The Earls of Shrewsbury, Monmouth, Torrington, Macclesfield, and Warrington, and the Lord Mountague, who were deemed the

^y Stuart papers, Sept. 1692.^z Journals, Nov. 22.^a Dec. 2.^b Feb. 3, 1693.

most

most steady Whigs, were the most violent against William and his partiality to strangers. The Earl of Marlborough, yielding to his own resentment, and in concert with James^c, appeared a principal in the motions against foreigners. The Earl of Bath, who had, four years before, betrayed Plymouth to the Prince of Orange, for the promise of an annual pension of four thousand pounds, which he now actually possessed^d, had engaged to execute the same service for the late King^e. To give an earnest of his zeal, he joined heartily with Marlborough. The Tory lords, not in office, supported the opposition on popular grounds. Though the majority of the bishops favoured James in secret, they adhered, except one, to the court; and several peers, who were in correspondence with the court of St. Germain^f, endeavoured to cover their private engagements, by supporting, in public, the cause of William.

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THE parties were so equally balanced, that almost the whole winter was spent in the fiercest debates. The people themselves were not unconcerned spectators of the contest. Their jealousy of foreigners, the indignity of trusting to aliens the defence of the kingdom, while the native troops were employed abroad, the real and supposed insolence of Dutch favourites and officers, combined to inflame the passions of the nation against the crown. The opposing lords, in some measure, at length prevailed, and a remonstrance was presented^g to the King, consisting of five articles. The peers desired, that the commanding officer of the English, next the King himself, should be an Englishman; that the English officers should have precedence of all officers of the same rank in the confederate armies, except those of crowned heads; that the twenty thousand men, destined for the defence of England, should be all native English, under the command of an English general; that the abuses committed in pressing

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They remon-
strate against
foreigners.

^c Stuart-papers, Nov. 1692.
papers, Nov. 1692.

^f Ibid.

^d K. William's papers, MS.
^g Journals, Feb. 25, 1693.

^e Stuart-

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failors should be remedied and prevented; that no foreigners should be permitted to sit at the board of ordnance. William was not of a complexion to grant demands, so contrary to his fixed predilections and views; and he refused the request of the lords, by answering, that he would consider their address. The opposition had carried their point with such difficulty, that they dropt the remonstrance, without any farther efforts. Their ill humour, however, continued; and filled the whole session with ineffectual altercations and debates^z.

Proceedings
of both
houses.

THE opposition in the house of lords, to shew their own resentment, or to embarrass the government, discovered a disposition to stop the progress of the bills of supply. The measure was adopted in concert with James^h, who notwithstanding his disappointment at La Hogue, still projected an invasion. The Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Mulgrave induced the house, by the force of their eloquence, to ingraft a clause on the land-tax bill, that the lords should tax themselves. The bill was sent down amended to the commons. The lower house flew into the most violent heat. They rejected the amendment, without one dissenting voice. The lords agreed to pass the bill, without alteration, with a formal protest, on their journals, that though they yielded to the present urgent state of affairs, they had a right to insist upon taxing themselves. In other matters, the two houses were more unanimous. They ordered, by a joint vote, that a pamphlet, intituled, "King William and Mary Conquerors," should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and they addressed the King to dismiss from his place the licenser of the press, under whose sanction it had been printed and published. They assumed an appearance of hostility to the high prerogatives of the crown, while they strengthened the hands of the King with enormous suppliesⁱ.

^z Journals.^h Stuart-papers, 1692.ⁱ Journals, passim.

THOUGH the facility of parliament, in giving money, has been ascribed to some corrupt practices of the court, it may be justified from the urgent state of the times. The people were plunged in a war, from which they could not immediately extricate themselves, by land, either with honour or with safety. To remit in preparations by sea, might have encouraged an invasion. The commons, in other respects, shewed little complaisance for the crown. They even appeared to be self-denied, with regard to the private interest of their own members. They introduced and passed a bill, touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament, which excluded, from the right of sitting in the house, all persons, who should accept of any office from the crown. The ministry found themselves incapable of opposing, in the lower house, a measure so popular. To facilitate the passing of this important bill, it was not to be in force till the King should think fit to call a new parliament. It was sent up to the lords early in the session. The malcontents, in the upper house, carried the motion in favour of the bill, in the committee. But when it came to be reported, the court party, by the means of proxies, rejected it, by a majority of two votes. The adherents of James were joined with the most violent Whigs, upon the present occasion. The first wished for confusion; the latter, by yielding to their resentment, adhered to their professed principles^k.

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A place-bill
rejected by
the lords.

THE opposition, in the house of lords, were not discouraged with the bad success of the place-bill. As they could not exclude the members from office, they were resolved to shorten the duration of parliament. The present house of commons, though refractory on some occasions, had rendered their general conduct grateful to the court. Their opposition to the high exertions of the prerogative had never been followed with rigour. They were generous in their supplies, and, perhaps, rather profuse,

Bill for short-
ening the du-
ration of par-
liament re-
jected by the
King.

^k Journals.

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with regard to the money of the subject. A great majority were Tories, men in general less attached to the family of a prince, than to the power of the crown. The Earl of Nottingham, and others of their own party, had opened a channel of connexion between them and the reigning King. Sir John Trevor, the speaker, was a successful agent, in purchasing the votes of the venal, with money¹. Besides, in the present divided state of the nation, a new election would be at least troublesome, if not attended with danger. The opposition perceived the views of their enemies, and they were resolved to pursue their own. The Earl of Shrewsbury moved for a bill, providing for triennial parliaments and annual sessions. It passed the house of lords. The commons passed it by a great majority. William resolved to disappoint a bill, so adverse to the power of the crown. He therefore rejected it, when presented for the royal assent^m; and thus made use, for the second time, of a prerogative, which neither of his immediate predecessors ever chose to exert.

Affairs of
Ireland.

THE affairs of Ireland commanded a considerable degree of the attention of parliament during the present session. That kingdom, ever since its reduction in 1691, had exhibited one continued scene of oppression, injustice, and public misery. The government of James, with all its disadvantages, his own bigotry, the insolence of the papists, combined with the fears of the protestants, were all more tolerable than the administration of William, ever since the surrender of Limerick. Coningsby and Porter, the lords justices, rendered themselves odious by a series of frauds, cruelties, and rapacities. They sold common justice for money. They screened the guilty, and oppressed the innocent, for gain. To render their proceedings summary, to clothe their authority with more terror, and, with most expedition, to enrich themselves, they chose to exert their authority in the military way. The cor-

¹ Burnet, vol. iii.

^m March 14.

ruption,

ruption, at the source, extended itself through every channel of government. The subordinate magistrates, the justices of the peace, as if all law were at an end, made their own will and pleasure the rule of their conduct. Presuming on their power in the country, they deprived, under the colour of authority, many persons of their effects; and they even dispossessed many of their lands". The Roman Catholics, as they had less to expect from justice than the Protestants, endeavoured to purchase favour. They applied to those in power, through the channel of their venality; and thus the party who had been in arms against the Revolution, fared better than those who had supported the cause of William with the most zeal, courage, and industry.

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1693.

ON the third of March 1692, the Lord Viscount Sidney had been raised to the government of Ireland. But he arrived not in that kingdom, till the twenty-fifth of the following August. Coningsby, created a Baron by the same name, with his colleague Porter, continued in the government, in the intermediate time. They presided in the court of claims, for adjusting the demands of those comprehended in the articles of Limerick; and the obvious road to their justice, was said to lie through their avarice. The arrival of Sidney in his government, though it might lessen the fear of future oppressions, diminished not the resentment of the people for former injuries. His own conduct seemed more calculated to preserve the prerogative of the Crown, than to redress the grievances of the subject. His speech, at the opening of the parliament, was suited to the times, and well received. But the memory of the past, created an ill humour among the commons. Seventy thousand pounds had been demanded, as an additional revenue, for the annual and necessary expences of government. But the house were either slow in finding the ways and means, or ignorant where they could be found. Two bills, ready drawn,

The griev-
ances of that
kingdom

* Printed proclamation.

• Journals, passim, 1693.

the

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the one for an additional excise on malt liquors, the other for a tax on land bearing corn, were sent down from the Irish privy council. The commons were highly offended at the manner of introducing these bills, which were in themselves, especially the latter, highly exceptionable; and, in some degree, partial and unjust. They argued, that though, by Poyning's law, no bill was to be passed, without the sanction of the English privy council, it was never deemed that the Irish commons were precluded from taxing themselves^p.

laid before
the English
parliament.

THE necessities of government induced the lord-lieutenant to hearken to a compromise. The commons consented to pass the excise bill, with a declaration, that the thing should not be drawn into a precedent. But they rejected the land-bill, as laying an unequal tax upon the farmers. When Sidney found himself in possession of the additional excise, he gave vent to his resentment against the parliament. He sent for them, on the fourth of November^q. He reprimanded them severely, for invading the prerogatives of the Crown. He prorogued them to the sixteenth of April. Inflamed with what they deemed a public insult, offended at some private expressions of indignation from the lord-lieutenant, several members of the Irish house of commons came, in the name of their country, to England, to lay their grievances before the parliament. On the twenty-fourth of February, they laid their complaints, in writing, before the English commons. The lords, at the same time, took cognizance of the affair, and examined witnesses. Some circumstances appeared, upon the inquiry, which served to heighten the mismanagements of government, as well as the real grievances of Ireland. The army, in want of pay from the Crown, raised money by military distress, from the subject, to the incredible amount of two hundred thou-

^p Journals, passim. Slone's Narrative.

^q 1692.

land pounds^r. The stores left by James in the kingdom, to the value, it was said, of eighty thousand pounds, were embezzled or applied to his own use by Coningsby. The lord-lieutenant himself, and Ginckle, who had been created Earl of Athlone, were accused of possessing themselves of almost all the forfeitures which ought to have fallen to the public^s. But one of the most flagrant inroads upon the constitution, was the depriving the citizens of Dublin of their right to chuse their own magistrates.

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1693.

THE lords presented an address, upon the subject of the Irish complaints, while the commons sent a remonstrance to the throne. To the grievances already specified, the latter added several others of the same alarming kind. They complained of the miseries of free quarters, and the licentiousness of the army, to which the Protestant subjects had been exposed. They represented the danger of recruiting the troops, as had been notoriously done, with Irish Papists; and such persons as had been in open rebellion. They averred, that the common course of law was stopt, by granting protections to Roman Catholics, not comprehended within the articles of pacification; and that it was from the mercenary views of the servants of the Crown, that the impolitic addition was made to the treaty with the Papists, at the surrender of Limerick. All these grievances they requested the King to redress; and he promised to rectify all that had been amiss in Ireland. The miseries of that kingdom might, perhaps, have been exaggerated. The expectations of the Protestants were high, from the success of their party. The claims of the Papists were extensive, from the favourable articles by which they had finished the war. Recent injuries were added, on both sides, to ancient prejudices and animosities. To satisfy either, was certainly a thing very difficult for any government. But it is equally

A remon-
strance on
that subject.

^r Slone and Brewster's Narratives.

^s Ibid. passim.

certain,

C H A P.

L.

1693.

certain, that the servants of the Crown were much less attentive to the happiness of the people, than to the gratification of their own passions and avarice.

Parliament
prorogued,
March 14.

WILLIAM seems either to have repented of his promise to the commons, or to have been persuaded from his purpose, by those most concerned in the mismanagements in Ireland. To prevent the parliament from resuming the affair, he prorogued it, on the fourteenth of March, just four days after receiving the remonstrance. He thanked the commons for their large supplies. He signified to the two houses, his intention of going abroad. He promised to continue to expose his person, upon all occasions, for the good and advantage of his kingdoms; and that his hearty and sincere endeavours should never be wanting, to make the English a great and flourishing nation¹. Notwithstanding this soothing speech, the different parties, in both houses, were highly offended at the sudden prorogation. The Whigs resented the measure, as an aggravating sequel to the King's refusing his assent to the bill for shortening the duration of parliaments. The discontented part of the Tories joined, upon other grounds, the general cry. The Jacobites, being the most violent in their principles, were least temperate in their language. All parties carried their discontents and arguments to the press. The Earl of Warrington, Hampden, and Wildman were supposed to inflame the Whigs, with publications. The church, offended at the coldness of William, supported the opinions of the high Tories to the world. Ferguson, and several other adherents of James, openly attacked the Revolution, and the personal character and conduct of the King².

Affairs of
Scotland.

THE massacre of Glenco had greatly shaken the interest of William, in the minds of his Scottish subjects; and the hopes of

¹ Journals, Mar. 14.

² Publications, 1693.

James

James arose, in proportion to the odium which a transaction so barbarous had thrown upon the government of his rival. But, prior to that event, the late King had laid a plan for invading Scotland. In the end of the year 1691, he solicited Lewis the Fourteenth, for a force to sail from Brest, Bellisle, or Rochfort; and to land between Irving and Air. When the King of France had resolved to transport an army into England, under the conduct of James, before the affair of La Hogue, the Scottish expedition was not relinquished. Two frigates, with officers, stores, arms, and a small sum of money, were to sail from Ambleteuse, when the main fleet were to put to sea. The defeat of Tourville broke this, as well as all the other measures of the late King. His attention afterwards was chiefly turned to England. The Earls of Arran and Breadalbin, and Sir James Montgomery, were the only persons of rank in Scotland, who held any correspondence with the court of St. Germain; though the greatest part, by far, of the gentry of the kingdom were in the interest of the late King^w.

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THE unexpected blow sustained by the French at La Hogue, and the consequent disappointment of James, threw a damp on his adherents throughout the rest of the year. The nation in general shewed a manifest impatience under the government of William. But those who opposed that Prince the most, covered, under specious complaints of grievances, their attachment to his rival. The King, by the advice of secretary Johnston, managed his affairs with prudence. He gained, by promoting their leaders, the Presbyterians. He reconciled the Duke of Hamilton and his party to his government, by appointing that nobleman commissioner of the approaching parliament. On the eighteenth of April, in the present year, a parliament met at Edinburgh. To flatter the pride of the Scots, the King signified in his letter, that

Obsequious-
ness of its
parliament^w Stuart-papers, passim.

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1693.

ever since his coming to the crown, he had been fully resolved to hold a parliament, in person, in his ancient kingdom. He declared that nothing but his necessary presence abroad, or the business of his station, when in England, could have hitherto prevented his purpose. The commissioner assured the house, that the King was resolved to support the present establishment, in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. He awakened their fears of present dangers, by recounting those they had escaped in the preceding year; and he concluded his speech, with demanding a supply to place the kingdom in a posture of defence against its enemies. Tweedale, the chancellor, enforced what the commissioner had proposed. He recommended that new laws should be made, to strengthen the authority of government, and to recover the ruined trade of the nation.

ill requited
by William.

THE spirit which had uniformly opposed government, since the late revolution, if not extinguished, was at least suppressed. The parliament was all submission. Their answer to the King was full of humility, acknowledgment, and loyalty. They voted, that four regiments of foot, and two of dragoons, should be added to the standing forces of the kingdom. To defray the charges of this body of men, and to aid the other expences of government, they granted a supply of one hundred and fourteen thousand pounds sterling. They ratified, by a solemn act, the proceedings of the privy council in impressing seamen. They expelled all absentees, among the commoners, from their house. They fined such lords as declined to attend in parliament. A committee of secrecy had been appointed, to inquire into the designs of the adherents of the late King. Upon some allegorical letters, that had been intercepted, they formed their report. They declared, that there had been, and still was, a project subsisting between the Jacobites and France, for invading the kingdom with a foreign force. Several lords were imprisoned in the castles

of Stirling and Edinburgh, rather on suspicion than on proof. One Payne, an Englishman, who was actually an agent for James in Scotland, was in custody, and threatened with a trial. But this zeal for his government, was not properly returned by the King. He declined to levy the new troops. But he took care to raise the tax appointed for their subsistence, and to apply it to other uses of his own *.

C H A P.
I.
1633.

IN England, the intrigues of the late King fomented the discontents of all the parties. He continued his correspondence during the winter. His secret friends were busy, his agents were assiduously employed. The Earl of Middleton had been sent to England, in the preceding August^y, and he carried on successfully his negotiations with the discontented, till the month of January. King James, eager to recover his crown, offered terms, which even the most scrupulous among the discontented approved. In a letter, in the end of November, he explained his views, with great moderation and address. He lamented, that it had been hitherto his misfortune to be mistaken in his applications to his people. He, however, appealed to God, for the uniform sincerity of his heart. He solemnly assured the nation, that, according to the most natural signification of the words, he was ready to agree to any laws that should be desired, for the security of the Protestant religion, as established in the church of England. He promised to settle, with the concurrence of parliament, a liberty of conscience. He was fully resolved, he said, to assent to all laws, for securing effectually the liberty and property of the subject, not only during his own reign, but against all the incroachments of his posterity and successors in the throne. He affirmed, that it was his resolution to meet his people frequently in parliament, as the best expedient to render a King truly great and the subject perfectly happy; and that it was his determined

Intigues of

* Burnet, vol. iii.

^y Stuart-papers, 1692.

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1693.

resolution, neither to design nor attempt to introduce any arbitrary power in the crown ^z.

the late King

HE hoped, he said, that he had expressed himself plainly. He declared, that he meant honestly. He was sensible that the nation, besides the violence done to their own principles, had not found their account in the injury they had done to his right. He was no stranger, he said, from that circumstance, that some, who were displeased with the times, pursued projects of redress by other means than his restoration. But he averred, that his return to his native country, was the only thing that could either give a better establishment for the future, or relieve them from their present distress. He requested his friends, for the greater security of the nation, to send any persons they pleased, to discourse with him at large upon the subject of his letter. He doubted not, he said, to give any, commissioned to him for that purpose, an entire satisfaction upon every point. To create future confidence, he desired to forget the past. He was resolved, for his own part, to pardon all the miscarriages of all his subjects, without exception. He expressed his earnest desire to close, in every thing, with the united interest of the people. He requested, that more of them would make him acquainted with their inclinations, without the least degree of flattery; which had often too fatal an influence upon the councils of Kings^a; and he concluded with declaring, that he wished for nothing in the world so earnestly, as to see his people established upon the true and legal foundation^b.

in England.

THE malcontents in England were so much disgusted with William, that they received the assurances of James with ardour. The Earl of Middleton, in the month of January, returned to France, with eight proposals from those who wished to restore the

^z Stuart-papers, Nov. 1692.

^a Ibid. Nov. 1692.

^b Ibid.

late King, upon conditions. They were accepted without hesitation. The high opinion which James always entertained of the importance of the fleet, induced him to apply to the principal officers, with unremitting diligence. Ruffel had promised, in the preceding autumn, his best endeavours to serve his cause. But William, in consequence of Ruffel's opposition in parliament, and his disputes with the Earl of Nottingham, had deprived that officer of the chief command. Delaval, Killegrew, and Shovel, were appointed, in a joint commission, to execute the office of admiral. The two first had been, for some time, in the interest of the late King. That Prince, encouraged by a very great party in England, and numbering among his friends some of the first officers of state, flattered by the engagements of the fleet and the discontents in the army, promised to himself an absolute certainty of being restored, with little opposition, to the throne. The French King kept the crown of England on the head of William. He listened to the proposals of James, but he entertained no serious thought of assisting that Prince, with effect^c.

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URGED by his own hopes, and the zeal of his friends in England, the late King prepared a declaration, upon the eight articles transmitted to France, through the hands of the Earl of Middleton. It was dated at St. Germain's, on the seventeenth of April^d. He promised an unlimited pardon to all his subjects, an absolute oblivion of all the past. He declared, that he would immediately call a parliament, inform himself, through them, of the inclinations of his people, and redress, by their concurrence, former grievances, and give every security for their future happiness. He promised to protect the church of England; to secure to its members all the churches, universities, colleges, and schools; to confirm their immunities, rights, and privileges. He pledged his word to recommend to his parliament an impartial liberty of

His declaration

^c Stuart-papers, 1693.^d April 17, N. S.

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conscience. He declared, that he would never violate the test, and that he would leave the dispensing power of the crown, in other matters, to be explained and limited by the representatives of the nation. He solemnly promised to give his assent to all such bills as should be found necessary to shorten the duration of parliaments, to secure the freedom of elections, the fair returns of members, and impartial trials.

to the people
of England.

To regain the favour of those who had been most active in the late revolution, he engaged himself to ratify and confirm all such laws, during the government of William, as should be tendered to him by his parliament. He declared his willingness to re-establish, in the most ample manner, the act of settlement of Ireland, as passed in his brother's reign; to relinquish the chimney-money, or any other part of the revenue, as should be deemed burdensome to the people, for any other more easy assessment. He assured his people, that he had formed his declaration upon the advice of a great number of his subjects of all ranks and degrees; who had already adjusted the manner of his re-ascending the throne. To remove the apprehensions of his subjects, that great sums might be demanded by France, he positively assured them, that his most Christian Majesty expected no compensation, but the glory of having succoured an injured Prince. He added, that he was on the eve of coming to vindicate his own right, and to establish the liberties of his people; and he concluded with solemnly praying that God might so give him success, in the prosecution of the one, as he was sincere in his intentions to confirm the other.

Legal feveri-
ties.

A month after this declaration was dated in France, it was dispersed privately in England, by the adherents of the late King. Some persons who had undertaken that dangerous office, were

* Printed Declaration.

secured;

secured; and, upon slender proofs, punished severely for a high misdemeanour^f. Several violent libels against the government, had raised the resentment and indignation of the courts of justice. C H A P.
I.
1693. The legal severities, of which the people formerly complained, seemed, in some cases, to be renewed in all their horror. One Anderton was seized^g, by the messenger of the press, as the printer of two seditious pamphlets, and committed, for a misdemeanour, to Newgate. But when he offered sufficient bail, he was, by a fresh warrant, continued in prison for high treason. On the trial of this unfortunate person, no positive evidence of guilt appeared. Though the statute of treason allowed no conjectural presumptions, no strained inferences, no forced constructions, he was at length condemned. Treby, lord-chief-justice of the common-pleas, and formerly a vehement patriot, presided at his trial; and was said to have even surpassed Jefferys himself, in violence upon this occasion. He brow-beat the prisoner. He rejected, without any answer, his defence. He reviled and threatened the jury, when they seemed to lean to the favourable side. The novelty of Anderton's case, being the first who had ever suffered death for printing, raised the attention of the public. The lameness of the proof was generally condemned; and to convict upon presumptions, in cases of treason, was deemed a dangerous innovation^h. But when a nation is divided into two inveterate parties, it is difficult to exclude violence, even from the seats of justice.

THE King, impatient to open the campaign in Flanders, left Kensington, on the thirty-first of March, and arrived in the Meuse, on the second of April. The French had disturbed the winter itself, with military excursions and attacks. They had taken Furnes and Dixmuyde, in the end of November, with their garrisons, consisting chiefly of the English who had reduced those places, in the close of the preceding campaign. His own

Campaign in
Flanders.

^f May 15.

^g May 2.

^h Anderton's Case.

preparations,

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preparations, the necessity of settling, previously, the councils of the Allies, and the difficulty of assembling the forces, detained the King at Loo and the Hague, till the middle of May. Having joined the troops of the Allies at Deigham, he marched from thence to Parks, near Louvaine; and, by that judicious position, is said to have broken the designs of France upon Brabant. Lewis the Fourteenth, with an equipage more suitable to a triumph than a campaign, joined his army, consisting of one hundred thousand men, on the second of June. Maestricht, Charleroy, Huy, Brussels, and Liege, dreaded by turns the fall of the storm. But the French King having fallen sick, soon after his arrival, returned to Versailles, and left to the Mareschal de Luxembourg the conduct of military operations in Flanders. Luxembourg, on the fifteenth of June, placed his head-quarters at Meldert, within half a league of the camp of the Allies. The two armies continued in this situation above a month. Each endeavoured to find an opportunity of giving battle to advantage; while both suffered great hardships from the incessant rains.

The French
attack

THE Mareschal de Luxembourg, despairing to force William to fight at a disadvantage, left his camp, on the eighteenth of July. He sat down before Huy; which surrendered in two days. Having amused the enemy with a feigned design upon Liege, he suddenly quitted his post at Hellicheim, crossed the Jaar in four columns, directed his march toward the Allies; being determined to attack them in their camp, or if they retreated, to fall upon their rear. His van was in sight, before they were apprized of his march. The King made the necessary preparations for receiving the enemy with vigour. He sent away his heavy baggage. He ordered his infantry to intrench themselves in the front of his camp. The river Geette bounded his right, and ran, winding, along his rear. On the left, and in the front of the left, was the
brook

brook of Landen. A thick hedge joining with one end, the Geette covered part of the front of his right wing. The village of Neerwinden, with entrenchments before it, was situated between the left end of the hedge and the center. The village of Romfdorff stood farther advanced, opposed to the front of the left wing; and the entrenchment before it stretched to the rivulet of Landen. A line of entrenchments extended themselves behind the two villages; and behind these, the army of the Allies was formed. Their whole front was covered with one hundred pieces of cannon; which, by being advantageously placed, on an eminence, commanded all the approaches to their line¹.

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1693.

ON the evening^k of his arrival in fight of the Allies, the Marechal de Luxembourg dislodged a detachment of the enemy, posted in the village of Landen, which stood advanced before the brook of that name. Between this village and that of Romfdorff, he placed forty battalions, in the night. He formed his center of eight lines of horse and foot intermixed. His horse, on the left wing, were ordered to extend themselves to the Geette, opposing their line to the thick hedge which covered the front of the enemy's right. The French were formed before five in the morning, and the cannonading began on both sides. Six brigades, under the Duke of Berwick and two other lieutenant-generals, attacked the village of Neerwinden. This important post was carried. But it was soon recovered by the vigilance of William; who had the good fortune, at the same instant, to see his enemies repulsed on every side. The center of the French army was not properly sustained by either wing. But the Marechal de Luxembourg was not to be intimidated. He made a second effort on Neerwinden. He succeeded. He was again repulsed. He resolved to attack some other quarter of the enemy. They were inaccessible every where. The village of Neerwinden is a third

and defeat
William

¹ Mem. de Feuquieres.

^k July 28.

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time attacked. William, with great bravery, led twice the English infantry to the entrenchment, which the enemy endeavoured to force. Nothing, however, could resist the impetuosity of the French. Their center, reinforced by their right, opened a way for their cavalry into the very lines of the Allies. They flanked the English. They charged and put to flight the troops of Hanover. They overturned and routed the Spaniards¹.

at Landen.

WILLIAM perceiving this disorder, advanced suddenly with a part of his left wing. But the enemy gave him no time to form. They flanked the Dutch horse, as they came. They broke them, in a furious onset, before the English could draw into a line. The King, however, was not to be driven from the field. He ordered his troops to charge as they found themselves. His efforts were attended with some success, when he perceived his right wing driven headlong into the Geette. Nothing but confusion could now be seen throughout the camp. Slaughter and flight prevailed every where, on the field. The bridge being too much crowded by the runaways, many were drowned in the river. William retreated, in some order, with the remains of the left wing. He, however, left a complete victory to the enemy. Sixty-six pieces of cannon, eight mortars, eighty standards, colours, and other trophies fell into the hands of the French. Twelve thousand of the Allies lay dead in this bloody field. Two thousand were made prisoners. The Marechal de Luxembourg gained little but glory from the battle of Landen. He lost eight thousand of his best troops in the action; and his army was so much weakened, by the number wounded, that he could take no advantage of the consternation of the enemy^m.

Reflections
on his con-
duct.

WILLIAM displayed, upon this occasion, great courage and presence of mind. He exposed his person to danger. He issued

¹ William's account. Gazettes.

^m Hist. de France, tom. iii.

his

his orders with coolness. He was present every where; but he has, notwithstanding, been censured, for hazarding, in his circumstances, a general engagement. He had detached a considerable number of his troops, under the Duke of Wertemberg, and he had sent a reinforcement to the garrison of Liegeⁿ. In point of numbers, he was much inferior to Luxembourg. He had sufficient time to retreat beyond the Geette, and to cover himself from insult behind that river^o. His post, however, was so strong, that his officers encouraged him to fight; and he himself was extremely anxious to recover the laurels which he had lost in the preceding campaign. Six weeks of inactivity succeeded the battle. Both sides, weakened by their losses, seemed unwilling to grapple again in the field. The Marechal de Luxembourg, being at length reinforced, by detachments from the coasts of Picardy and Normandy, as well as from the army on the Upper Rhine, moved toward Charleroy. He sat down before that place, on the eleventh of September. William made no efforts to raise the siege, though the garrison behaved themselves with a spirit that deserved relief. The King quitted the army on the fifth of October; and Charleroy surrendered on the eleventh of that month^p.

CHAP.
II.
1693.

ON the side of Germany, the French tarnished their success with acts of barbarity and cruelty. The Marechal de Lorges, having passed the Rhine at Philippsburgh without opposition^q, detached to Chamilli, with twenty thousand men, to invest Heidelberg. In the midst of dissensions, which prevailed among the garrison, that place was stormed. The soldiers and burghers were promiscuously put to the sword. When slaughter ended, rapine began. The houses were burnt, the churches pillaged, the inhabitants stripped naked, the women exposed to violence and lust. De Lorges, in the mean time, was prevented from passing the

Campaign in
the Upper
Rhine.

ⁿ Mem. de Feuquieres.

^p Hist. de France, tom. iii.

^o Ibid.

^q May 18.

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I.

1693.

Necker, by the Prince of Baden, who commanded the confederate army. The King of France having undertaken to the Ottomans, to make a powerful diversion on the side of Germany, had detached [†] twenty thousand men from the army in Flanders, to the Upper Rhine. When this reinforcement joined De Lorges, the Dauphin assumed the command of the army. That Prince, having dispersed, in vain, a manifesto containing humiliating terms of peace, advanced to the Necker, and crossed that river [‡], with twenty thousand men. The Germans, under the Prince of Baden, unable to contend with such superior numbers, avoided the risk of a battle, in a strong post. The Dauphin returned to Versailles. The French and Imperialists, having remained for some time in the field, in a state of inactivity, retired at length to their respective winter-quarters.

In Piedmont.

THE operations of the armies, on the side of Piedmont, having languished throughout the summer, ended in a decisive action, in the beginning of October [†]. The Duke of Savoy, at the head of the confederates, sat down before Pignerol. The Marechal de Catinat, having been reinforced with ten thousand men, from the army on the Upper Rhine, descended from the mountains; and, from his motions, seemed to threaten Turin. The Duke, having bombarded Pignerol, raised the siege, on the second of October. He advanced to the small river Cisola, where it passes by Marfaglia. He sent away his heavy baggage, resolving to engage De Catinat. The next day, the two armies came in fight, and formed themselves in order of battle. Neither side shewing any inclination to come to battle, the confederates lay all night on the field in their arms. When day-light appeared, the French were already formed. The allies were instantly in motion. The Imperial and Piedmontese cavalry, commanded by the Duke in person, covered the right wing. The infantry, consisting of the infantry of Savoy

[†] June 10.[‡] July 29.[†] October 4.

and

and Great Britain, were in the center, under the famous Prince Eugene. The Spaniards, led by their native officers, formed the left wing. The French began the attack in an unusual manner. They received the fire of the Spaniards, as they advanced, and then charged them, with bayonets fixed and sword in hand. The whole wing was broken in an instant, and thrown, in their confusion, on the center. The battle was sustained by the latter with great obstinacy. They were, however, broken, at length, and forced to fly. A complete victory remained to the French. The cannon, colours, standards, and light baggage of the allies, fell into the hands of the enemy. They lost eight thousand men in the field. The Duke of Schomberg, who commanded the troops in the pay of Great Britain, was wounded and taken prisoner. He was released, on his parole; and soon after died at Turin^u.

THE French were successful on every side during this campaign. In Catalonia, the Marechal de Noailles took Roses, in the fight of the enemy. The Spaniards, enfeebled by the despicable councils of Charles the Second, were unable to repel the victors. The French were too few and ill provided to pursue the advantages which they had obtained. Besides, the Marechal de Noailles had embarked six thousand men, to reinforce de Catinat's army in Piedmont. Both sides remained inactive from May till the end of the year. The war in Hungary produced no signal event. The Imperialists, under the Duke de Croy, laid siege to Belgrade in vain. After five weeks open trenches, they stormed the counter-scarp. But they were repulsed with great slaughter. The grand Vizier advanced, in the mean time, with an army. The Duke de Croy, having called a council of war, resolved to raise the siege. He sent away his heavy baggage. He repassed with his army, the Saave. The defeat of a few Tartars, in the neighbourhood

In Spain and
Hungary.

^u Mem. de Marq. Feuquieres. Gazettes.

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of Giulia, was magnified by the Imperialists, to cover the disgrace of an inactive and inglorious campaign^w.

Affairs at sea,

THE same bad fortune which pursued the allies by land, attended their operations at sea. The war in Flanders having ingrossed the whole attention of William, the navy was much neglected by his servants. Notwithstanding the great supplies that had been granted, the fleet was not ready to sail till the middle of May; and then it was feebly manned, and ill supplied with necessaries and provisions. Killegrew, Delaval, and Shovel, who executed the office of admiral, having been reinforced by the Dutch, arrived at St. Helens, on the seventh of May. The whole fleet was to have consisted of one hundred sail of men of war, seventy of which were to have been of the line. They, however, had not all rendezvoused when the admirals arrived. These officers, destitute of intelligence themselves, and receiving no orders from the ministry, were uncertain how to proceed. The French had made the greatest preparations, in all their ports. They repaired and refitted all their men of war. They bought and armed all the largest merchantmen. They manned, with activity and success, the whole fleet. All their ships, in the ports of the ocean, had assembled at Brest, under Tourville. The squadron equipped at Toulon, and commanded by D'Estrees, received orders to advance to the Streights. King James continued to solicit the court of France, to make another attempt on England; and the sanguine adherents of that unfortunate Prince could ascribe such preparations to nothing but a fixed resolution to re-establish their master on his throne^x.

The Smyrna fleet,

THE eyes of Lewis were turned to an object of much less importance, than the reduction of a great kingdom. The trading part of

^w Hist. des Ottomans, vol. ii.^x Stuart-papers, 1693.

the English nation had, ever since the commencement of the war, complained, with reason, of the little attention paid by government to the protection of commerce. Though powerful fleets were sent by the nation to sea, individuals had suffered much from the privateers of the enemy. The merchants resolved, therefore, to keep their richest ships in their ports, till sufficient convoys could be obtained. Some of these had been, for eighteen months, ready to sail^y. Their number every day accumulated. They had been promised a strong convoy in the winter. They were put off, however, by delays. Four hundred merchantmen, consisting of English, Dutch, and Hamburgers, bound for the Streights, lay waiting for a convoy, in May. On the nineteenth of that month, orders were sent from the admiralty, for the whole fleet to sail, as far as might seem requisite, with the merchantmen. They accordingly sailed on the thirtieth, and proceeded fifty leagues beyond Ushant. Sir George Rooke, with a squadron of twenty-three men of war, English and Dutch, proceeded with the trade toward the Streights. The main fleet, after having cruized a few days in the mouth of the channel, returned, for want of provisions, to Torbay^z.

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THOUGH the ministry had received no certain intelligence concerning the motions of the French, the fleet, commanded by Tourville, had sailed from Brest in the middle of May^a. That officer directed his course toward the Streights, to join the squadron expected from Toulon, under D'Estrees. He arrived in the bay of Lagos on the twenty-eighth of the same month. He lay in that place till the fifteenth of June, when Rooke and the fleet under his convoy appeared. The English admiral, deceived by false intelligence concerning the strength of the enemy, prepared to engage. Perceiving his mistake, he stood away with an easy sail. He ordered, at the same time, the merchantmen nearest

surprised by
the French.^y Burnet, vol. iii.^z Burchel's Naval History.^a May 16.

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to the land to shift for themselves in the ports of Spain. The enemy gaining fast upon him, he made sail. The French came up with the sternmost ships. Three Dutch men of war fell into the hands of the enemy. Eighty merchantmen were either taken in their flight, or destroyed in ports where they had taken shelter. The rest owed their escape to the bad conduct of Tourville. Had he kept the wind, he might have surrounded and taken the whole fleet; but when the Dutch ships stood in to the shore, he tacked after them, and lost the greatest opportunity of acquiring wealth and glory, with ease, that ever fortune threw in the way of an officer^b.

Discontents.

THE French admiral, vain of his success, insulted, without hurting, the coast of Spain. Rooke, losing sight of most of the merchantmen, made the best of his way to Madeira. He returned from that island to Ireland, and, soon after, rejoined the main fleet. The rest of the naval campaign, if the expression may be used, was ingloriously inactive. The admirals, having cruized for a few weeks in the mouth of the channel, were driven into Torbay by contrary winds. They were ordered round to St. Helens, and the capital ships laid up for the year. The victories of the enemy by land, the disgrace and loss of the nation at sea, the disappointment of individuals, and the discontents which ever accompany national misfortunes, filled the whole kingdom with complaints, murmurs, and noise. The merchants of London presented a remonstrance, rather than an address, to the Queen. They enumerated the hardships imposed upon trade, by the want of convoys. They exaggerated past evils, they magnified the present, they expressed their anxiety for the future. This spirit of resentment spread from London to the rest of the nation. In the events of the past years of the war, some glory had been blended with disappointment. But the present year was uni-

^b French Accounts.

formly

formly covered with misfortune and disgrace. Disputes in the cabinet were joined to the disgusts among the people; and thus a general clamour prevailed, which threatened consequences of the worst kind^c.

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IN the midst of this ferment, William arrived from Holland^d. The parliament were to meet on the seventh of November; and they were supposed to be infected with those jealousies and discontents which inflamed the people. The campaign had produced no event, either of advantage or glory, to sooth their resentment or to flatter their pride. The King himself was incapable of constraining his temper into a complaisance, which, with a generous people, might supply the want of success^e. The adherents of the late King, and even that Prince himself, were, in the mean time, extremely active in increasing the present clamours against the government. James was no stranger to the impatience of the English nation, under a disgrace on their own element, the sea^f. He continued his correspondence with the disaffected clergy. He appointed the deprived bishop of Norwich his agent to gain his brethren. He recommended to the church to obstruct the views of William in parliament. He advised the Tory part of the ministry to retain their offices, to increase their capacity to forward his service. The Marquis of Caermarthen, either disgusted with William, or in hopes of profiting by the restoration of James, had entered into the views of the latter Prince. James requested him to betray the councils of the King, and to obstruct and defeat his measures in parliament. He desired him, if he could depend upon his son, to induce him to keep his command in the navy. He instructed the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Marlborough, and the Lord Godolphin, to exert themselves secretly against William, to hinder, or at least to retard, the giving of money, to prevent the early sailing of the fleet, in the following year^g.

Intrigues of
James.

^c Burnet, vol. iii. Stuart papers, 1693.

^f James II. 1693.

^d Oct. 31.

^e Burnet, vol. iii.

^g Stuart papers, Oct. 1693.

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in England.

HE desired these lords to send him their advice concerning his own conduct. He asked them, whether he should write to the parliament? Whether the King of France should publish a formal declaration, that he entertained no views with regard to England, except the re-establishment of her native King? He desired them freely to advise him, in all matters concerning their interest and his own views. He requested Admiral Ruffel, who had continued his communications with the court of St. Germain, to endeavour to procure the command of the fleet. He desired him to suppress his resentment for his late disgrace. He intreated him to command his temper, to regulate his conduct with prudence and reserve, to raise no enemies that might obstruct his designs^b. The intrigues of James prevailed. William fell evidently into the snare. The adherents of the late King insinuated, that to restore Ruffel to the command of the fleet, was to soothe the nation for the miscarriages at sea. He was accordingly replaced in his former office, on the sixth of November. The anxiety with which James pursued this point, is as unaccountable as it is remarkable. Delaval and Killegrew, two out of the three joint admirals, were devoted to his service^c. But he, perhaps, perceived, that it was impossible for them to retain their offices in opposition to a torrent of popular clamours. The first had been raised by the late King, and owed every thing to that prince; and the latter depended on Caermarthen, who had resolved to favour a restoration.

Whigs as
well as To-
ries,

THOUGH James depended much upon the zeal of Admiral Ruffel, he derived still greater hopes from the Marquis of Caermarthen. Though that lord was in part prime minister to William, he had entered into the most solemn engagements with the late King. He had promised to gain to his interest the county of York, of which he was lord-lieutenant; to surrender to him the

^b MS. Instructions to Ruffel, Oct. 1693.^c Stuart-papers. Ibid.

citadel of Hull, of which he was governor. The want of success by land, the disgraces at sea, the unpopularity and forbidding manner of William, his bad state of health, which promised no permanency to the fabric which he had reared, disappointments in some, a return of their former principles in others, the discontents and even levity of all, had increased, to a surprising degree, the party of the abdicated King. The Whigs were equally forward with the Tories; and more dangerous, as they were more resolute in their political views. In the list of noble correspondents with the court of St. Germain, the two parties were blended with one another, in the present year. James had received the most solemn assurances from four dukes, four marquises, twenty earls, four viscounts, eleven barons, beside the Roman Catholics, in every degree of nobility.

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THE whole body of the non-juring clergy, consisting of six bishops, and six hundred ministers, and four fifths of those who had taken the oaths, were ready to join the late King, to preach in favour of his authority, to convince the people that the Protestant religion was in no danger. The cities of Bristol and Exeter in the West, and, in the North, the town of Boston, had signified their loyalty to James, through their respective leaders. The Earl of Yarmouth, in the name of seventeen baronets, and one hundred and thirty gentlemen, promised for the county of Norfolk. The gentlemen of Essex assured the late King, that they would join him with a body of cavalry, at a proper time. The Earl of Litchfield promised for the county and city of Oxford. The Earl of Lindsey for the county of Lincoln. Sir John Friend answered for a regiment of cavalry and two of militia, with which he hoped to possess himself of the Tower*. Colonel Selwin promised for Tilbury fort and a regiment of infantry; Lieutenant-colonel Row for his own regiment, Colonel Greenville for that of his uncle the

most of the
clergy, many
in the army,

* Stuart-papers, Oct. Nov. Dec. 1693.

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Earl of Bath. Crawford, governor of Sheerness, undertook to deliver that fort to James. The Marquis of Caermarthen, then president of the council, promised for Hull. The private soldiers, in some regiments, had formed associations for the late King. One hundred troopers of the royal regiment of cavalry acquainted him, that they had sufficient credit with their companions, to bring back the whole to their former allegiance. They even solemnly undertook to "cut the throats" of such of their comrades and officers, as should dare to oppose their design. In the north of England, seven regiments of cavalry and dragoons were privately listed, under officers, bearing commissions from the late King¹.

his former
greatest ene-
mies, and
those who

It is remarkable, that those who had been the most violent enemies of James, when he was on the throne, were his most zealous friends in his distress. The county of Somerset, the seat of Monmouth's rebellion and Jefferys's cruelties, was now ready to receive him with open arms. The town of Taunton itself, that had suffered so much eight years before, for opposing James, expressed the greatest affection for his person and the warmest zeal for his restoration. The legal severities of the year 1685 must, therefore, have been exaggerated; or the people acquitted the King of the rigorous conduct of his servants. The Lord Powlet, and the majority of the gentlemen of the county, together with the citizens of Taunton, solemnly engaged themselves to James, to rise in his cause. Even individuals were as unsteady to their former principles, as bodies of men. The famous Ferguson, who had uniformly abetted the opposition to the late King, till he lost his throne, employed, at this time, all the vehemence of his active spirit in his cause. He requested, he even implored him to invade the kingdom. To testify his own zeal, to encourage James with a certainty of his success, he proposed to deliver himself up in

¹ Stuart-papers, passim.

France to be punished with death, should the enterprize fail. Some of the clergy, who had most opposed James, ran so violently into the other extreme, that they were determined to form themselves into a company of volunteers, to serve in the regiment commanded by Sir John Friend^m.

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THE zeal of the clergy proceeded from their high principles in favour of monarchy. But to what principle can be ascribed the relentings of the Earl of Sunderland? That nobleman, who had hurried James into his worst measures to accomplish his ruin, endeavoured, by the like conduct, to place him again on the throne. William having distinguished Sunderland with his favour, for former services, furnished that lord, a second time, with an opportunity to betray. Having, with his usual address, convinced the adherents of King James of the sincerity of his repentance, he wrote a letter full of contrition for his past conduct, to that Prince. He told him, that a descent, with a competent force, was the only means of finishing the misfortunes of the King, and the miseries of the nation. He informed him, that from the state of the kingdom, an invasion could not fail of success. He declined to enter into particulars, because he was afraid his Majesty did not confide sufficiently in his advice. But when he should be assured that the King was satisfied with his fidelity, he promised to send the best intelligence, and to contribute all in his power to his service. The Earl of Arran vouched for the sincerity of Sunderland. The Earl of Marlborough pleaded in his favour. But James had felt so much from his treachery before, that even his pursuing the natural bias of his mind, with regard to William, could not convince him, for some time, that Sunderland was sincereⁿ.

betrayed him
before, are in
his interest.

SUCH was the secret state of affairs before, and some time after the two houses met, for the dispatch of the public business. Wil-

Parliament
meets.^m Stuart-papers, 1693. James II.ⁿ Ibid. 1694.

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William opened the session, on the seventh of November, with a speech from the throne. He lamented, that his usual joy at meeting his parliament, was damped by disadvantages by land, and miscarriages at sea. He ascribed the former to the number of their enemies. He expressed his resentment against the authors of the latter. He declared his resolution to punish the offenders. He promised to manage better, for the future, his power at sea. He desired them to consider, whether the kingdom was not defective in the number of ships; and in proper ports to annoy the enemy, and to protect themselves. He was very sensible, he said, of the great affection with which they had supported him against his enemies. But he was persuaded, that the experience of the last summer was sufficient to convince them all, that an increase of forces, by sea and land, was necessary, to put a happy period to the war. His allies, he said, had resolved to add to their troops. He formed no doubt, on his part, but his parliament would enable him, with a suitable supply, to follow their example. He earnestly requested the commons to hasten their grants, in order to render them effectual. On their expeditious councils would depend, he concluded, that forwardness in his preparations, which seemed necessary to the security and honour of the nation.

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

MANY in the lower house were attached to the late King. But the majority, though Tories in principle, had uniformly supported the cause of William. The people, discouraged with repeated misfortunes, and feeling the weight of the war on every branch of their commerce, were loud in demanding peace. Some of the Tory-leaders in office, particularly the Earl of Nottingham, joined the voice of the people. Others of the same party sacrificed their opinion to their interest; and adhered to the court. A dispute arose in the house, whether the miscarriages of the fleet, or the supply, should be the first object of their consideration. The

° Journals, Nov. 7, 1693.

question

question was carried for the latter, after a series of debates, which continued six days. On the thirteenth of November, the house unanimously resolved to support their Majesties, and their government, to their utmost power. Notwithstanding the vast sums raised in the preceding year, they had greatly fallen short of the expences of government. Those who served in the army, were in the utmost distress for money. More than one million of the wages of the seamen, without any funds, remained unpaid. Though the greatest severities were used, the sailors, in their distress, became mutinous for want of pay. The first business, therefore, of the commons, was to grant four hundred thousand pounds, by way of advance, to remove immediately a part of that grievance. This sum was to be raised on the general credit of the exchequer, upon the promise of the commons to repay it with interest, after the rate of seven per cent. under a caution, that this proceeding should form no precedent^p.

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WITH equal alacrity the commons entered upon the great business of supply. Upon the general estimates of the navy and army, they granted five millions, for the service of the following year. Forty thousand seamen, including two regiments of marines, were required by government, and voted by the house. But to a demand of one hundred thousand men, for the land-service, they granted only eighty-three thousand. In this only they seemed uncomplaisant to the court. Besides a provision made for paying all wages due to seamen, more than four hundred thousand pounds were voted, for making up the deficiencies in the grants of the preceding year. It was much more easy to grant the supplies in general, than to find particular funds, upon which they might be laid. The commons began with a land-tax. Four shillings in the pound were carried, as soon as proposed^q. The deficiencies of the last year were to be defrayed from this

They grant
large sup-
plies.

^p Journals, Nov. 25.

^q Dec. 21. Dec. 29.

ready.

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ready fund. The second money bill was a supplement to the million annuity act of the year 1692. Near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds were still deficient; though fourteen per cent. had been allowed. Some appropriations of excise duties were made for this purpose. The first lottery, and the bank of England, were two remarkable money-bills, in the present session of parliament. One million was raised by means of the first; and one million five hundred thousand pounds by the second. Still the ways and means fell short of the money wanted. New taxes were imposed, and appropriated as funds of credit, for raising the deficiencies which still subsisted in the necessary supplies.

Other pro-
ceedings

THE inquiry into the mismanagements at sea, produced nothing but altercation and debate. A general censure was passed. But the censure was attended with no consequences. The malcontents in the house of commons being the minority, founded their opposition on popular grounds. The bill for frequent parliaments was again introduced, and a second time rejected. The place-bill was passed by the commons, without opposition. The lords made amendments. But they withdrew them, and passed also that important bill. The facility with which it slipped through both houses, proceeded probably from the certainty that it was to be rejected by the King. The commons had become unpopular, through the vast sums which they had granted for supporting an inglorious war. To regain their credit with their constituents, they framed the place-bill. William, seldom subject to political terror, refused his assent^{*}; and though the commons, in all appearance, would have been much disappointed, had the place-bill passed into a law; they remonstrated against the conduct of the King. They voted, that whoever had advised the refusal of the royal assent to the act touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament, was an enemy to their Majesties and the kingdom. The King's answer

^{*} Journals, passim.

^{*} Jan. 25th, 1694.

was

was soothing, but nothing to the purpose. In return for their liberality, he permitted his commons to recover some part of their reputation with the people at his own expence^t.

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THE affairs of the East-India company, which had already employed so much of the attention of parliament, produced undecisive debates in the present session. The train of corruption, which soon after broke forth in such disgraceful discoveries, had been already laid. The complicated nature of the business, and the violent opposition of the merchants, prevented the friends of the company from making an immediate return for the favours which they had desired to receive. A bill for a general naturalization of all foreign Protestants, created violent debates in the house of commons. Those who opposed it, called the prejudices of the populace to the aid of their cause. They averred, that the design of the act was to place all the power and authority in England in the hands of Aliens. The people knew the affection of the King, for his countrymen the Dutch. They believed that he would sooner trust any foreigners than his own subjects. The Jacobite party, in particular, were vehement in their opposition. Sir John Knight, one of the members for the city of Bristol, who was at that very time in correspondence with James^u, spoke with uncommon violence against the bill. He concluded with a motion, that the bill should be kicked out of the house, and the foreigners out of the kingdom. The people were inflamed to a degree of madness; and the court-party sacrificed the bill to the public rage.

of the two
houses

To pursue the session to its period, we must transgress upon the order of time. The grievances of Ireland were again revived, as they had not been redressed, in pursuance of the King's promise. The Irish gentlemen who had made their appeal to the

of parlia-
ment.

^t Stuart-papers, 1693.

^u Ibid.

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English parliament, complained afresh of Coningsby and Porter; whose injustice and tyranny had exceeded all bounds. The Earl of Bellamont impeached them both, in the house of commons. The articles against Coningsby contained charges of the blackest kind; and the accusation against Porter, was scarce less severe. Bellamont supported, with vouchers, every charge. The commons seemed convinced of the guilt; but they declined to ground upon them an impeachment. The reason which they assigned, was plausible if not sufficient. They insinuated, that in times of domestic commotions and civil war, exertions of power might be necessary, which should not be punished, though they ought not to be approved. Though this argument satisfied the commons, it was notorious, that the crimes charged upon the accused, were committed after the establishment of a civil government and the opening of the courts of justice. Bellamont, for endeavouring to punish others, was actually persecuted himself. He was deprived of his place under the government, while Coningsby and Porter received a pardon under the great seal. The session ended with a speech from the throne, on the sixteenth of April.

Journals, passim.

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*Secret intrigues.—Of Marlborough.—Ruffel.—Shrewsbury.
 Godolphin.—Sunderland.—Whigs and Tories in office.—
 —An expedition against Brest.—Betrayed by Marlborough.
 —Campaign of 1694.—Proceedings of parliament.—
 Triennial bill.—Death and character of the Queen.—Grief
 of William.—Reflections of James.—Lancashire plot.—
 Inquiry into abuses.—Speaker expelled.—Corrupt practices,
 in India affairs.—Duke of Leeds impeached.—Parliament
 prorogued.—Campaign of 1695.—Siege of Namur.—Cam-
 paign in Italy, Germany, and Spain.—Disasters at sea.—
 Affairs of Scotland.—Affairs of Ireland.—Intrigues of James
 in England.—Situation of William.—His progress.—A
 new parliament.—Debates on the coin-act.—Address against
 the Scots.—New council of trade.—Address against the
 Earl of Portland.—Assassination-plot.—A projected inva-
 sion.—Zeal of the two houses.—Schemes of the late King
 broken.—Conspirators punished.—Proceedings of the par-
 liament.*

WHILE the parliament were employed in granting sup-
 plies to William, the agents of James were forming
 secret schemes against his power. Men of the first quality in the
 nation, and some of those in office, endeavoured, with every
 flattering colour of the state of affairs, to encourage Lewis the
 Fourteenth to transport an army into Britain. They observed, in
 their letters to the late King, that a descent in England would
 infallibly break the league; and enable France to finish with ad-
 vantage, as well as reputation, the war. They assured him, that
 while the confederates remained united, the kingdom would be
 wretched and his own affairs obstructed, if not ruined. Penn, the

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Several per-
sons of rank.

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famous Quaker, informed James, in express terms, "that while there was a fool in England, the Prince of Orange would have a pensioned parliament to give him supplies." Among others, the Earl of Marlborough continued to espouse, with eagerness, his former master's cause. He intreated him to take advantage of the unprepared state of the English fleet. He gave him the most solemn assurances of his own services, and the hearty aid of all his party and numerous friends^a.

in correspon-
dence with
the late King.

THE adherents of the late King, in all their representations in the preceding year, agreed that thirty thousand men would be necessary to ensure a revolution in England. When they perceived a coldness in the court of France, they lessened their demands. In the month of February they assured James, that they found his party much stronger than they had ever imagined before. They said twenty thousand men would now be sufficient to give him, without a battle, the throne. They affirmed, that the nation expected, with impatience, his arrival. They told him, that England could not, till the month of April, send to sea above twenty-five third and fourth rate men of war, and these not completely manned. That no more than seven thousand five hundred troops were then in the kingdom; and that even these would be diminished to four thousand, when the regiments destined for Flanders, should embark for that country^b. Lewis listened, with some attention, to the unfortunate King. But he meant nothing less, than to support, with any vigour, his cause. Though victorious in the field, he was oppressed with calamities at home. Having exerted his whole force in the late campaigns, he had already impoverished his subjects with grievous taxes. Besides, a terrible famine had added, in the preceding summer, to the miseries which arose from the war^c.

^a Stuart papers, 1693, 1694.^b Ibid. Feb. 1694.^c Hist. de France, tom. iii.

BUT

BUT James was not discouraged, either with the languor of Lewis or the exhausted state of France. Though he placed little confidence^d in the professions of the noble converts to his cause, he sent Captain Lloyd, in the month of March, to England. To facilitate his access to Admiral Ruffel, and to the Earls of Marlborough and Shrewsbury, he ordered him to apply to Colonel Sackville, their common friend. Marlborough was the first of the malcontents who presented himself to Lloyd. He informed him, that he had been solicited by William to come again into office. But that he did not chuse to accept, without the consent of his old master. Lloyd assured him, that James had actually heard of the offer; and that he had ordered him to signify his consent. "The thing," replied Marlborough, "is now past. Should the offer, which may well happen, again be made, I will accept. But it is only to serve the King; for whose re-establishment I am resolved to risque my life to expiate my crimes^e." He had made the same professions to James himself in a letter, in the preceding December. Admiral Ruffel received Lloyd with still greater marks of attention and regard. He assured him, with the strongest asseverations and even with oaths, that he would undertake the restoration of the late King. He promised to endeavour to gain the officers of the fleet. He reiterated his most solemn protestations of fidelity. He told him, that the Earls of Shrewsbury and Marlborough should be the witnesses, the judges and sureties of his conduct. He, however, refused to avoid the French fleet; "though," said he, "I once determined to execute that business, as it depended then on myself alone^f."

LLOYD, not yet satisfied with the answer of Ruffel, opened various expedients to his view. He told him that there certainly was a design in agitation for making a descent on the coast of France.

^d Stuart-papers, March, 1694. James II. 1694.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid. 1694.

He,

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Marlbo-
rough,

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He, therefore, requested Ruffel to send timely information to James, that transports might be prepared, where no attack could be feared. He proposed, that toward the end of autumn, when the large ships should be disarmed and convoys sent to America, he might retain in the channel such commanders as he should gain in the summer. That, safe in their fidelity, he might himself transport such troops, as might be necessary for accompanying the late King to England. He still protested, but seemed unwilling to determine on any plan. Lloyd gave an account to the Earl of Marlborough and to Sackville of his conference with Ruffel. They observed, that he said a great deal, could he be trusted. But that if he was not sincere, all he could say would answer no purpose^e.

Shrewsbury,

THE Earl of Shrewsbury had succeeded Nottingham as secretary of state, on the fourth of March, a few days before Lloyd arrived from France. His being in office prevented him from admitting into his presence the avowed agent of the late King. He, however, sent his mother, the old Countess of Shrewsbury, to Lloyd, with assurances of his fidelity. He instructed her to inform him, that upon being solicited to take the seals, he declined that honour, under the pretence of want of health. That William insinuated he was no stranger to some words which the earl had dropt in conversation, in favour of the late King. That the earl perceived there might be some danger in refusing the offer. That he, therefore, promised to accept. But that he requested a few days, to settle his affairs in the country. That he accordingly retired, with some friends, well mounted. That, as reports of an immediate descent were then current, he had resolved to join James on his landing. That he was disappointed in his hopes, to his very great regret. That he was obliged to take the seals, on his return. But that he only held them, to serve the late King with more effect^h.

^e Stuart-papers, passim.^h Ibid. March 1694.

GODOLPHIN was, at this juncture, first lord-commissioner of the treasury. Though he was trusted by William, he affected to be in the interest of the late King. He explained to Lloyd his sentiments of James, in the most affectionate manner in the world. He expressed his fears, that a peace was likely to be concluded before the end of the next summer. He told him, that he was sorry to believe, from the words of the Prince of Orange, for so he called the reigning King, that the terms would be highly prejudicial to the late King. He informed him, that William would endeavour to oblige the most Christian King to send James out of the dominions of France. That he thought it his duty to acquaint his old master of the designs of his enemy and rival. He told it as his opinion, that King James should forthwith endeavour to transport himself into England, with a considerable force. That there appeared to him no difficulty in making a descent in this kingdom, without either the aid or concurrence of Ruffel. That, however, he ought still to be treated with attention. That he had said all that could be expected from a person in his situation. That the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was sincerely in the interest of the late King, possessed an absolute influence over Ruffel. He assured Lloyd, that Ruffel would infallibly appear before Brest. That this circumstance would give a just pretence to Lewis to send an army to the coast. He advised, therefore, that the necessary transports might be prepared in the summer, to carry to Britain the invaders in autumn. He told him, that the large vessels would return to port in the middle of September. That the sailors would be dispersed, the convoys sent to the different places of commerce, the coast left bare of men of war. That he believed a revolution might be effected without a blow; as nine in ten of the people, either heartily detested William, or were firmly attached to the late King¹.

C H A P.
II.1694.
Godolphin,¹ Stuart-papers, March 1694.

THOUGH

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II.1694.
Sunderland,

THOUGH the Earl of Sunderland possessed no office under William, he held, for an Englishman, a high place in his favour. Swayed by the natural levity of his own mind, or infected with the changed opinions of others, he continued his correspondence with the late King. He, however, was more guarded in his intercourse with that Prince, than those great men who trusted their lives and fortunes in the hands of intermediate agents. His son-in-law the Earl of Arran, who first promoted his intrigues with the court of St. Germain's, was the only person in the secret in Britain^k. In France, James concealed, with great caution, his intercourse with a man who had so much injured his cause before. Sunderland pressed the late King to an immediate invasion upon various grounds. He intreated that Prince to take advantage of the changed opinions of the people; their contempt for William, their discontent at the late heavy taxes, their losses at sea, their disappointments in the war by land. These circumstances, he informed him, would ensure a favourable reception to himself in the kingdom, while the design of sending the greatest part of the fleet to the Streights, and almost the whole of the army to Flanders, would render his passage easy and his success certain. He advised the late King not to be intimidated with the great supplies granted to the reigning Prince, as the money given by the parliament, could not be raised in time to place the kingdom in a state of defence^l.

Whigs and
Tories pro-
miscuously
in office.

WHILE Sunderland tendered thus his advice to James, HE and the Earl of Portland formed the secret cabinet of William^m. That Prince felt some part of the misfortunes, which he had contributed to throw on his predecessor, when he sat on the throne. He was worst served by those whom he courted the most. Impressed with the opinion, that interest forms the prin-

^k Stuart-papers, March 1694.^l Stuart-papers.^m Dutch encroachments, p. 20.

ciples of men, he resolved to bribe into fidelity those whom he could not otherwise trust. In the arrangements of the present year, he seems however to have regarded most the supposed Whigs. The admiralty, in particular, was placed in the hands of that party. Ruffel was made first commissioner; Rook and Houblon supplanted the obnoxious admirals Delaval and Killigrew, at the board. Though William seems to have entertained some well-grounded suspicions of Shrewsbury, that nobleman was accounted a Whig by the nation; and though the Marquis of Caermarthen was considered a Tory, by principle, his known prudence was deemed a security for his faith to the prevailing powers. But some other persons of rank, who were known to be adverse to the late revolution, were either continued in employment or raised to office. Among the latter, the Earl of Abingdon, then actually in correspondence with James, succeeded to a place of profit, vacant by the death of the Lord Lovelace^a.

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ON the twenty-fifth of April, a few days after he prorogued his parliament, William went to Gravesend to embark at that place for Holland. The wind proving contrary, he returned to Kensington the next day. This accident furnished the King with a further opportunity of gratifying some of his principal subjects with dignities and honours. But though he had of late shown some attention to the Whigs, his first care seems still to have been commanded by the Tories. The Marquis of Caermarthen was created, on the thirtieth of April, Duke of Leeds. The title of Duke of Shrewsbury was conferred upon the Earl of the same name. The Earl of Clare, then deeply engaged with James^o, was raised to the dignity of Duke of Newcastle. The Earl of Mulgrave, a secret abettor of the designs of the late King^p, was made Marquis of Normanby, with an annual pension of three thousand pounds. But no titles of honour, nor even views of

Titles conferred.

^a Gazette.
VOL. II.

^p Stuart-papers, 1693, 1694.

K

^p Ibid.
profit,

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profit, could reconcile these men either to the manner or title of the King. Shrewsbury and Leeds, whose advice Mary was implicitly to follow, in her husband's absence, were to have embarrassed and betrayed her councils, should her father appear with a force in England¹. To stop their clamours, rather than to gratify the party who had raised him to the throne, the King, before his departure for Holland, had ordered patents for dukedoms to be prepared, for the Earls of Bedford and Devonshire. The first derived his title to a name in party, from the fate of his unfortunate son. Disappointments in his views for the public, as well as personal neglect, had rendered the latter indifferent concerning the fate of William, and the permanency of his authority².

Preparations
at sea.

ON the fourth of May, the King embarked at Gravesend. But the wind being contrary, he went by land to Margate; and was escorted from that place to Holland by a squadron of Dutch men of war. The projected operations of the summer at sea, had employed a great part of his attention during the winter. His councils, however, were betrayed. The destinations of the different squadrons were generally known³. Nothing but the time of their departure, which depended upon accidents, remained a secret. Sir Francis Wheeler, with a strong squadron of English and Dutch men of war, had been sent to convoy the trade to the Mediterranean, in the end of the preceding year. On the seventeenth of February, a terrible tempest overtook his fleet, in the bay of Gibraltar. The admiral himself, some ships of war, and several merchantmen were lost. The rest were disabled. Some took shelter in Gibraltar, many in the harbour of Cadiz. The combined fleets were not assembled on the coast of England, till the end of April. Russel hoisted his flag, at Portsmouth, on the twenty-seventh of that month; and his avowed design was to sail into the Mediterranean, to defend the ports of Spain from the

¹ Stuart-papers, 1693, 1694.

² Ibid. 1690, 1691.

³ Ibid. 1694.

French ;

French who were resolved to make the principal effort of the campaign on that side^t.

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An expedition
against
Brest.

BUT the chief enterprise of the season, was to be directed against Brest. The Lord Godolphin had furnished the late King, in the month of March, with this important intelligence^u. But from the uncertainty which attended the sailing of the fleet, he could not fix the time. General Talmash, contrary to the express opinion of Ruffel, promoted first, and at length carried this design. When the admiral hoisted his flag, at St. Helens, the land-forces destined for the expedition, were on their march, under Talmash, to Portsmouth. The French had made no secret of their resolution to assist, with their whole fleet, the designs of the Marechal de Noailles upon Barcelona. The court of Spain had concerted with William, to send the main body of the combined fleet to protect the place. Men in general believed that the force under Talmash, was destined for the same service. The French were either ignorant of the preparations of the English, or they knew not where the storm was to fall. The alarm concerning Brest, which had been raised by the intelligence sent by Godolphin to James, had already subsided. Besides, the danger of France, upon that side, had been lessened by the actual sailing of her fleet from the port of Brest, on the fifteenth of April^v.

THE zeal of the Earl of Marlborough for the service of the late King, or his aversion to the reigning Prince, induced that nobleman to become, upon this occasion, an informer against his country. He transmitted, through the hands of colonel Sackville, intelligence of the danger to which France was exposed. His letter was dated on the fourth of May. He informed King James that twelve regiments encamped at Portsmouth, with two regiments of marines, all commanded by Talmash, were designed

Betrayed by
the Earl of
Marlbo-
rough, May
4th.

^t Burnet, vol. iii.^u Stuart papers, 1694.^v April 15th, N. S.

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for destroying Brest, and the ships of war in that harbour. He owned, that success in the enterprise would prove of great advantage to England. But that no consideration could now hinder, or ever should prevent him from informing his Majesty of all that he believed to be for his service. He desired the late King to make the best use of the intelligence. He told him, that he might depend on its being exactly true. But he conjured him, for his own interest, to keep the secret to himself and the Queen. He informed him that Ruffel was to sail, the next day, with forty ships; and that the rest of the fleet, with the land-forces, were to follow the admiral, in ten days. He had endeavoured, he said, to learn the whole from Ruffel. But he always denied the fact, though he was no stranger to the design, for six weeks before. "This," continues the Earl, "gives me a bad sign of this man's intention." Sackville, who transmitted the letter, formed, for the same reason, a like unfavourable opinion of Ruffel. He mentioned, "that THE MAN had not acted sincerely; and that he feared he would never act otherwise*."

The enter-
prise mis-
carries.

THE event established the truth of the intelligence transmitted by Marlborough. Ruffel sailed, the next day, with a part of the combined fleets. Shovel remained at St. Helens, with the rest, to take Talmash and his troops on board. On the twenty-third of May, the admiral, having discovered that the French squadron had left Brest, returned. On the twenty-ninth, he again put to sea with the forces; and, on the fifth of June, the division of the fleet destined to attack Brest, bore down for Camaret Bay, under the command of the Lord Berkley. Nine hundred men were landed, in a disorderly manner, on the eighth of June, under the fire of some men of war. The bay was lined with intrenchments, which were full of the French marines. The English having, for some time, sustained the fire of the

* Stuart-papers, May 1694. James II. 1694.

enemy,

enemy, suffered much and were forced to fly. To add to the misfortune, it was now ebbing tide, and several boats were left dry on the sand. Confusion and slaughter prevailed. Six hundred were slain, many were drowned. Talmaſh himſelf received a wound, of which he afterwards died at Plymouth. The ſhips, which covered the landing, were ſhattered by the batteries which guarded the ſhore. One Dutch frigate was ſunk, after loſing almoſt her whole crew. The French had profited ſo much by the intelligence of Marlborough, that the Engliſh choſe to return, without any further attempt, to their own coaſt^y.

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THIS diſgrace at ſea was not repaired by any ſplendid advantage obtained by land. The French, ſtanding on the deſenſive, in Flanders, amused William, with dextrous movements, throughout the ſummer. With ſcarce half the force of the allies, the Dauphin, aſſiſted by the Mareſchal de Luxembourg, covered from inſult the French lines. The King was forced to remain in a ſtate of inactivity, with the fineſt army he had ever brought into the field. The rapid movement of the French from Vignamont, was the moſt ſignal event of the whole campaign. Having marched forty leagues, in four days, they formed an impenetrable line, from the Lys to the ocean; and prevented William from attacking, by land, the maritime places, which his fleet had inſulted by ſea. He, however, found means to beſiege and take the town and caſtle of Huy. He ended the campaign with this exploit; and left the army, on the thirtieth of September. To ſtop the progreſs of the King, on the ſide of Flanders, was deemed equal to a victory by the court of Verſailles. The confederates, it is certain, had never a nearer proſpect of ſucceſs; but their hopes were defeated, by the conſummate abilities of the Mareſchal de Luxembourg^z.

Campaign in
Flanders.

WHILE the war languished in Flanders, the French pushed In Spain, their operations, with vigour, on the ſide of Spain. In Catalonia,

^y Burnet. Marq. of Caermarthen's Journal. ^z Hiſt. de France, vol. iii. Kennet. Ralph.

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the Marechal de Noailles, having forced the passage of the river Ter, defeated the Spanish army intrenched on the further shore. He took Palamos, by assault, on the seventh of June. Gironne and Ostalric fell successively into his hands. His designs upon Barcelona were defeated, by the arrival of Ruffel, with the combined fleet, in the neighbouring seas. Tourville, with his squadron, was blocked up in the port of Toulon. The absence of their ships stopt the progress of the French; but a panic had seized the King, and shaken the councils of Spain. The Queen-mother, a daughter of Austria, and devoted to the views of her family, prevented Charles the Second from soliciting peace, on advantageous terms. Intrigue, jealousy, and even murder prevailed at court. The Queen-mother gained the young Queen, by supporting her supposed lover, the Baron de Perlis. The Duke d'Ossona, who alone remained faithful to the interest of his master, was poisoned; and the public measures were distracted, between the feeble efforts of a weak monarch and a faction devoted to the court of Vienna^a.

Other mili-
tary transac-
tions.

IN Piedmont the campaign was inactive; and nothing of moment happened upon the Upper-Rhine. The Duke of Savoy was employed in secret negotiations with France. The Emperor made his chief effort on the side of Hungary. The war, in the latter country, produced no striking event; but the Poles, in alliance with the Imperialists, defeated the Tartars on the Neister in the month of October^b. The operations of the combined fleets in the ocean, after the fruitless attempt upon Brest, were either languid or ill-directed. The lord Berkley bombarded Diep^c, with some effect. He was not equally successful at Havre. He proceeded from thence to La Hogue and Cherbourg. But his progress was more a matter of parade than service. William, anxious to make an impression on France, on the side of Flanders, had recommend-

^a Hist. d'Espagne, tom ii.^b Oct. 26.^c July 12.

ed an attempt upon Dunkirk and Calais, in the course of the summer. A squadron, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and subject to the directions of one Meesters, a Dutchman, came before the first of those places, on the twelfth of September. This man had invented a machine, which from the fury of its discharge was called the *Infernal*. Two of these machines were sent in against the fort, which guarded the Risbank. The first blew up without effect; the latter spent its effect on itself, and was destroyed. The attempt on Calais^d was equally unsuccessful; and thus the naval campaign, in the ocean, if the expression may be used, produced neither glory nor advantage to the nation^e.

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THE King, having left the army on the last day of September, repaired to his favourite residence at Loo. On the twenty-third of October, he departed from that place; and having adjusted, at the Hague, the state of the war, for the ensuing year, he set sail from the Maese, on the eighth of November, and landed at Margate the next day. The Queen having met him at Rochester, they arrived at Kensington on the tenth in the evening, amidst the acclamations of the populace. The parliament, after repeated prorogations, meeting on the twelfth at Westminster, the King informed them in his speech, that he was glad to inform them of the good posture of public affairs. He told them, that the enemy had not been in a condition to meet the fleet, in these seas; that the great force sent into the Mediterranean, had broken all their designs in Spain; and that an effectual stop had been put to the progress of the French arms, on the side of Flanders. He doubted not, he said, either their affection for his person, or their zeal for the public service. He, therefore, demanded such supplies as might enable him to prosecute the war with that vigour, which was best calculated to procure peace. He put them in mind,

King arrives.
Parliament
meets.

^d July 19.

^e Burchit.

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that the act of tonnage and poundage was to expire at Christmas; and that the great anticipations had rendered that revenue necessary for the support of the crown ^f.

A supply
granted.

The commons, declining to proceed to business, adjourned themselves for seven days; a circumstance, that seemed to indicate, that the plan of government was either not settled, or that the heads of the opposing party were to be founded and gained. A bill for frequent parliaments, which has since obtained the name of the triennial bill, seems to have been the price of the demanded supplies. The absolute necessity of a frequency of parliaments had been asserted, in the declaration of rights. But the demands of the subject, on this important point, had been expressed in such indefinite terms, that they had been hitherto eluded with ease by the crown. The measure was prosecuted with such an appearance of firmness, that the court party chose to comply. The bill was accordingly prepared ^g, and it was followed with a vote of supply ^h. Two millions and near four hundred thousand pounds were granted for the service of the navy ⁱ; and the like sum to support the army, throughout the ensuing year. The house voted, that the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, which expired on the twenty-fourth of December, should begin from the twenty-sixth, and continue for five years. The discontinuing of these duties, for one day, was intended to prevent the pretence of prescription, on the side of the crown, for revenues, which ought to be considered as the free gift of the subject.

Triennial bill.

The King came to the house of lords, on the twenty-second of December, and gave the royal assent to the triennial bill. Two reasons ^k seem to have combined, to induce William to give his concurrence to an act, which he had defeated the preceding year.

^f Journals, Nov. 12.^h Nov. 21.^g Ibid. Nov. 21.ⁱ Dec. 3.^k Burnet, vol. iii.

The

The commons, he found, were resolved to receive this concession from the crown, as the price of a supply for the war. Besides, the Queen had been taken ill of the small-pox, the day before, with incurable symptoms of that dangerous disease. He was unwilling, therefore, by an exertion of the prerogative, to shake his influence with the nation; which would necessarily be weakened by the event of her death. His prudence only could, in this instance, overcome his attachment to what he deemed to be the inherent right of the crown. The commons, however, in asserting the liberties of the subject, appeared not to have neglected themselves. In the second clause of the bill, they implied the continuance of the parliament then subsisting, for three years. This selfish provision was not passed without censure in the house of peers; for some lords, at the last reading, protested against the bill, as tending to the continuance of the present parliament longer than was agreeable to the constitution of England¹.

THE distemper of the Queen, from bad symptoms, advanced rapidly to worse, till it terminated in her death, on the twenty-eighth of December. Her figure, her manner, her affability, the decency of her carriage, and equality of her temper, rendered her sincerely and generally beloved, by a people ever fond of the virtues of their princes. In her person, she was tall and graceful, full proportioned and easy in all her motions. Though her complexion was not fair, the lineaments of her face were regular and well-combined. A lively and piercing eye threw such a pleasing light on her countenance, that she even might be called a woman of beauty. The genuine features of her mind are difficult to be traced, as her passions were neither uncommon in their kind, nor strong in their degree. A strict attention to her husband, and even an absolute subserviency to his will, seem to have been more the rule of her life, than those more majestic virtues, which alone

Death and
character of
the Queen.

¹ Journals of the Lords, Dec. 18.

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1694.

could thoroughly justify her political conduct. When she held the reins of government, she displayed more prudence than ability, and less of art than of solidity of judgment. Unambitious in her disposition, and subdued in her youth to obedience, she was ever uneasy under the weight of power; and she always resigned her authority, not only with indifference, but even with pleasure. Her private virtues, in short, were chiefly conjugal. She was not a kind sister; and none will affirm that she was an affectionate daughter. Her situation, it must be confessed, was cruel and difficult; as it was only through a breach of the ties of nature, she could become at all an object of public applause.

Grief of
William.

THOUGH William was neither a fond husband, nor subject to feelings of a delicate kind, he exhibited every symptom of an unfeigned grief upon the death of the Queen. Her amiable manner, and an habitual attention to all his commands, had, it seems, made an impression on his mind, which he had not cared to own. Besides, gratitude had, perhaps, supplied the place of a warm affection in his breast. The Queen certainly deserved every return of friendship at his hands. She had acted, in all respects toward him, as if virtue consisted solely in the implicit obedience of a wife to her husband. Motives of policy might also have joined their force to more tender sentiments in his mind. The whole popularity of his measures proceeded from the open and agreeable deportment of Mary. Many considered her as having the only natural right to the crown. His own manner, when at its best, procured more respect than affection; and he, therefore, had sufficient reason to lament the loss of a consort, whose influence had so much contributed to reconcile the people to his government. But whatever motive weighed most with the mind of William, his prudence might have been trusted, as to the sincerity of his grief.

THE

THE city of London, the two houses of parliament, the nation in general expressed, in warm addresses to the throne, their sense of the merit of Mary, and their own sorrow. The Princess of Denmark was induced, by the Earl of Sunderland, to send a letter of condolence, on the death of her sister, to the King. This Princess, even before her disgrace, in the year 1692, had begun a secret correspondence with her father. But having now obtained a nearer prospect of the crown, she was easily induced to adopt an appearance of reconciliation with William. His prudence dictated, that he ought to meet her half-way. He was apprehensive, that she might carry her resentment for former injuries to a pitch that might prove uneasy to his government, if not dangerous to his power. She was the next heir, by act of parliament. She was nearer than William himself, by the title of blood. He was sensible, that many had been restrained, by their deference to Mary, as the daughter of the late King; and he was certain, that, at least, the discontented would pay their court with more diligence to the Princess, should he permit her to remain in a state of proscription from his favour. He therefore admitted her into his presence, presented her with most of her sister's jewels, and conferred upon her some other favours, more from political views, than any affection for her person^m.

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II.1694.
Conduct of
the Princess
of Denmark.

MARY was scarce considered as a partner in the regal authority, during her life; and therefore her death produced no material change. Some doubts arose, whether the parliament was not dissolved by her demise. But the question was scarce proposed in the house of lords, when it was dropt, as unfit to be debatedⁿ. The late King declined to make any efforts for his restoration upon the present occasion. He conceived hopes, that a government, which he thought depended upon the popularity of his daughter,

Reflections of
James, on the
death of
Mary.^m Burnet. Dutchess of Marlborough.ⁿ Burnet, vol. iii.

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1694.

would shake and unhinge itself by her decease. He was much affected by the intelligence. But his sorrow was more that of an enthusiast than a father. He was rather grieved at her manner of dying, than at her death. "The King," said that unfortunate Prince, "received this additional affliction to those which he had already undergone. He saw a child, whom he tenderly loved, persevering to her death in a signal state of disobedience and disloyalty. He perceived, that she was extolled for a crime as for the highest merit. He heard her contradictions called virtues, and her breach of duty to a parent, a becoming sacrifice to her religion and her country." Such were the reflections of James, upon the death of a daughter, whose behaviour to a parent could scarce be justified, by his own conduct.

Proceedings
of parliament

THE death of the Queen, though alarming to the nation, interrupted not the course of business in parliament. A remarkable transaction, in the preceding summer and autumn, was laid before the commons, early in the present session. One Lunt, a person of a very profligate character, who had once been a day-labourer at Highgate, gave information, on the fifteenth of June, concerning a plot for levying war against the government. He affirmed, that he had delivered commissions from the late King to several gentlemen in Lancashire and Cheshire. That, at their instance and expence, he had bought arms and enlisted men. That he had been twice sent to France, to receive the commands of James concerning the intended insurrection; and that one Wilson, who had assisted him in delivering the commissions, was privy to the circumstances of the plot. The supposed conspirators were seized. They were brought to London, and then remanded to Manchester, to take their trials. Lunt and Wilson swore to the truth of the information. But Lunt, being ordered in court, to point at the several prisoners, mistook his men.

° James II. 1694.

This

This created a violent suspicion of perjury; and, at the instant, one Taffe, who had been acquainted with Lunt, declared publicly, that the whole plot was nothing but a villanous contrivance, fabricated between himself and that profligate witness. The King's council stopt all proceedings. The prisoners were acquitted; and the popular clamour became so loud in favour of the accused, that the ministry found it necessary to commit their witnesses to prison, and to order them to be prosecuted^p.

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II.
1694.

THOUGH the most of the persons accused were attached to the late King, and some of them actually plotting for his service, the information of Lunt and his associates seems to have had no foundation in fact. The whole appears to have been framed by the intrigues and precipitate zeal of one Johnston, a Scotsman, brother to the secretary of state of that name. This busy and self-interested man, had, in the hopes of a gratification from William, long acted the part of an informer against the Jacobites, in England as well as in Scotland. He had employed every mean art to circumvent the unwary, and to find evidence against the accused^q. The victory obtained by the gentlemen of Lancashire over the witnesses of government, in a court of justice, induced them to lay their grievances before the parliament. The result of the deliberations of the commons answered not their hopes on the subject. They voted, that there had been sufficient grounds for the prosecution and trial of the conspirators at Manchester; and that a dangerous plot had been carried on against the King and government. Notwithstanding these resolutions, the witnesses were tried and found guilty of perjury, at the Lancaster assizes. They were afterwards^r indicted, for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the accused gentlemen. But the prosecution was dropt, and Lunt and Wilson were discharged.

on the Lancashire plot.

^p Trial. Kennet, vol. iii. Ralph, vol. ii. Auct. citat. passim.
ters to Carstares.

^r Aug. 1695.

^q Johnston's Let-

C H A P.
II.1695.
An inquiry
into abuses.

The popularity of passing the triennial bill into a law, secured not William from an opposition in parliament. The commons ordered a state of the loans, debts, and charges upon the revenue, together with an account of the expence of the civil list, to be laid before their house'. They opened, the same day, a channel of inquiry into abuses and corruptions, which led to important but disgraceful discoveries of the venality of the times. Upon a petition of the inhabitants of Royston, against the violence and exactions of the soldiery, the house came to some spirited votes. They resolved, that the officers and soldiers, demanding and exacting subsistence-money in their quarters, or on a march, was arbitrary and illegal; and a great violation of the rights of the subjects. Some agents who, by defrauding the soldiers of their pay, had forced them into violences, were committed by the command of the house. Guy, secretary of the treasury, the known instrument of the crown, in purchasing votes in parliament, was sent to the Tower for taking a bribe for himself'. They addressed the King against Colonel Hastings, for his acts of avarice and violence against his regiment; and that officer was instantly discharged from his command. A bill was ordered, in the mean time, to oblige the agents of the regiments to account for the disposal of the money which they had received'.

The speaker
expelled for
corruption.

THIS detection of flagrant abuses, established a well-founded opinion, that the court, the camp, the city, and even the parliament, were infected with one general contagion of bribery, corruption, and venality. The commons, to extricate themselves from their part of the aspersions, resolved to proceed in their inquiry. The unsuccessful attempts made by the city of London, to carry the orphans' bill into a law, and the facility with which it had been lately passed, created suspicions of corrupt practices upon that head. A committee was appointed to inspect the chamber-

' Journals, January 12th.

' Ibid. Feb. 1695.

' Ibid.

lain's books. They made their report, on the seventh of March. Several sums of money appeared to have been expended in gaining votes in parliament. The line of corruption was traced to the speaker himself. The house went immediately into debate on the subject. They soon came to the resolution, "That Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house, by receiving a gratuity of one thousand guineas from the city of London, after passing the orphans' bill, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour." He had the mortification to put this humiliating question to the house. He retired under the pretence of a colick, and having signified his dismission to the King, he was expelled from his seat in parliament".

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THE commons, from this shameful scene of detection, turned their inquiries to another quarter. The affairs of the East-India company had employed a great portion of the attention of parliament, from the year 1691, till the end of 1693. The company had not only declined to submit to the regulations proposed by the commons; they even frustrated all the endeavours of that assembly, by procuring a new charter from the King. The house suspected corruption, upon the present occasion; and they ordered the same committee who had examined the books of the chamberlain, to inspect those of the East-India company. The abstracts of the sums paid for special services, since the Revolution, soon led to the discovery so much required. In the reign of James, the annual charges scarce exceeded twelve hundred pounds. Ever since they had gradually increased. In the year 1691, they were very considerable. But in the year 1693, when the charter was obtained, they amounted to near ninety thousand pounds; which had been lent on the notes of Sir Thomas Cooke, the governor of the company. Cooke was called before the house, and refusing to account for the money, he was immediately committed to the

Corrupt practices in India affairs,

^a Journals, March 1695.

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Tower; and a bill ordered to be brought in to oblige him to make a discovery. The bill passed, in a few days, and was sent up to the lords for their concurrence^w.

detected

The Duke of Leeds, so often mentioned by the progressive titles of Sir Thomas Osborne, the Lord Latimer, the Earl of Danby, and Marquis of Caermarthen, by the vehemence of his zeal for Cooke, rendered his own honour suspected. The protestations of his innocence, with which he blended his speech against the bill, were considered as so many acknowledgments of guilt, in a man more remarkable for his talents, than either for his integrity or disinterestedness. The house yielding either to his arguments or influence, postponed the business from the sixth to the thirteenth of April; a point of consequence, as the session was known to draw near to its close. Cooke was brought before the lords, on the thirteenth. He declared himself willing to make a full discovery, on condition of being indemnified against all actions and suits except those of the East-India company, whom he had never injured. The peers resolved to drop the bill of pains and penalties, sent up from the commons; and they ordered a committee to withdraw to form such a bill of indemnification as Cooke required. The commons amended the bill with a penal clause. The lords agreed to the amendment; and Cooke was directed, by the act, to make a full discovery to a joint committee of peers and commons, on or before the twenty-third of April^x.

by the commons,

SOME, in both houses, were eager in the prosecution of the affair. But, from the loss of time, the majority seemed determined to defeat a measure, which common decency forbade them to drop entirely. The King himself appeared to be no great friend to a discovery, which threatened to involve himself

^w Journals, March 26, 1695.

^x Journals, passim.

in the same scene of corruption with his servants. When he came to the house, on the twenty-second of April, to pass several bills, he recommended dispatch to his parliament; as he was determined to put an end to the session in a few days. The joint committee of lords and commons met at the exchequer chamber. Cooke appeared before them, and delivered a paper, containing an unsatisfactory discovery. Several persons privy to the transaction were examined. Ten thousand pounds were traced to the King; five thousand to the Duke of Leeds, and other sums to other men in power. The scene of corruption appeared to be as extensive, as it was shameful and uncommon. The matter was reported, on the twenty-seventh of April, to both houses. The commons, in particular, flew into a violent flame. The innocent were eager to show their own regard to honour, and the consciously criminal endeavoured to palliate their guilt, by an appearance of vehemence against the crime^v.

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1695.

THE commons, after some debate, came to a resolution, that there was sufficient matter to impeach the Duke of Leeds of high crimes and misdemeanours. They ordered Mr. Comptroller Wharton to impeach him accordingly, at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of the house and all the commons of England. The report was read, in the mean time, in the house of lords. Leeds was speaking to his own defence, when he was apprized of the proceedings of the commons. He suddenly went down to that house, and desired to be heard. He was permitted to speak. But his speech was not satisfactory. He prepared for his defence in a more effectual way. One Robart, a Swiss by nation, and one of his own domestics, was the only person who could carry home any certain proof to the Duke. Robart was prudently sent back to his native country. The lords addressed the King to stop the

Duke of
Leeds im-
peached.

^v Journals, passim.

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fugitive, by shutting the ports of the kingdom against his flight. Neither William nor his servants were likely to gain by the inquiry. The proclamation was not issued till nine days after the address of the peers. The clamours of Leeds for a trial or an acquittal, rose in proportion to Robert's distance from London. A prorogation, on the third of May, at length extinguished the inquiry and the Duke's fears; and thus ended a wretched farce; in which the feeble efforts for obtaining justice, were scarce less disgraceful than venality itself to the age^z.

An act with
regard to the
coin.

DURING these transactions, another matter of the utmost importance employed a part of the attention of parliament. The bad state of the coin, both by diminution and adulteration, became too obvious not to alarm the nation. The money had actually decreased more than one half, in its nominal value. The King had been, for some time, apprized of this growing evil^a. He intended to issue a proclamation that no money should pass, for the future, but by weight. He was, however, diverted from this measure, by the consideration, that the debasement of the coin would facilitate the loans to government. The Earl of Rochester laid open, in the house of lords, the alarming condition of the currency; and as early as the eighth of January, a committee of the commons were appointed to receive proposals to prevent clipping, and the exportation of silver. The report of the committee lay, for some time, neglected on the table. The lords, however, passed a bill to prevent the counterfeiting and clipping the current coin of the kingdom. They sent the bill down to the commons for their concurrence, on the nineteenth of March^b. The house took the report of their committee into consideration; and they made several amendments, to which the lords agreed. But though the bill contained some good clauses,

^z Journals, passim.

^b Journals, March 19, 1695.

^a Burnet, vol. iii.

it was manifestly inadequate to the perfect cure of the evil. The value of money was sunk in the exchange. Guineas, which ought to have been equal in value to one and twenty shillings and six pence, rose to thirty shillings. The credit of government and the public funds fell to such a degree, as to bring a discount of forty per cent. upon tallies ^c."

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THE just complaints of the English mariners, had induced William to recommend a bill for their encouragement, at the opening of this session of parliament. The abuses which prevailed by land, were great and general. But avarice and tyranny arrived only at their height in the navy. The agents of the Crown defrauded the seamen of their wages. The captains and commanders of ships joined in the same shameful traffic. The provisions were cheap and unwholesome. Jobs, frauds, and injustice prevailed in every line^d. Insults abroad were added to the distresses of the seamen at home. The Dutch, to man their own fleet, exacted, under the pretence of the King's permission, the tenth man out of every British ship that entered their ports. They rose in their demands in the course of the present year. They required a man out of every vessel, though navigated by ever so few hands. The person chosen was either obliged to redeem his freedom with a considerable sum of money, or to serve in a foreign bottom^e. The parliament paid no attention either to the recommendation of the King, or the complaints of the seamen. On the third of May, William came to the house of lords; and having thanked the two houses for the supplies, put an end to the session^f.

Parliament
prorogued.

THOUGH the necessity of his immediate departure to the continent, was the reason assigned by the King for proroguing the

Dispositions
for opening
the cam-
paign.

^c Burnet, vol. iii.

^d Petition to the lords.

^e Dutch encroachments, p. 53. MS. Account in the Bodleian library, Oxon.

^f Journals, May 3, 1695.

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parliament in the midst of the inquiry, he remained nine days after the prorogation at Kensington. Having declared the regency, consisting of the chief officers of state, on the third of May, he sailed from Gravesend on the twelfth; and arrived, on the fourteenth, at the Hague^g. The allies had made the necessary preparations for acting with vigour. France, disconcerted by the death of the Marechal de Luxembourg^h, and her other misfortunes, thought only of a defensive campaign. Lewis despairing to find a proper successor to so great a captain, was long doubtful where he should fix his choice. The Marechal de Villeroi was at length placed at the head of the principal army in Flanders. The second army was submitted to the orders of Boufflers. Namur on the right, and Dunkirk on the left, comprehended between them, the extent of country to be defended by the French. Tournay on the Scheld, and Ypres, near the Lys, formed a part of the line. Boufflers was ordered to assemble his army near Mons, to cover Namur, and Villeroi posted himself between the Scheld and the Lys, to protect Tournay, Ypres, and Dunkirkⁱ.

Preparations
against Na-
mur.

WILLIAM, having taken the field, on the sixth of June, found himself at the head of an army, much superior to that of the French. To amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design upon Namur, he made some movements, which rendered Villeroi uncertain where the storm was first to fall. The King assembled his army in three divisions. The first, under the Elector of Bavaria, he ordered to advance between the Scheld and the Lys. He posted himself, with the second, at Becelaër on the Heule. He detached the Duke of Wirtemberg, with the third division, to invest the fort of Knoque. These feints and refinements in his motions, the King durst not have attempted, had De Luxembourg

^g Auct. citat. passim.

ⁱ Mem. du Feuquier, p. 120.

^h Jan. 4. N. S.

still commanded the enemy. Any of the three bodies of the confederates might have been attacked by the whole force of the French army. But either Villeroi discerned not the advantage, or he deliberated till the opportunity was lost^{*}; and William, having at length completed his preparations, resolved to sit down before Namur. He made every necessary disposition for investing the place, for covering the siege, and for forming an army to observe the motions of the enemy, on the maritime side of Flanders.

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1695.

THE siege of Namur was formed by the Elector of Bavaria, with his native troops, the forces of several German princes, and a body of cavalry. William, at the head of the main army, lay behind the Meuse, in a condition to pass that river, and, if necessary, to sustain the siege. The Prince of Vaudemont, with an army of observation, lay between the Lys and the Mandel, to cover those places in Flanders which were most exposed¹. The enemy perceiving, at length, the designs of William upon Namur, the Marschal de Boufflers, with seven regiments of dragoons, had thrown himself into the place, to reinforce the garrison. Villeroi, instead of making any attempt to relieve Namur, resolved to fall upon the Prince of Vaudemont, who lay, with an inferior force, within three leagues of his army. The Prince was disadvantageously encamped. His adversary, however, possessed no abilities to avail himself of what fortune had thrown in his way. When he deliberated, concerning the manner of attack, the opportunity was lost. The like advantage presented itself a second time. But it was only to throw a second disgrace on the French general. The Prince retreated in his presence, with consummate skill; and sheltered himself, with very little loss, under the cannon of Ghent^m.

The town invested.

^{*} Memoires du Feuquieres.

¹ Ibid. p. 123.

^m Memoires du Feuquieres.

C H A P.
II.1695.
Operations.

THE fine retreat of the Prince of Vaudemont, was considered equal to a victory. The French, however, found means to take Dixmuyde and Deynse, with little resistance. The garrisons were made prisoners of war. Both places were dismantled. The trenches were, in the mean time, opened before Namur. On the twelfth of July, the batteries began to play. In a fall, on the eighteenth, the French were forced to retreat, with considerable loss. The King, on the same day, ordered the advanced works and traverses of the enemy to be stormed; and this service was performed in his presence, with the greatest resolution and success. The ground taken from the enemy, was instantly occupied with batteries. On the twenty-seventh of July, the King carried the first counterscarp; and the Elector of Bavaria, at the same instant, found means to throw a bridge across the Sambre, which facilitated the reduction of the place. The French behaved themselves with an obstinate bravery. But the allies, animated by the presence of their leader, were irresistible in their various attacks. The outworks were, at length, carried by the besiegers. A practical breach was made in the innermost wall. Preparations for a general assault being made, the town capitulated, on the fourth of August; and the garrison, under the command of the Marechal de Boufflers, retired, on the sixth, to the castle^a.

The citadel
capitulates.

The Marechal de Villeroi, in the mean time, having crossed the Lys and Scheld, made a feint of marching to raise the siege. His real design was directed against Brussels; and he appeared, on the thirteenth of August, before that place. Under a pretence of revenging the attacks of the English fleet, on the maritime towns of Flanders, he bombarded Brussels. Fifteen hundred houses, and many public buildings were laid in ruins. The Prince of Vaudemont was an eye-witness of a destruction which he could neither prevent nor avenge. On the fifteenth of August, the French

^a Journal of the siege.

general,

general, being reinforced with a considerable body of troops, directed his march toward Namur. When he had advanced to Fleurus, he gave a signal of his approach to the besieged, by the discharge of ninety pieces of cannon. William, leaving the charge of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria, repaired to his army, strongly encamped within five miles of Namur. On the twenty-ninth of August, De Villeroi advanced toward the allies. But he found them so well posted, that he retired in the night, without noise. The castle was, in the mean time, pressed by the confederates with the utmost vigour. In a general assault, on the thirtieth of August, the besiegers, though with great loss, made such a lodgement, that the French desired to capitulate, on the first of September^m.

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II.
1695.

THE taking of Namur, in the presence of a great army of the enemy, was the most brilliant of William's military actions. Though he had lost that important place, in the like circumstances, his spirit and conduct throughout this campaign, deserved and received applause. An act of resentment against the enemy, added to the reputation which the King acquired by the taking of Namur. The French, contrary to an express cartel for a mutual ransom of prisoners, had detained the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which places had fallen into their hands. The Marechal de Boufflers was arrested as an hostage, by the orders of the King. He remonstrated in vain. He was sent prisoner to Maestricht, and detained till assurances were received, that the imprisoned garrisons should be released and sent back to the confederates. The operations of the campaign ended with the surrender of the citadel; and William, quitting the field, retired to Dieren, and from thence to Loo. The command devolved upon the Elector of Bavaria; but the armies separated, in the end of September. His want of success, in the preceding years of the

Reflections.

^m Journal of the siege.

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1695.

Campaign in
Italy, Ger-
many, and
Spain,

war, enhanced to William the fame of taking Namur. The capture of a single town could scarce produce a plentiful harvest of laurels to a general accustomed to victory.

THE war languished, on the side of Italy, between France and the Duke of Savoy. Casal was defended by the first and taken by the latter, in a manner, that shewed neither power was sincere in the operations of the campaign. To amuse the allies seemed to be the object of both parties. The same languor, or rather a total inaction, prevailed on the Upper-Rhine. Two armies, alternately offering and declining battle, made a mere pastime and parade of war. The Spaniards, aided by the maritime powers, were more fortunate than they had been in the preceding campaign. They obtained some advantage in the field. But they besieged Palamos in vain. The English fleet, which had wintered at Cadiz, could render no effectual aid to a nation labouring under feeble councils, a want of money, and every species of domestic decay. Admiral Ruffel, having spent the summer to little purpose, on the coasts of Spain and Provence, returned to Cadiz, in the end of September. The glory of insulting the French coast, and of confining the fleet of the enemy in the harbour of Toulon, could scarce balance the extraordinary expence of the maritime powers, in their efforts to second the feeble operations in Spain.

and Hun-
gary.

A peace had been expected, on the side of Hungary. But the hopes of the allies vanished, upon the accessionⁿ of Mustapha the Second, to the Ottoman throne. This Prince, possessed of more vigour than his predecessor, Ahmed the Second, resolved to command his troops in person. He took the field, passed the Danube, stormed Lippa, and seized Itul. Falling suddenly on a considerable body of troops under General Veterani, he killed that officer, dispersed his forces, and closed, with success, a

ⁿ Jan. 24, 1695.

campaign which promised nothing but misfortunes. The Elector of Saxony, who commanded the Imperialists, was too late in taking the field. His army was ill provided, the season was severe, the enemy too prudent to hazard that reputation which he had already acquired. Poland, torn as usual with domestic faction, made no figure in the present year. France had increased, by her intrigues, the feuds between the nobles. She had gained, by her secret influence, the King. The deliberations of the diet were interrupted by every species of civil discord; and that assembly was dissolved in confusion.

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II.
1695.

THE operations of the combined squadrons in the ocean, were productive of no striking events. The lord Berkeley commanded in chief the fleet destined to insult the coast of France. He bombarded St. Maloes, with little effect, on the fourth of July. He came before Dunkirk on the first of August. The noted Meesters, a Dutch engineer, applied again his infernals to the Risbank, with the same want of success as in the preceding year. Heats and animosities prevailed between the English and Dutch. Complaints were made on every side. Meesters withdrew from the squadron, with his machines, in the night. The Lord Berkeley retired, and proceeded to Calais. The enemy were prepared to receive his visit; and having in vain discharged six hundred shells into the place, his lordship desisted from his attempt.

Transactions
and

THE naval efforts of the English in the West Indies were attended with no success. Wilmot and Lillingston, who commanded an expedition against the French in Hispaniola, agreed to enrich themselves, and quarrelled about the spoil. The interest of the public was neglected in their animosities. But though the nation was disgraced by their gross mismanagements, no inquiry was made into their conduct^p. The commerce of the kingdom

disasters at
sea.

^o Hist. de Pologne, tom. ii.

^p Journals.

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1695.

was, at the same time, ill-protected, through the negligence of the commanders of the navy. Many vessels from Barbadoes were taken by the enemy. Five East India ships, valued at a million, fell into their hands^a. The misfortunes at sea abated the joy of the people for the success by land. Admiral Hopson, appointed to scour the channel with a squadron, was either inactive or unsuccessful. The Marquis of Caermarthen, stationed with some ships at Scilly, mistook a fleet of merchantmen for the enemy's navy; and fled, with all his sails, from the vessels which he ought to defend^b.

Affairs of
Scotland.

THE affairs of Scotland furnished nothing worthy of being recorded, after the prorogation of the parliament, in the year 1693. The same regency and the same measures continued throughout the succeeding year. The King, eager to derive all the possible aid from that kingdom, to maintain the war, demanded numerous levies from the heritors or proprietors of lands. In the space of three months, three thousand men were impressed and delivered to the officers of the government. These, with five regiments, making in all seven thousand soldiers, were embarked at Leith^c, and transported to Flanders. The surrender^d of the Bass, which had been hitherto held in the name of James, is a matter of greater singularity than importance. Two and thirty persons had taken possession of that post, and supported themselves by manning their boat, and rifling such vessels as passed near their rock. In one of their predatory excursions, eighteen of their number, having boarded a ship from Dunbar, were carried to Dundee, by the force of a storm. They landed, and fled by different ways. But three were taken, tried, and condemned. To save their companions, those who remained on the Bass desired to capitulate. The council agreed to their proposals. The con-

^a Burnet, vol. iii.^b Burchet.^c Apr. 22, 1694.^d Apr. 21, 1694.

demned

demned were pardoned, and the rest were permitted to depart, with their baggage and swords".

C H A P.
II.

1695.

A session of
parliament.

THE malecontents in Scotland found matter for fomenting a jealousy of government, which rendered the meeting of the parliament of that kingdom dangerous to the authority of its regency. That assembly, therefore, was prorogued from time to time, till the necessities of the crown overcame the fears of its servants. The funds established for the army had expired; and they had been diverted to other purposes, by a breach of public faith. To soften the opposition to the crown, a commission was issued, under the great seal, to examine witnesses upon the massacre of Glenco; as the memory of that act of barbarity still inflamed the passions of the whole nation. Though this was an artifice to cover that infamous transaction by a private inquiry", it produced, by an appearance of justice, a favourable change in the minds of the people. But schemes still more effectual had been previously formed to amuse the nation, and to gain a majority in parliament. On the ninth of May 1695, the session was opened by the Marquis of Tweeddale, as King's commissioner. William, in his letter to the parliament, excused, by the continuation of the war, his not appearing in person in Scotland. He recommended to them moderation and union in matters of the church. He desired, in the most soothing terms, a renewal of the subsidies that had just expired*.

SOOTHING expressions, however, were not the only means prepared, by the servants of William, to gain the Scots. One Paterfon, who had been the chief instrument in establishing the bank of England, had framed a mercantile project of an extensive kind for Scotland. Such English merchants, as had been hitherto disappointed in their schemes of forming a new East India com-

The members
gained.

" Burnet. James II. 1694.

" Burnet, vol. iii. p. 156.

* King's Letter.

E H A P.

II.

1695.

pany, gave their countenance to Paterson's plan; which, from views of their own, was adopted, with ardour, by the Scottish ministry. The project was to establish one settlement at Darien, on the east side of the isthmus of America; and another on the opposite side, toward the South Sea. This scheme was laid before the King, by Secretary Johnston. Instructions were prepared and signed, empowering the commissioner to give his assent to any bill for the encouragement of trade. That nobleman, accordingly, communicated the King's intentions to the parliament. The bait was greedily seized. The people lost their resentment, in a condescension, which flattered their hopes of wealth. The parliament itself was all submission. A vote of condolence, for the death of the Queen, was instantly passed. They gave, at once, all the necessary supplies. The ways and means were a general poll-tax, a six-months cess out of the land-rents, and an additional excise^r.

Proceedings.

BUT notwithstanding this seeming complaisance to the crown, the current of the nation, for an inquiry into the massacre of Glenco, was too strong to be opposed. The artifice of the court-party could not conceal the shocking circumstances of that barbarous affair. They, however, diverted, with some appearance of decency, the implication of guilt from the King himself to Dalrymple, his acting minister, upon that occasion. The parliament voted the whole a murder. They addressed the King, for justice, on the offenders. But their application was couched in terms, which seemed to demand no compliance with their request. William, accordingly, paid no attention to their address. He even continued his favour, without abatement, to the principal actors in the tragedy. The bill for establishing a company for trading to Africa and the Indies, was the price of the blood shed at Glenco. The clamour and misfortunes which this act produced, shall be

^r Proceedings of Scot. Parl.

hereafter

hereafter explained. Together with this bill, two others of importance received the royal assent: An act for raising yearly nine thousand men to recruit the Scotch regiments, in the service abroad; and one for erecting a public bank in the city of Edinburgh. On the seventeenth of July, the commissioner adjourned the parliament to the seventh day of the following November^z.

C H A P.
II.
1695.

A KIND of tranquillity succeeded in Ireland, the ineffectual complaints, which the people of that kingdom laid before the parliament of England. Sir Henry Capel, created a lord, with other two lords justices, carried on the government with a degree of precision. Quarrels sprung among themselves. Capel abetted the interests of the English against the old Irish, without any strict regard to equity^a. He courted popularity at the expence of justice, and suffered himself to become the property of interested and designing men. His brethren in office were more severe and more just. They studied to protect the old Irish, when oppressed^b. They gained honour. But they lost popularity. Capel, favoured by the English in Ireland, raised his views to the government of that kingdom. He promised to the King and his ministers to carry every thing in a parliament, should he be appointed lord deputy, with powers to displace some men in office. His proposal was accepted; several were removed^c; and a parliament was called^d.

Affairs of
Ireland,

CAPEL opened the session with a demand of money. The commons resolved to grant an immediate supply to the King, to discharge the debts of the crown, and to maintain the established government. They found it less difficult to make the grant, than to find the ways and means. They agreed, at length, on a poll-bill, and some additional customs. But as both were deemed inadequate to the sum required, they resolved to continue, to the end.

A session of
parliament.

^z Proceedings of Scot. Parl. Burnet, vol. iii. Ralph, vol. ii.

^a Burnet, vol. iii.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d Aug. 27, 1695.

C H A P.
II.

1695.

of the year 1698, the additional excise, which they had voted at the beginning only for a short space of time. A quarrel between the lord-deputy and the chancellor, filled the rest of the session with debates, and a degree of confusion. A motion was made by the party of the former, to impeach the latter for forming a new faction in the kingdom. But the chancellor was cleared of all imputation by a great majority. The session, however, ended in tranquillity; and, upon the whole, favourable to the lord-deputy. He carried the projects of the Crown in parliament; and he was recommended as an excellent governor, in a special address sent by the commons to the King^c.

Inactivity of
the late King.

THOUGH the death of Mary raised the expectations of the adherents of her father, that Prince shewed little inclination to avail himself of that event. He either resigned a mind, depressed with misfortunes, to religious enthusiasm; or, disgusted with the apparent coldness of the French ministry, left his hopes of a restoration to fortune. His friends in England ceased not, however, to urge him to an attempt on that kingdom. The Earl of Arran endeavoured to rouse him with letters. The Earl of Sunderland, now much in the confidence of William, betrayed the councils of the latter Prince to his former master^d. He informed the late King, early in the season, that the English fleet were destined to attack Toulon. But he, at the same time, gave it as his opinion, that the enterprize would be dropt as impracticable^e. The languor which had seized the belligerent powers, extended itself to the party of James in England, and to his councils in France. The latter kingdom was too much exhausted by internal calamities, either to push the war with vigour on the continent, or to avail herself of a descent on the British isles.

^c Address of the Commons.

^d Arran to James, March 13, 1695.

^e Sunderland's Correspondence, Scot. Coll. Paris.

THE more violent Jacobites, in the mean time, continued their zealous efforts in favour of their dethroned master. Strangers to the situation of the mind of James, and ignorant of the disposition of France, they endeavoured to rouse the first with every possible argument, to make a descent in England. The absence of the reigning Prince, his unpopularity at home, and the feuds which subsisted between him and some members of the great alliance abroad, were placed in the most flattering colours before the eyes of the late King. The manifest decline in the health of William, his loss of influence in the death of Mary, the distress and consequent discontent of the nation, their murmurs against the late heavy taxes, their fears of future burdens, were either magnified or recounted with ardour. James was assured, by his adherents, that, in the present state of affairs and opinions, ten thousand men would be sufficient to establish him again on his throne. They affirmed, that the whole force in England, consisted only of nine thousand men. That the nation was divided into three parties. That one of these was in the interest of the late King; one affected the views and person of the Princess of Denmark; and the third, but the least considerable, adhered to William^f.

C H A P.
II.1695.
Zeal of his
adherents.

WHILST these zealots laid their proposals with so much eagerness before James, his minister, the Earl of Middleton, maintained an intimate intercourse with the principal men in England. The Earl of Sunderland continued his secret correspondence. Even the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Pembroke^g, the latter then lord-privy-seal, seemed to have listened to the court of St. Germans. The Duchess of Devonshire either following or leading her husband, became an agent for James^h. The Princess of Denmark and the Earl of Marlborough professed themselves his firm and unshaken friends. The assurances made by persons of such weight and consequence, kept alive the hopes of his friends,

His party increases in
England.^f Stuart-papers, 1695.^g Middleton to Mordant, June 6, 1695.^h Ibid.

C H A P.
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while he himself had fallen into a state of indifference concerning his own fate¹. Middleton, however, made, soon after, fruitless applications, in the name of his master, to the court of France. To induce the French ministry to undertake an invasion of England, he communicated his intelligence and hopes from that kingdom. He represented, that the coast was left naked of ships of war. That the discontents which prevailed at present, were likely to increase, after the intended elections for a new house of commons. William, he said, was to demand eight millions from parliament; and to alter the established succession, by preferring any children he might hereafter beget, to the Princess of Denmark and her son. But Middleton built most on the credit of Sunderland; "who," he continued, "had been always the first to deceive himself, and the foremost to betray others."

Situation of
William,

BUT if James had friends in England, it is only in that kingdom he seems to have had friends. France, exhausted by domestic calamities, as well as by the waste occasioned by a burdensome war, was anxious to obtain peace upon any decent terms. The court of Rome itself had forgot the orthodoxy of James, in his pusillanimity in quitting his dominions without a blow. The success of William, in seizing the throne of England, his inflexible perseverance in all his plans, his courage in the field, his apparent prudence in the cabinet, his former obstinacy in continuing an unsuccessful war, and, at length, the reputation which he acquired in the present campaign, excited that admiration which invariably follows good fortune. He was, besides, seen through a favourable medium, by the nations of Europe. The haziness which covered him at home, obscured not his lustre abroad. The astonishing exertions of England in the war, were ascribed to his management. He was considered as the absolute master of Holland; and not only the chain which united the

¹ James II. 1695.

grand confederacy, but even the absolute lord of the members of which it was composed^{*}.

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His rival, if in his present distressed condition James deserved that name, laboured under every disadvantage in the eyes of the world. The enthusiasm which had deprived him of his throne, was construed into an incurable folly, by the more sensible part of his own persuasion. A kind of wicked policy, as the Pope, perhaps ludicrously, said, had superseded every idea of religion among the Catholic powers, who were engaged in the grand alliance. Innocent the Twelfth himself, though he sat in St. Peter's chair, was swayed by temporal views, from entertaining any favour for a Prince who had sacrificed his crown to a blind attachment to the Romish faith. He received the Earl of Perth, who had been sent in the character of ambassador, by James, with manifest coldness; or treated him with seeming ridicule. The utmost that the most pressing solicitations could obtain from that Pontiff, amounted only to a compliment. He assured the Earl of Perth, that he would never concur in a peace, which tended to deprive a Catholic Prince of his just rights. But Innocent and all his court were in the interest of the house of Austria; and thus James, though a very faithful son of the church, lost his influence with the holy Father, through his dependence on France[†].

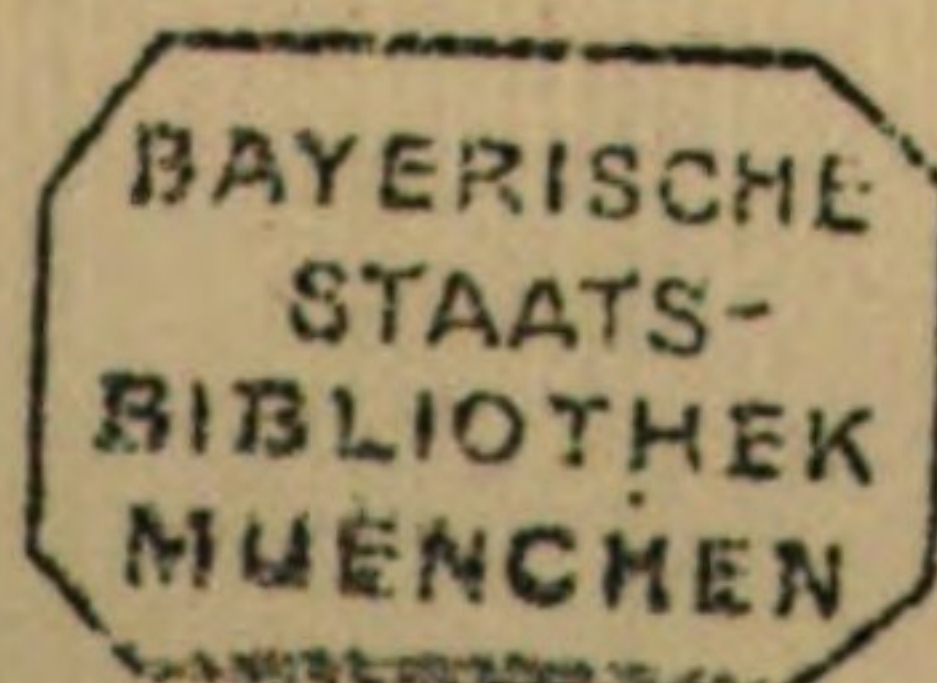
compared
with James.

WILLIAM, having spent some time at Loo, repaired to the Hague, on the seventh day of October. Having, in an interview with the Elector of Brandenburg, and in conferences with the States of Holland, settled the operations of the succeeding campaign, he returned to England; and arrived at Kensington, on the twenty-first day of the month. In a council held on the

King's pro-
gress.

^{*} Perth's Correspondence, Stuart-papers, 1695.

[†] Perth's Letter, Stuart-papers, 1695.



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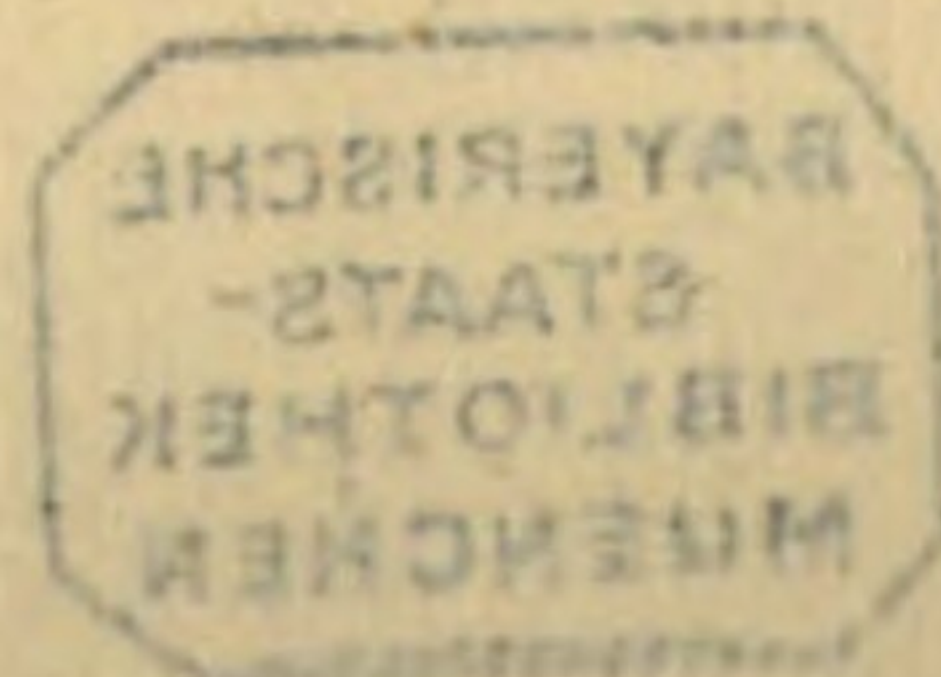
evening of his arrival, he resolved to dissolve the parliament; and to order another to meet, on the twenty-second of November. The Earl of Sunderland, in concert with the court of St. Germain, advised this measure^k. The former parliament, from their liberal grants to the Crown, were become odious to the people; and the latter, therefore, were not likely to chuse again, representatives so compliant to the views of the King. But William beheld the matter in another light. The popularity which he thought he derived from the glory of a successful campaign, induced him to hope for a return of members more favourable to his interest, than those who had lately pushed their inquiries so far. To improve to his advantage the present good humour of the people, the King resolved to make a royal progress. But his want of affability, his frigid manner, and dry address, were not calculated either to gain the favour of the populace, or to retain it when gained. A visit which he paid to the Earl of Sunderland at Althorp, was construed, by his enemies, into gratitude for former favours; while his precipitate retreat from Oxford, for fear of being poisoned^l at an entertainment prepared by the university, was considered as unworthy of his known prudence and usual courage.

A new parliament.

In the elections for the new house of commons, the Jacobites were unsuccessful, in proportion to the decline of their cause. Few of the known adherents of the late King were returned. But the abettors of the interest of the reigning Prince, were not implicitly chosen by the nation. Many of the firmest Whigs were elected: men who made a greater distinction between the principles of government, than between the persons of kings. The two houses met, on the twenty-second of November. Foley, who had succeeded Trevor, in the office of speaker, was again placed by the commons in the chair. The King, in his speech from the throne, demanded the usual supplies, to prosecute with

^k Stuart-papers, 1695.^l Publications of the times.

vigour



vigour the war. He complained that the funds which had been formerly given, were deficient. He represented, that the civil list was in a condition which rendered it impossible for him to subsist, unless that matter should command their immediate care. He recommended the French Protestants to their support. He laid before them the bad state of the coin. He expressed his wishes for a bill to encourage seamen. He concluded with assuring the commons, that he was entirely satisfied, with the choice which his people had made^m.

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THE commons addressed the King, on the twenty-ninth of November, and promised to assist him effectually in the prosecution of the war. But before any supply was voted, a bill was brought in, for regulating trials, in cases of treason and misprision of treason. A bill to the same effect had been often introduced before, and as often disappointed. The adherents of the Court opposed it in its progress. The popularity of the measure, at length, prevailed. By this salutary law it was provided, that no person should be tried for high treason, except an attempt to assassinate the King, unless the indictment be found within three years after the offence was committed. That the prisoner shall have a copy of the indictment, but not the names of the witnesses, five days, at least, before his arraignment. That he shall have a copy of the panel of jurors, two days before his trial; and that he shall have the same compulsive process with the Crown, to force his witnesses to appearⁿ. A change of situation too frequently makes an alteration in the principles of men. Many who had suffered by the want of such a law, in the two former reigns, opposed with vehemence the bill. They argued, that the security of the government, was the best provision for the security of the subject; and they urged, that the act, by giving every pos-

A bill for
regulating
trials.

^m Journals, Nov. 23, 1695.

ⁿ Statute, 7 W.

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A supply
voted.

fible advantage to conspirators, exposed the kingdom to revolution and change.

ON the second of December, the commons voted the supply for the war. Two millions five hundred thousand pounds were assigned to the navy^o; two millions for the support of an army of eighty-seven thousand men. Though these sums were great, they were less than the demands of the Crown. There was, besides, an arrear of deficiency, for which no provision was made. But before the supply was fixed upon adequate funds, a matter of the last importance employed the attention of the commons. The act passed in the preceding session of parliament, to prevent the clipping and exportation of silver coin, had been found inadequate to the purpose. The evil had risen to too great a height to be removed by slight remedies. The lords went first upon the business. They prepared an address, to which they desired the concurrence of the commons, to request the King to put a stop, by proclamation, to the currency of clipped crowns and half-crowns. The commons chose to proceed in their own way, and they went into a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the state of the nation with respect to the current coin^p.

Debates

INDIVIDUALS differed much in their opinions, upon a subject in which the interests of all were so deeply concerned. It appeared, from various experiments, that the silver coins, on a medium, were diminished at least one third. In proportion as the intrinsic of silver sunk beneath its nominal value, the gold rose. Two evils, with equal violence, pressed the nation on either side. A remedy must be instantly applied. The first question proposed to the commons was, whether it was expedient to re-coin the silver money. The house was divided upon the subject. The opponents of the Court opposed the re-coinage, with some specious

^o Journals, Dec. 6.^p Journals:

arguments. They affirmed, that the present conjuncture was by no means fit for a measure, whose operations must give so general and so violent a shock to the nation. They observed, that the people, laboured under the calamity and expence of a burdensome and doubtful war. That the nation as yet unsettled in their opinions with regard to the present establishment, might be provoked by this new grievance to unhinge the government. That though things might be managed and accommodated at home, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to maintain either commerce or war abroad. That a present re-coinage would most certainly suspend all the operations of trade, for the want of mutual payments; and they concluded with affirming, that the people, in their despair, might be hurried into the most dreadful extremities.

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THE necessity of a speedy remedy was argued by the other side. They observed, that the bad state of the coin, had turned the exchange of all Europe, in an alarming degree, against the nation. That, therefore, the supplies voted for the support of the army abroad, would never answer their end. That guineas, by this growing evil, were already advanced to thirty shillings; and foreign gold in the same extravagant proportion. That all Europe sent their gold, as the most valuable of all commodities, into our market. That gold, at last, would remain the sole currency for trade in the kingdom. But that it could not be expected, that other nations would receive that commodity at the value which it bore in this kingdom. They concluded with affirming, that the evil would gather additional strength every day. That the contagion had already spread through every vein of commerce; and that unless a speedy and powerful remedy should be applied, the certain dissolution of the state advanced with hasty strides.

on the coin-
act.

THE

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A bill passed.

THE question whether the standard of the several denominations of the new money should continue the same, produced many and vehement debates. Some affirmed, that as the price of silver was raised^a, the standard should be proportionably increased. They argued, that the measure would prevent the exportation of the coin, and the melting of it down, as had been practised for several years. They urged, at the same time, that people would be induced to bring their plate and bullion to the mint, from views of advantage. The majority, with more reason, asserted, that it was impossible the price of silver could either rise or fall in respect of itself. That the alteration in the price of bullion, was merely relative to the diminished money; and they affirmed, in support of their position, that an ounce of bullion could be actually bought, at the very time, for five shillings and two pence of new-milled money. As to the exportation of the coin, they justly observed, that nothing could effectually prevent that evil, but a superiority in trade over other nations. The arguments for a new coinage, on the old standard, at length prevailed. The present inconvenience was deemed less dangerous, than the future evils which were justly to be apprehended. The commons resolved to put a stop to the currency, and to proceed to a new coinage with the utmost attention and dispatch^b. A bill was accordingly brought in, for that purpose^c; and twelve hundred thousand pounds were voted, for supplying the deficiency of clipped money. This sum was ordered to be raised by a duty, for seven years, on houses and window-lights^d.

Address
against the
Scottish East-
India com-
pany.

THESE measures, though spirited, appeared, from the event, to be too precipitate. A proclamation for stopping the currency of

^a To six shillings and three pence.

^b Dec. 17.

^c Dec. 10.

^d Dec. 31.

the

the gold coin, was issued, before the mint had provided any quantity of new money for the purposes of trade. This evil was, in some measure, remedied by an act formed, upon subsequent resolutions, in parliament. But the wisdom of that assembly could not prevent a general loss of credit, which shook the government, while it distressed the nation. Another affair of importance employed a part of the attention of both houses during the debates on the coin. On the fourteenth of December^u, the lords sent down to the commons an address to the King, against an act passed in the Scottish parliament, for erecting a company trading to Africa and the East-Indies. The commons concurred with the peers. The two houses attended the King with their address. His answer was, that he had been ill-served in Scotland. But that he hoped some remedy might be found to the evil of which they complained. This indefinite reply was not sufficient to satisfy the commons. They resolved, that the directors of the Scottish company should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. That a council of trade should be established, by act of parliament, for the preservation of the commerce of England. That the commissioners should be nominated by parliament. But that none of them should be members of the house^w.

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AN attempt to establish a new board, by act of parliament, was considered, by the adherents of the court, as a high encroachment on the rights of the crown. William himself was as fond of the prerogative as any of his predecessors in the throne. He considered the present measure as a precedent for future invasions on the executive power of the King. He ordered his servants to oppose the bill, with all the influence of office. But the current of public opinion was turned toward new regulations, for the protection and encouragement of commerce. The waste occasioned by the war, the loss by

A bill for a
new council
of trade.

^u Dec. 14.^w Jan. 13, 1696.

captures

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captures at sea, and the late disasters on that element, had raised general complaints and produced many petitions. The enemies of William took advantage of the vehemence of the people. Even some of his supposed friends and actual favourites promoted a measure, which he avowedly disapproved. The Earl of Sunderland, with all his adherents, declared for the bill. The King ascribed the conduct of this nobleman to his fears from the popular party. But he was in a secret correspondence with James; and he had promised to oppose the measures of William in parliament^x.

The commons address against the Earl of Portland.

WHILE the commons seemed, thus, to encroach on the power of the crown, they pushed an inquiry, which affected the person of the King. Bentinck, whom William had created Earl of Portland, retained in England that ascendancy in the favour of his master, which he had acquired in Holland. He had obtained, from the King, a grant of the lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, and a part of the ancient demesnes of the Prince of Wales. The gentlemen of the county had opposed the warrant for the grant, in the treasury. They followed it, with their opposition, to the office of the Earl of Pembroke, who was then lord-privy-seal. This nobleman was, at the time, in correspondence with the late King. He heard the petitioners with a seeming candour which bordered on favour. The affair was permitted to lie dormant. But the warrant was not recalled. The gentlemen of Denbigh carried their complaints before parliament. Mr. Price, afterwards a baron of the exchequer, introduced the petition with a spirited, but vehement and bitter speech. The house, warmed to a degree of fury, voted unanimously an address against the grant. The King promised to recall the warrant. But he assured the commons, that he would find some other way of shewing his favour to the Earl of Portland^y. He

^x Stuart-papers, 1695.

^y Journals.

performed

performed his promise in the most ample manner, in the succeeding May.

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IN the midst of circumstances so mortifying to William, a favourable event changed the whole face of his affairs. The reputation which he had acquired in Flanders, his weight and consequence abroad, and his own persevering policy at home, were not sufficient to supply the loss of influence which he sustained in the death of Mary. The nation, distressed by an adulterated and diminished currency, offended at the captures made upon their commerce at sea, and oppressed with the enormous expence of the war by land, placed all their misfortunes to the account of the King's predilection for other interests than those of England. His manner was better calculated to inflame than to allay the ferment which prevailed in the minds of his subjects. His enemies took every advantage of the state of the public opinion. They increased the discontents of the people in general; and they found means to improve the same bad humour in the new parliament.

An incident
favourable to
William.

THE malecontents had foreseen, in the preceding summer, the height to which the bad humour of the people was likely to rise. They urged the late King, as has been already related, to undertake an invasion. They promised insurrections in England, whenever he should appear on the coast. When the new parliament discovered symptoms of refractoriness to the measures of William, the adherents of James redoubled their instances for an invasion, early in the spring. They assured that Prince, that to land in England was to regain, without contest, his crown. That could he once come to London, or even to some considerable town, without any force, the greatest part of the nation would rise in arms, and restore him to the throne. Lewis the Fourteenth, flattered with these accounts, agreed to furnish an army and every thing necessary for

Preparations
of James, for
an invasion.

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a descent. He, however, insisted, that the Jacobites should rise in arms, before the French troops should embark; and the Duke of Berwick was dispatched, by his father, to England, to take the insurgents under his command^a. The preparations of France were carried forward with expedition and zeal. The troops, intended for the invasion, began to draw near to Calais and Dunkirk. Four hundred sail of great and small vessels were assembled, from different ports. James himself, urged by Lewis the Fourteenth, took post on the seventeenth of February; and he arrived, on the twentieth, at Calais. The Dutch became alarmed, for their own country. But an unaccountable security prevailed in Britain^a.

A conspiracy
against the
King's life.

DURING these preparations for an invasion from France, a conspiracy for assassinating William was framed in England, by some zealous adherents of the late King. This scheme had been forming long. One Crosby had been sent to the court of St. Germain's to demand a commission from James, for perpetrating the crime. But that Prince suspected, from his earnestness, that Crosby was employed by William himself, to persuade him to consent to a measure, which must for ever put an end to his hopes^b. The zealous conspirators had long endeavoured, but in vain, to argue James into an express approbation of the attempt upon the person of the King. They, however, obtained at length a commission, for a general insurrection^c, against William and all his adherents. This commission was placed^d in the hands of Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, a man of courage and an experienced soldier. Barclay arrived in London, in the month of January. He joined himself, in that city, to one Harrison, a priest, to Charnock, who, from being a fellow of Magdalen college at Oxford, had become a Roman catholic, and a captain, to one Captain Porter, and to Sir William Perkins.

^a James II. 1696.^a Ibid.^b Ibid.^c Ibid.^d Dec. 10, 1695.

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The plot
discovered.

THESE inconsiderate and daring men, under the pretence of a commission from James, gained over some desperate Jacobites to aid them, in their projected scheme. They first proposed to surprise, seize, and carry William to France^e. But this was deemed impracticable, should they scruple to take his life^f. They resolved, therefore, to attack him, with an armed party consisting of forty men, in the midst of his guards. The scene of the intended assault was the lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green, through which William usually passed, upon his return from Richmond. The fifteenth of February was the day appointed for the execution of their purpose. But an unexpected discovery baffled, at once, their views. A Captain Fisher, whom the chief conspirators had resolved to employ in the attack, communicated the whole to the Earl of Portland, on the thirteenth of February. The same evening, Pendergrafs, an Irishman, and one of the forty, confirmed the information of Fisher. They were both examined by the King in person. He encouraged them to mix again with their friends. He kept at home on the fifteenth of February. The conspirators fixed upon the twenty-second of the month, to execute their scheme. The King again remained at home. A panic seized the whole party. Some fled. But others were seized, the next night^g, in their beds.

THE day after the seizure of some of the conspirators, the King informed his parliament of the danger which had threatened his life. He acquainted the two houses, that preparations were made in France, for invading the kingdom. He assured himself, he said, that nothing should be omitted, on their part, that might be deemed proper for the present safety or the future security of his people. He told them, that he had not been wanting, in giving the necessary orders to the fleet. That he had commanded a considerable body of troops to be brought home. That some of the

The King's
speech to the
parliament.

^e James II. 1696.

^f Ibid.

^g Feb. 26, 1696.

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conspirators against his person were already seized. That care was taken to apprehend the rest; and that, upon the whole, all such other orders were given, as the public safety, in the present conjuncture, seemed to require. The two houses lost, at once, their bad humour, in the danger to which the life of the King had been exposed. They sent a joint address to the throne, full of expressions of the most unlimited zeal and loyalty. They declared to all the world, that, should his Majesty come to any violent death, they would revenge the same on all his enemies and their adherents. As an instance of their affection to William, they promised to give all possible dispatch to the public business; and they made it their desire to the King to seize, upon the present occasion, all such persons as he should think fit to apprehend^a.

Zeal of the
two houses.

THE commons followed their warm address with various resolutions of the same kind. They ordered in a bill to enable his Majesty to seize all suspected persons. They prepared an address, for commanding, by proclamation, all papists to retire from the cities of London and Westminster. They drew up the form of an association, for the defence of the King's person. They acknowledged him the rightful and lawful Sovereign of England. They engaged themselves to support and defend the succession of the crown, according to the act of settlement, passed in the first year of the present reign. Four hundred members placed their names to the association, in one day. Such as withdrew from the house, or were absent with leave, were ordered to sign that paper, or signify their refusal, before the sixteenth of March¹. The same warmth of affection, and even vehemence of zeal, extended themselves to the lords. The peers adopted, with little alteration, the association signed by the commons. The whole nation partook of the flame, which the discovery of the plot had kindled in the two houses of parliament. Their objections to William were obliterated,

^a Journals, Feb. 24.¹ Ibid.

rated,

rated, at once, by their abhorrence of the conspiracy against his life; and thus the imprudence of his enemies confirmed him in a throne, on which he tottered before.

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THIS unsuccessful under-plot of a few zealots was sufficient to ruin all the present projects of the late King. But the seeds of disappointment were already sown in France itself. A Mr. Powel had been sent to St. Germain, from the Jacobites in England, to lay before James the state of the designs in his favour in that kingdom. Powel spoke with such vehemence, confidence, and zeal, that the late King supposed, that his party were resolved to take arms, when they should receive certain intelligence of his own preparations for an invasion from France. He desired Powel to put the whole in writing. But, before his commands were executed, James happened to meet and converse with the most Christian King. He told that Prince, that his friends in England were ready, upon the first notice, to take arms. He perceived his mistake, when he read Mr. Powel's written account. But he was afraid of alarming the French ministers, who were never his friends, by undeceiving the King. The preparations, for the expedition, proceeded upon this mistake. The adherents of James had declared it impossible for them to rise, till he himself should land. Lewis gave positive orders, that not a single vessel should sail, till certain intelligence of an insurrection should arrive from England. The late King was perplexed beyond measure by this insurmountable difficulty. He derived his whole hopes from fortune; and, as usual, he was deceived^k.

Projects of
the late King
broken.

THE discovery of the plot in England, broke, in an instant, the whole scheme. The kingdom was in a ferment. The French court, who had not hitherto been undeceived, lost all hopes of an insurrection, and fell into their usual languor. A storm, which

The inv: sion
laid aside.

^k James II. 1696.

shattered

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shattered the transports as they came round from Havre, and an uninterrupted course of contrary winds, were added to the other misfortunes of the late King. He, however, remained on the coast of France. The transports lay in the port of Calais. Eighteen men of war, intended for their convoy, had anchored, for their own protection against the enemy, among the sands of Dunkirk. The appearance of the English fleet put an end to a design, which seemed to be already broken. Admiral Ruffel, upon the first certain intelligence of the invasion, was ordered to repair to the Downs. Having hoisted his flag, on board the Victory, and collected, with incredible diligence and expedition, a powerful fleet, he stood over to Graveline, and stretched along the coast to Calais. Calais was again bombarded, with little effect. To destroy the French men of war was found impracticable. But the enemy, instead of preparing for a descent on England, became anxious for their own coast. James, in a disconsolate state of mind, returned, at length, to St. Germain. He saw his project broken, his hopes blasted, his friends ruined, by their pursuing measures contrary to his judgment and without his consent¹.

Conspirators
punished.

THE courts of justice were, in the mean time, employed in the trial of such of the conspirators as had fallen into the hands of government. Charnock, King, and Keys, were the first tried; and, upon positive evidence, condemned and executed. They declared, with one consent, in papers delivered to the sheriffs, that James was not only not privy to the design, against the person of William, but that he always rejected such proposals when offered. Sir John Friend, a wealthy citizen, and Sir William Perkins were, soon after, tried and condemned. The first for abetting the intended invasion. The latter for concurring in the plot against the life of the King. Several other persons of less consequence

¹ James II. 1696.

and

and rank inferior, suffered death, for the same crimes. The evidence against the most of the prisoners was full and decisive. The notoriety of the conspiracy proved more fatal to a few, than the facts advanced by the witnesses. The conspiracy against the King was confounded, on the present occasion, with the intended invasion from France. The whole seemed to have been the exact counterpart of the conspiracy in the year 1683; when the people, in their horror of the Rye-house-plot, transferred the guilt of assassins to men who meditated only an insurrection. The criminals, on the present occasion, died enthusiasts to their political principles. They confirmed their own minds in an opinion, which they endeavoured in vain to inculcate on James, that any attack, on an enemy, was a species of war^m.

DURING these transactions, the parliament proceeded in the same strain of complaisance to the crown, which the attempt on the life of the King had raised. Supplies were granted not only with liberality, but even without reserve. Clauses of loan were inserted, in almost every money-bill. An act was passed, empowering the King to apprehend and detain such persons, as he might suspect of conspiring against his person and government. The commons, in a body, presented the association, at the foot of the throne, on the third of April. The lords, soon after, followed the example laid by the lower house. A bank, for the purpose of raising money for the use of the government, was established by act of parliament. This new institution obtained the name of the national land-bank, from its security lying on land. The measure was unadvised, and proved mischievous to public credit. Notwithstanding the complaisance of the two houses, the King exerted his prerogative, in a manner that gave some offence to the commons. He refused his assent to a bill for regulating elections of members to serve in parliament. The pro-

Proceedings
of parlia-
ment.

^m Stuart-papers, 1696.

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jectors of the bill made a motion, that those who had advised his Majesty to put a negative on the bill, were enemies to the King and kingdom. But the current of the times ran, with violence, in favour of government; and the motion was rejected, by a great majorityⁿ. The business of the crown being brought to a conclusion, on the twenty-seventh of April, the King put a happy end to a session, which promised, at the beginning, but little complaisance to his views.

ⁿ Journals.

During these transactions, the parliament proceeded in the same strain of complaisance to the crown, which the attempt on the life of the King had raised. Supplies were granted not only with liberality, but even without reserve. Charles of loan were insisted, in almost every money-bill. An act was passed, empowering the King to apprehend and detain such persons, as he might suspect of conspiring against his person and government. The commons, in a body, presented the association, at the foot of the throne, on the third of April. The lords, soon after, followed the example laid by the lower house. A bank, for the purpose of raising money for the use of the government, was established by act of parliament. This new institution obtained the name of the national land-bank, from its security lying on land. The measure was unopposed, and proved efficacious to public credit. Notwithstanding the complaisance of the two houses, the King exerted his prerogative in a manner that gave some offence to the commons. He refused his assent to a bill for regulating elections of members to serve in parliament. The pro-

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Exhausted state of France.—Her intrigues, and desire of peace.—Campaign of 1696.—Advances toward a treaty.—Domestic affairs.—Proceedings of parliament.—Fenwick's case.—An obsequious session.—Congress at Ristwick.—Peace opposed by the Emperor.—Intrigues for the Spanish succession.—Campaign of 1697.—Crown of Poland offered to King James.—Secret views of that Prince.—William hastens the peace.—He agrees that the Prince of Wales should succeed to the throne.—Reflection.—The proposal rejected by James.—France peremptory in her demands.—The treaty of Ristwick signed.—A session of parliament.—Views of parties.—The army disbanded.—The King disgusted.—Provision for the civil list.—The commons refractory.—Parliament dissolved.—Negociations for the Spanish succession.—First treaty of partition proposed.—The King in Holland.—Scotish and Irish affairs.—Treaty of partition signed.—A new parliament.—The commons refractory.—The army again reduced.—William threatens to abandon the government.—He yields to the commons.—Solicits them in vain for his Dutch guards.

THE glory assumed by France, for having sustained herself so long against the rest of Europe in confederacy, was more than balanced by her domestic distress. Her great exertions had impoverished her subjects, by enormous taxes and imposts. An earnest desire for peace prevailed throughout the kingdom. Past disappointments, and the fear of future misfortunes, had abated the ambition of the King. He had lost his best generals in the course of the war; and a great part of the reputation of his arms, in the preceding campaign. A deficiency in resources de-

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prived him of every hope of making any successful efforts in the present year. He had even some reason to fear, he could not retain what he had already gained; and that, instead of pushing the enemy in their territories, he would find it difficult to defend his own.

Her in-
trigues,

FRANCE, however, endeavoured to supply with address what she wanted in point of power. To provide against the misfortunes dreaded from the continuance of a burdensome war, Lewis extended, with success, his intrigues to the different courts of Europe. In Turkey, he induced Mustapha the second to frustrate all the attempts made by the maritime powers to facilitate a peace. He secured his influence in Poland, by a pension to the Queen. He gained the confidence of the courts of Italy, by professing a concern for the repose and prosperity of a country harassed by the exactions of the allied powers. He disconcerted the measures of the Germanic body, by fomenting the feuds, and supporting the pretensions of the various princes. He placed spies, and established pensioners in Spain. He gained the good offices of the King of Sweden, by flattering his pride; and, in Holland, he renewed his ancient correspondence with the heads of the Republican party.

and desire of
peace.

IN the midst of measures for supporting the war with vigour, the French King thought seriously of the means of obtaining peace. He endeavoured, in the preceding year, through the channel of Denmark and Sweden, to negotiate a treaty for the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe. He had, in some measure, agreed to a preliminary of the Imperial court, that the affair of England should be settled to the satisfaction of the Prince of Orange. He even ascribed the continuance of the war, to William's hopes of regaining, in one campaign, the laurels which he had lost in the war. During the winter, the court of France continued to make advances

advances toward a peace. To facilitate a treaty, they proposed to the States of Holland, that, in case the affair of England was not settled to the satisfaction of the Prince of Orange, the whole negociation should be void. They agreed to admit the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen as the basis of the expected peace. But these advances, on the side of France, were not answered with equal warmth by the allied powers. In proportion to the eagerness of Lewis for peace, they rose in their demands; and thus, throughout the summer, the whole affair remained in suspense.

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WILLIAM, having left London on the second of May, arrived at the Hague on the seventh of that month; but he joined not his troops till the sixth of June. The French had taken the field, with two armies; one under Mareschal de Villeroi, was posted between Mechlen and Deynse. The Mareschal de Boufflers commanded another, between Flerus and Sombref. King William opposed, in person, the enemy at Mariekirke, with one army; while the Elector of Bavaria assembled another in the neighbourhood of Louvain. The whole summer either passed in inaction, or was wasted in motions, which neither promised nor produced any important event. Though no congress was opened, the expectations of peace suspended the operations of war. The allies were in no condition to push, with vigour, the advantages which they had obtained in the preceding campaign; and France, in her present condition, considered her being able to protect her conquests, an advantage equal to the glory of a victory.

An inactive
campaign in
Flanders.

To avail himself of the weakness of Spain, the French King bent his principal efforts towards that side. A dispute with the Court of Madrid, on account of a Jew, who had served him in quality of an agent, had contributed to induce William to withdraw all the naval force of the English from the Mediterranean.

Operations
on the side of
Spain.

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But the French, having ordered the squadron at Toulon to sail into the ocean, were incapable of insulting the coast of Spain, though exposed. They, however, pushed with some vigour their operations by land. The Duke de Vendôme, who commanded in Catalonia, was ordered to take the field. He passed the Ter, on the thirtieth of May. He attacked the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, on the banks of that river, and forced him to retire with loss under the cannon of Ostalric. An inactive campaign succeeded this undecisive engagement. The hopes of an immediate peace, and the prospect of future advantages, rose to France on the side of Spain. The Queen-mother, who, as a daughter of Austria, had carried the animosities of her family against France, into the counsels of Charles the Second, was lately dead. Lewis the Fourteenth had his agents at Madrid; and he, even then, entertained hopes of practising to advantage on the weakness of the King of Spain^a.

Naval trans-
actions.

NOTHING of any moment happened on the side of Germany. The French and Imperialists alternately passed and repassed, to little purpose, the Rhine. The efforts of the maritime powers at sea, were as languid and undecisive as the operations by land. Sir George Rooke, upon his return from Cadiz, where he had wintered with his squadron, was appointed commander in chief of the combined fleet. Having, in vain, endeavoured to intercept the French fleet, upon its way from Toulon, to Brest, he returned to Torbay, on the twenty-third of May, and he was recalled by the lords of the regency from his command. The lord Berkley, who succeeded Rooke, performed nothing of any importance. The most remarkable transaction of this summer at sea, was performed by Du Bart; who had sailed with a French squadron from Dunkirk, in the end of May. He fell in, on the eighth of June, with a fleet of Dutch merchantmen, from the Baltic, under the convoy of five men of war. The latter he took, after an obsti-

^a Hist. d'Espagne.

nate

nate resistance; and thirty of the former fell also into his hands. Having performed this important service, he escaped the vigilance of an English squadron, and returned with his booty to France^b.

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ON the side of Hungary, an undecisive battle between the Ottomans and the Imperialists, near Temeswaer, comprehended the whole operations of the campaign. The Poles were, as usual, inactive. But the death of the King, John Sobieski, converted their country into a scene of intrigue for the succession to the crown^c. The Czar of Muscovy, by the taking of Asoph, on the Tanais, rendered himself, for the first time, an object of attention to the courts of Europe. A peace, between the French and the Duke of Savoy, changed the whole face of affairs in Italy. This pacification, which greatly disconcerted the allies, had been long negociated by the Count de Tefse, as intermediate agent between the Duke and the Marechal de Catinat, who commanded the French troops on the side of Savoy. Catinat made the first offer of peace, on the sixth of June; but the Duke, willing to secure the supplies of the year from England and Holland, concealed, for some time, the treaty, after it was actually signed^d. When he professed to avow the conditions, they only seemed to comprehend the neutrality of Italy. He suppressed the terms, which concerned his own interest. But to convince the confederates of his determination to adhere to his agreement with France, he laid siege, on the thirteenth of September, to Valentia, in conjunction with the Marechal de Catinat^e.

Military
affairs.
Defection of
the Duke of
Savoy.

THE defection of the Duke of Savoy, while it much offended all the confederates, rendered the maritime powers, in particular, very desirous of peace. William had various reasons to wish for an immediate pacification with France. The failure of the land-bank, on which he had so much credit, the consequent difficulty

Advances to-
ward a peace.

^b Hist. de France, tom. iii.

^c Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

^d May 30th.

^e Hist. de France, tom. iii.

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of present remittances, the uncertainty of future supplies, the example of Savoy, for further desertions from the common cause, the disposition of the States against the continuance of a burdensome war, the clamours of the English, under their heavy taxes, all combined to make the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe an object of importance to the King. He, therefore, prosecuted with sincerity every measure to accomplish his views. He concurred with the States, in appointing Dykvelde to confer with Callieres, who had, for some time, carried on in Holland secret negotiations leading to a peace. On the twenty-fourth of August, Dykvelde communicated the whole proceedings to the deputies of the States for foreign affairs. The deputies made their report, on the third of September, to the States-General; who came to a resolution, that the concessions of France to the demands of the Emperor, were sufficient grounds for accepting the mediation of Sweden in concluding a general treaty of peace. The house of Austria, in neither of its branches, seemed willing to close with the proposal of the maritime powers. The court of Spain was offended with William; and the Emperor had an interest in continuing the war^a.

English,
Scottish, and
Irish affairs.

IN England, nothing of importance happened during the summer. The lords of the regency applied their chief attention to the re-coinage of the silver money; and to the operations of the fleet at sea. In Scotland, a session of parliament was held, on the eighth of September. The Lord Murray, eldest son of the Marquis of Athol, being created Earl of Tullibardin, was appointed commissioner. The Earl of Arran, and other malcontents, took the oaths, for the first time, and their seats in the house. A supply was voted, for one year's service, to maintain the standing forces: a measure calculated to induce the government to hold an annual session for its own support. An ill-humour had crept into parliament. The people were distressed with a

^a De Torcy, tom. i.

general scarcity, which rendered them clamorous and discontented. The commissioner, therefore, thought proper to put an end to the session, on the ninth of October. The Lord Capel dying in Ireland, the government of that kingdom devolved, by the choice of the council, on the chancellor, Sir Charles Porter; in terms of an old act of parliament^b. Nothing material happened, in a parliament which met, by adjournment, soon after his elevation to that dignity^c. In the end of July, the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda were associated with Porter in the government of the kingdom.

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ON the seventh of October, the King arrived from Holland, at Kensington, and on the twentieth of the same month, the parliament met at Westminster. William, in his speech from the throne, expressed his satisfaction, that no disorder had happened at home, and no disadvantage abroad, in the course of the present year. He ascribed this happiness to the good disposition of his army, and the steady affection of his people for his person. He recommended unanimity, on account of the magnitude and importance of the business which they had to transact: the supplying of former deficiencies, and the providing for the service of the ensuing year. He informed them of overtures made for a general peace. But that the only means to re-establish the public tranquillity, was to show themselves prepared for a vigorous and effectual war. He earnestly desired the commons to raise speedily the necessary supplies, which ought not to be less than the sum intended for the preceding year. He recommended the civil list to their support, the French Protestants to their commiseration. He desired them to consider, whether some inconvenience did not still remain with regard to the coin. He requested them to find the best expedient for the re-establishment of credit: a circumstance as necessary for trade as for the support of the war^d.

Parliament
meets.^b 33 Hen. VIII.^c June 27th.^d Journals, Oct. 20, 1696.

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Diligence of
the commons.

THE commons, with perfect unanimity, agreed immediately to resolutions which answered the chief demands of the King's speech. In a spiritual address, they promised, in the name of the people of England, to support his Majesty, in obtaining, by war, a safe and honourable peace^e. They pledged the faith of the house, that a supply should be granted for carrying on with vigour the war; and that the deficiencies of the parliamentary funds should be made good^f. They applied themselves with the utmost diligence to this necessary business. The sums to be raised were immense. The deficiency of former funds amounted to more than six millions. Two millions and a half were found necessary for the navy; and a still greater sum for the service by land. Public credit had, in the mean time, sunk so low, that bank-notes were at twenty per cent. discount, and exchequer tallies at sixty per cent. The commons turned their immediate attention to the silver coin. They resolved, that the hammered money should be received only by weight. That an allowance of four pence an ounce should be made on all loans and plate brought to the mint, before the first of January^g. To answer the most pressing demands on government, they resolved to transfer to the next aids, any loans, not exceeding six hundred thousand pounds, that should be advanced on the credit of the exchequer^h.

Public credit
restored.

To restore the credit of the bank, which had, from various causes, fallen so low, the commons resolved to extend the time of its continuance, and to augment the capitalⁱ. The new subscriptions were wisely ordered to be made, in the tallies, upon parliamentary funds, and in bank-notes. The first, in the proportion of four-fifths of the payments. The latter as having been subject to the least discount, in that of one-fifth. Men of money, for the benefit of acquiring, at a low price, a capital in

^e Oct. 22.^h Nov. 9.^f Oct. 28.ⁱ Feb. 3, 1697.^g Nov. 3.

the bank, purchased, with such eagerness, the tallies and notes, that their price arose. The latter soon became equal to money. The discounts, on the former, fell rapidly, as a fund for the payments was fixed. To supply the scarcity of money, was as necessary for the purposes of commerce and government, as the recovery of the credit of the bank notes and tallies. Bills were ordered to be issued from the exchequer, to the amount of two millions, bearing interest at more than seven *per cent.* These were received in the exchequer, with a small discount, in the payments made of the revenue. This measure raised, at length, exchequer bills to an equality with money, and supplied, at present, the want of coin. Mountague, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, had the chief merit, in measures, which, for the time, relieved the nation from imminent distress.

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THE extraordinary case of Sir John Fenwick interrupted, in some degree, the deliberations of the commons, on the subject of public credit. Fenwick had been accused of being concerned in the plot against the King, and was taken, at New Romney, in the preceding June, in endeavouring to make his escape to France. He was committed to Newgate, and a bill found against him by the grand jury^k. To preserve, or, at least, to prolong his life, he fell upon the expedient of obtaining a pardon, as a price of discoveries to the King. Through the means of the Duke of Devonshire, he conveyed a paper to William, when he was in Flanders, containing an account of correspondences and intrigues, carried on with the court of St. Germain, by the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Bath and Marlborough, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Ruffel. Though this account is known, now, to be true, in every particular, it neither gained William's favour nor served the design of Fenwick. The persons accused were too powerful to be punished. Besides, Fenwick had refused to be an

Sir John Fenwick's case.

^k June 11, 1696.

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He is attainted
and executed.

evidence; and had he done otherwise, the proofs, which he could produce, were not sufficient in law. His trial, however, was delayed, by various means, till the King's arrival in England. His friends, in the mean time, removed one of the two witnesses, on whose oaths the bill had been found; and, according to the statutes of treason, a single witness was not sufficient to condemn.

WILLIAM is said to have entertained a personal enmity¹ against Fenwick, for some expressions, reflecting on his conduct, when he served in the army in Holland. This disposition, in the King's mind, combined with the resentment of the accused persons, contributed to punish, in a very irregular manner, that unfortunate man. Admiral Ruffel, by the express permission of William, was the first, who laid before the commons the information of Fenwick, which reflected on himself and several other persons of high rank. The prisoner was brought to the bar of the house, and required to confess all he knew^m. He declined to obey, without assurances of pardon were first given. Upon a vote passed, on his own paper, a bill of attainder was introduced against Fenwickⁿ. He was heard, by his council. But the weight of the crown and the interest of his enemies prevailed. The bill passed the commons, after violent debates^o; and, though much opposed in the upper-house, it received the sanction of the lords^p, and the assent of the King. On the twenty-eighth of January, he was beheaded, on Tower-hill. His behaviour, at his death, was more spirited, than his conduct in prison. The precedent established, in his case, was justly deemed dangerous; as nothing could be less excused, than the employing of the whole force of the legislature to take away the life of a man, whom the laws of treason could not condemn. The death of Fenwick was not of such consequence to

¹ James II. 1694.
^p 68 against 61.

^m Journals, Nov. 6.

Feb. 9, 1697.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Nov. 25, 1699 against 156.

the public quiet, as to justify this violent exertion of the ultimate power, reposed in the state ¹.

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AN uninterrupted complaisance to the crown continued throughout the session. The commons provided, with cheerfulness, for the service of the year. They made good eight hundred and forty thousand pounds, which the funds, for the last, had fallen short ^r. Upon a message from the King, they granted a supply of more than five hundred thousand pounds, for the support of the civil list. They, as the last gift of the session, made provision for the payment of the debt, for the transports employed in the reduction of Ireland. The liberality of the commons raised, in some degree, the resentment of the people. They were openly traduced as corrupt, by individuals. They were frequently besieged, in their house, by mobs. The public business being finished, on the sixteenth of April, the King put an end to the session, with a speech from the throne. He thanked the commons for their large supplies. He informed both houses, that he found it necessary to go for some time abroad. But that he would take care to leave the administration of government in the hands of persons upon whom he could depend ^s.

Obsequious-
ness of par-
liament.

AN event, which happened three days after the rising of parliament, rendered remarkable the paragraph with which his Majesty closed his speech. To the astonishment of the nation, he raised the Earl of Sunderland to the office of lord-chamberlain, in the room of the Earl of Dorset; who had suffered himself to be bought out of his place, with the public money. That this lord uniformly betrayed the late King to the views of the present, when Prince of Orange, is now known, and was, even then, suspected, by the intelligent. There seemed, therefore, to have been a degree of imprudence, in the appointment, though the place,

Sunderland
in office.

¹ James II. 1696.

^r Feb. 9, 1697.

^s April 11.

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Congress at
Rifwick.The peace
opposed by
the Emperor
and Spain.

which he held before in William's favour, entitled him to a part of the management of public affairs. On the twenty-second of April, the earl was sworn a privy-councillor, and, as such, took his place at the board. He was comprehended in the commission of lords-justices; and, though at the time in correspondence with James', was one of those persons, on whom, William said to his parliament, he could thoroughly depend.

ON the twenty-fourth of April, the King left Kensington, and arrived, on the twenty-seventh, at the Hague. The advances made toward a peace, in the end of the preceding summer, were improved in the winter. William had named, in the month of December, three plenipotentiaries to negotiate a treaty. The French King had appointed two persons, in the like capacity, to be joined to Callieres, who had long carried on a negociation at the Hague. The Emperor and the court of Spain threw various objections in the way. But these being, at length, over-ruled, by the rest of the allies, a congress was agreed to be opened, under the mediation of Charles the Eleventh, King of Sweden. That Prince dying, in the mean time, the office of mediator was transferred to his son. The ambassadors of the belligerent powers met, on the ninth of May, at a house belonging to the King of England, in the neighbourhood of Rifwick, a village situated between Delft and the Hague.

FRANCE and the maritime powers seemed to find little difficulty, in defining their respective claims. England and Holland had scarce any farther concern in the treaty, than to settle a barrier in Flanders, and to procure an ample acknowledgment of William's right to the throne. Callieres, then sole plenipotentiary for Lewis the Fourteenth in Holland, had consented, as early as the tenth of February, to preliminaries, which declared, that

† Stuart-papers, 1696. James II. 1696.

Straßbourg should be restored to the Emperor, Mons, Charleroi, Dinant, and the whole dutchy of Luxembourg, together with the conquests in Catalonia to the Spaniards, the dutchy of Lorrain to its native Prince; and that the title of William should be acknowledged, without any manner of difficulty, restriction, condition or reserve. But that the claims of other Princes should be left to be settled, by the treaty for a general peace, to be negociated under the mediation of the King of Sweden. The house of Austria, however, in neither of its branches, seemed willing to put an immediate end to the war. Though Spain was destitute of troops, of ships, of money, and of councils. Though the grandees, at variance among themselves, possessed no credit at court nor authority among the people. Though the monarchy tottered through all its extensive dominions, the influence of a haughty and imperious woman, who hated every body and was herself detested by all, swayed the timid mind of Charles the Second, to listen to the court of Vienna, and to continue a war which he abhorred.

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THE cause of this obstinacy, on the part of the Emperor Leopold, requires to be explained. Charles the Second, the last male of that branch of the house of Austria, which had sat, for near two centuries, on the throne of Spain, was a prince, weak in body and feeble in mind; subject to melancholy, and a slave to passion; a stranger to business, timid by constitution, as well as through ignorance. His mother, who was sister to the Emperor, had endeavoured to protract her own authority, as regent, by keeping him longer a child in his understanding, than he was in his years. Don John of Austria, the natural son of Philip IV. though he stripped her of her power, followed her system. The ministers, who succeeded Don John, pursued the same principle. They kept their sovereign a kind of prisoner, in his own palace; and governed, in his name, a kingdom long exhausted by a succession of wretched councils. The treaty of Nimeguen having established a good

The cause of
their obsti-
nacy.

Operation in
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good understanding between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, the King married Maria-Louisa, daughter of the Duke of Orleans. This princess, unambitious of governing a weak husband, left him, at first, in the hands of his ministers; and her interference, at length, in favour of France, proved fatal to herself. In the beginning of the year 1689, England and Holland, in alliance with the Emperor, resolved to draw Spain into the war against Lewis the Fourteenth. The Queen died suddenly. Mansfeldt, the Imperial ambassador, and the Count of Oropeza, were at no pains to conceal, that they had removed, by a wicked piece of policy, a person, who was likely to obstruct their views^u.

Intrigues for
the Spanish
succession.

A DAUGHTER of the Duke of Neubourg succeeded the unfortunate Queen, in the bed of Charles the Second. Being sister to the Empress, she was firmly attached to the allies, and she governed Spain. She entered into the views of Leopold, for preserving the succession of the crown in his own family, in exclusion of the female line. Her object was to induce her husband to send for her nephew, the arch-duke, to Madrid, to be educated, as the sole heir of Spain. The King, for some time, resisted her importunities. But, in the year 1696, he yielded to his own fears. Alarmed at the progress of the French, in the heart of his kingdom, he promised to invite the arch-duke to Spain, upon condition that the Emperor should send twelve thousand of his troops to oppose the enemy in Catalonia. The slow councils of the court of Vienna obstructed this design, till mutual advances, toward a peace, were made, by France and the maritime powers. The Emperor, therefore, endeavoured, when too late, to protract the war, as favourable to his own views on the Spanish succession^v.

Operations in
Flanders and
Catalonia.

WHILE the Emperor and his influence, by means of the Queen, over the councils of Spain, obstructed the treaty, with new de-

^u Torcy's Memoirs, vol. i.

^v Ibid.

mands,

mands, Lewis the Fourteenth declared his resolution to adhere to the articles of the preliminaries. His ministers signified in form, that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen must be the basis of the future peace. That it remained with the allies to agree to terms or to prosecute the war. This declaration at the congress was strengthened by operations in the field. The Marechal de Catinat invested and took Aeth. William was either indifferent, as to the fate of the place, or unprepared to raise the siege. He joined the army, in person, on the twenty-fourth of May. The Marechals de Villeroi and Boufflers were posted too advantageously to be attacked. He, however, disappointed the designs of the French upon Brussels and the fortress of Trois Trous. But the chief efforts of Lewis were made on the side of Spain, to extricate, by disasters, the timid mind of Charles the Second from the intrigues of the Emperor. The Duke de Vendôme laid siege to Barcelona, by land. The Count d'Estrées blocked up the place by sea. The Count de Velasco, dividing the force, with which he proposed to raise the siege, was surprised, in both his camps, and put to flight. The city capitulated, on the last day of July; and that conquest determined the Emperor and Spain to listen to the proposals of a general peace*.

THE success of the arms of France was balanced, by the defeat of her negotiations in Poland. The death of King John Sobieski, on the eighth of June, in the preceding year, had opened a scene of intrigue for the crown of that kingdom. The predilection of the Queen, for her younger son, Alexander, in opposition to James, the elder, divided the friends of the late King, and ruined the influence of his family. Many of the Poles had turned their eyes to another quarter. The Abbé de Polignac, ambassador of France in Poland, wrote to his master, that thoughts were entertained of the late King of England, in the new election, for filling the

Crown of Poland offered to James.

* Hist. de France, tom. iii. Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii.

throne;

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throne; and that he had been already named by some of the diets. Lewis was eager to seize an opportunity of ridding himself, with honour, of a Prince, whose pretensions he could no longer support. He sent M. de Pomponne to St. Germain. The friends of James were sanguine for the project; but he rejected it himself. He told M. de Pomponne, "that he would ever retain a grateful remembrance of his friends in Poland; that, however, he would not accept of the crown, had it actually been offered; much less would he endeavour to obtain by solicitation any throne, that was not his due. That his acceptance of any other scepter would amount to an abdication indeed of that which he deemed his right; and that, therefore, he was resolved to remain, in his present forlorn condition, possessing less hopes than ever of being restored, than to do the least act to prejudice his family."

Conferred on
the Elector
of Saxony.

THE self-denial of James induced Lewis to turn his eyes to the Prince of Conti, as a fit candidate for the Polish throne. The character of that Prince, and above all, the bribes and promises distributed by the Abbé de Polignac, seemed to have conciliated the suffrages of the whole nation. But in the midst of these flattering hopes, a new and powerful candidate appeared. The Elector of Saxony, supporting himself with an armed force, advanced to the frontiers of the kingdom and demanded the crown. He had removed all objections to his religion, by previously abjuring the Lutheran faith. He added the force of bribery, to less powerful claims. On the night before the election, a very large sum was distributed in the camp, to fortify his party. But the majority still adhered to the French. The Prince of Conti was declared duly elected, by the primate. On the other hand, the bishop of Cujavia also nominated Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, King of Poland and Great Duke of Lithuania. The result of the whole was, that the Elector promoted his own interest,

James II. 1696.

to such advantage, that the Prince of Conti, on his arrival in the road of Dantzic, on the fifteenth of September, found that he came too late to support his pretensions to the crown ^z.

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THOUGH the success of the Elector of Saxony, in Poland, flattered the pride of the Emperor, it contributed little to his designs of obstructing the negotiations at Ryswick. The maritime powers were now absolutely under the direction of the King of England, who had all along been the life and soul of the confederacy; and he had scarce any thing, except her acknowledgment of his own right to the throne, to settle with France. Lewis the Fourteenth had long determined to prefer the benefits of a necessary peace, to his engagements to the late King. That unfortunate Prince had laid aside all expectations from the aid of France, ever since his disappointment in the projected invasion of the preceding year. He flattered himself, in his lost condition, with other hopes. He was assured, from England, that William was in a declining state of health. That he was dropping in his habit of body; and that his dissolution seemed to advance with hasty strides. James had formed a new scheme, upon the event of his nephew's death. He resolved to return to England, though three men should not follow him; and to throw himself on the good nature of the English nation^a. "It could not enter into his mind," he said, "that the people of England would treat him with indignities;" and he knew, that the majority were determined to preserve all the just prerogatives of the crown^b.

The maritime powers and France resolve on a peace.

The hopes derived by James from the death of William, were dashed, from a quarter, where no check to his views was then feared. The Princess of Denmark had, for six years, maintained a fair correspondence with her father, full of assurances of duty

Secret views of the late King.

^z James II. 1695.

^a James II. 1695.

^b Ibid.

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and expressions of repentance. The bad health of King William had awakened her ambition, with the prospect of the crown. She wrote to her father upon this subject. She desired to know his pleasure, whether he would permit her to ascend the throne, according to the act of settlement, should the Prince of Orange, so she called King William, happen to die. She accompanied this request, with expressions of duty and a seeming readiness to make restitution, when opportunity should serve. She insinuated, that should he refuse to accede to this expedient, considering the present disposition of the kingdom, he would remove himself further from the hopes of recovering his throne; as the scepter, she said, would fall into worse hands, out of which it could not be so easily recovered. The reasoning of the Princess was too refined, for the temper of her father. He told his friends, that though he could suffer injustice, he could never be persuaded to give it countenance. He knew, he said, that of all restitutions, none is harder to make than that of a crown. He, however, excused himself to his daughter; and his declared adherence to the resolution of placing himself in the hands of his former subjects, put an end to the proposal^d.

He is alarmed at the congress.

The late King was no stranger to the endeavours of France to put an end to the war. But he could never believe^e, he said, that Lewis would wholly neglect his interest, in the terms of the peace. In the course of the preceding campaign, he was, for the first time, alarmed. He pressed, in person, the French King, on the subject. His adherents argued the matter with the ministry, in vain^f. In the preceding December, he sent an agent to the court of Vienna. The Emperor was deaf to his entreaties^g. He disregarded, at once, his misfortunes and his claims upon himself, as a Catholic Prince, on the score of religion. Notwithstanding this repulse from Leopold, he rested some faint hopes on the generosity of

^d James II. 1697.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

Lewis

Lewis the Fourteenth. But when the two French plenipotentiaries, de Harlay and de Creci, departed from Paris, in March, to join Callieres at Delft, he gave all his hopes away^b. The event, however, may serve to shew, that Lewis deserved to be more trusted; and that he yielded to necessity only, when he seemed to the world to neglect the interest of the abdicated King.

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THOUGH the views of the Emperor were disappointed, by the apparent resolution of the maritime powers, to restore the public tranquillity, his ministers, at the congress, discovered no inclination to bring the conferences to a speedy issue. It was reserved for William, who had been the soul of the war, to conclude, with a decisive stroke, the peace. The two armies, after the surrender of Aeth, lay opposed to one another in the neighbourhood of Brussels. The allies, under the King, were encamped at Cockleberg. The Mareschals de Villeroi, de Catinat, and de Boufflers, commanded the French army at Pepinge. The Earl of Portland, on the part of the King of England, and de Boufflers, in the name of Lewis, met between the armies and held a conference, in the open field, on the tenth of July. They met again, on the fifteenth and twentieth of the same month, in the same manner. But, on the twenty-sixth of July and the second of August, they retired to a house in the suburbs of Hall; and reduced to writing the terms to which they had agreed in the field^c.

William
hastens the
peace.

THE world have hitherto been no less ignorant of the object of these interviews, than Europe was then astonished, at such an uncommon mode of negociation. As William trusted not his three plenipotentiaries at the Hague, with his agreement with France, mankind justly concluded, that a secret of the last importance had been for some time depending between the two kings. Time has, at length, unraveled the mystery. Lewis, unwilling

Agrees that
the Prince
of Wales
should suc-
ceed him in
the throne.

^b James II. 1697.

^c Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères à Versailles.

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to desert James, proposed that the Prince of Wales should succeed to the crown of England, after the death of William. The King, with little hesitation, agreed to this request. He even solemnly engaged, to procure the repeal of the act of settlement; and to declare, by another, the Prince of Wales his successor in the throne^k. This great preliminary being settled, other matters of less importance followed of course. The fifty thousand pounds a year, settled as a jointure upon King James's Queen, was agreed to be paid; though the money was afterwards retained upon various pretences. On the third of August, the King left the army and retired to Dieren. He sent from thence the Earl of Portland, to acquaint the ministers assembled at the congress, that he had settled his own affairs, and those of his kingdoms, with France; and that he earnestly pressed the allies, and particularly the Emperor, to hasten the conclusion of the great work of peace.

Reflections
on that trans-
action.

THOSE who ascribe all the actions of William to public spirit, will find some difficulty in reconciling this transaction to their elevated opinion of his character. In one concession to France, he yielded all his professions to England; and, by an act of indiscretion, or through indifference, deserted the principles to which he owed the throne. The deliverance of the nation was not, however, the sole object of this Prince. Like other men, he was subject to human passions; and, like them, when he could gratify himself, he served the world. Various motives seem to have concurred, to induce him to adopt a measure, unaccountable on other grounds. The projected peace was to secure the crown in his possession for his life. He had no children, and but few relations; and those he never loved. The successors provided by the act of settlement, he either despised or abhorred; and he seems hitherto not to have extended his views beyond the limits

of that act. Though James had displeased the nation, he had not injured William. The son had offended neither. He might excite compassion, but he could be no object of aversion. The supposed spurioufness of his birth, had been only held forth to amuse the vulgar; and even these would be convinced, by the public acknowledgment intended to be made by the very person whose interest was most concerned in the support of that idle tale.

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BUT the same imprudence which lost to the late King the crown, excluded, for ever, his posterity from the throne. He told his most Christian Majesty, who had made the first overture to him, on this important subject, that though he could suffer with patience the usurpation of his nephew upon his right, he would never permit his own son to be guilty of the same injustice¹. He urged, that should the son reign in his father's lifetime, that circumstance would amount to a formal renunciation. That the Prince of Wales, by succeeding to the Prince of Orange, would yield his sole right, which was that of his father; and being obliged to the people for his elevation, the hands which had raised him, might, at any time, justly pull him down from his throne. That should he himself be capable of consenting to such a disgraceful proposal, in favour of his son, he might be justly reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. Besides, that though he should consent to sacrifice all that he reckoned dear, to a mortal enemy, the Prince of Orange could only promise a thing, which he was not, perhaps, able to perform. That the same parliament that had conferred the royal authority on himself, had settled the reversion of the crown on the Princess of Denmark; and that, therefore, by reversing the act of settlement, he disjointed the whole chain which bound the people to

The proposal
rejected by
James.¹ James II. 1697.

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France more
peremptory
in her de-
mands.

his government. But that should even the Prince of Orange induce the parliament of England to repeal the act of settlement, it would be always on condition of having the Prince of Wales placed in their hands, without their being able to give any security either for his person or his conscience¹.

THE last consideration was not, perhaps, the least motive of this deluded Prince, for rejecting the only certain prospect that had ever offered itself for restoring his family to the throne. The French King, perceiving his obstinacy, urged not further a point, of which James himself could be the only judge. The latter endeavoured, in the mean time, to stop the progress of a treaty, with vain protests, and with unavailing memorials and remonstrances to the confederate Princes. The demand of France, for the eventual succession of the Prince of Wales, being removed, the re-establishment of peace, between Lewis and William, became absolutely certain. The first, therefore, became more peremptory in his negotiations with the Empire and Spain, as the allies were already apparently disunited. He ordered his ministers, at the congress, to deliver in the project of a general peace, upon the footing of the preliminaries^m. The project was accompanied with a declaration, limiting the time of its being accepted, to the last day in August. The house of Austria were as dilatory in their motions toward a peace, as they had been slow in prosecuting the war. They paid no regard to the limitations offered by France, though they were in no condition for maintaining themselves singly against her power. Spain had added to her misfortunes at home, a disaster of an alarming kind abroad. A French squadron, under De Pointis, had, with the assistance of the buccaniers, taken Carthagena in America, plundered the place of an immense treasure, and having escaped the utmost efforts and vigilance of the English fleet, arrived safely at Brest, on the nineteenth of August.

¹ Memorial to the Pope, 1697. Mem. to the Elector Palatine, MS.

^m July 20.

THIS fresh misfortune succeeding the capture of Barcelona, hastened greatly the conclusion of the treaty, on the part of Spain. The Emperor, however, continued obstinate, and he was deserted by the rest of the allies. William having settled his own concerns with France, had left the army, on the third of August, and retired to Dieren. He dispatched from thence the Earl of Portland to the Hague. He ordered him to acquaint the congress, that he had adjusted matters in such a manner with Lewis the Fourteenth, that no delay, in the general peace, should arise from his concerns. That, therefore, he earnestly pressed the allies, and particularly the Emperor, to contribute all that lay in their power toward concluding so great a work. This declaration of the King, was regarded as a command. The plenipotentiaries of the States signed the treaty, on the ninth of September, about mid-night. Their example was taken, in an hour after, by the ambassador of Spain; and he was followed by the plenipotentiaries of England. The treaties of Munster and Nimeguen served as a basis for that with Holland. The places taken in Catalonia, the dutchy of Luxembourg, the county of Chinei, Charleroi, Mons, Aeth, Courtrai, and all places united to France, by the chambers of Metz and Brisac, were restored to Spain. The King of England agreed to pay fifty thousand pounds a year, by way of jointure, to King James's Queen; and Lewis the Fourteenth engaged not to disturb William in the possession of his kingdomsⁿ.

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III.1697.
Treaty signed
Sept. 10.

Room was left for the Emperor to accede to the treaty; and an immediate armistice was procured. France, having disunited the allies, entertained no doubt of forcing the Emperor and empire into a peace. Leopold having complained of being a second time deserted by the Dutch, in a pacification with France, thought proper, at length, to comply. On the twentieth of

Peace be-
tween France
and the Em-
peror, Oct.
20.ⁿ Vid. Treaty.

October,

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October, his ambaffador figned alfo the treaty of Rifwick. The terms were regulated by thofe of Weftphalia and Nimeguen, Fribourg, Brisgau and Philipfburgh were reftored to the Emperor. The dutchies of Lorrain and Bar were, on conditions, rendered back to his nephew, the Duke of Lorrain^o; and thus a general tranquillity, though not deftined to laft long, was re-eftablifhed in the North and Weft of Europe. Objections have been made to the conduet of the King of England, in figning a feparate peace, againft both the letter and fpirit of the grand alliance. But the diftreffes which would have been brought upon the kingdom through the continuance of a war, that ceafed, with regard to England, to have any object, and the impotent obftinacy of the court of Vienna, fufficiently juftifies William, in forcing, in a manner, the Emperor to the acceptance of reasonable terms.

The bloody
battle of
Zenta.

THE Emperor had fcarce agreed to the treaty of Rifwick, when he received intelligence of the total defeat of the Turks at Zenta^p, a fmall village on the weftern bank of the Theyffe, in the kingdom of Hungary. The famous Prince Eugene of Savoy had fucceeded the Elector of Saxony in the command of the army; and to his fpirit and conduet was owing the compleat victory which the Imperialifts had obtained. The flaughter, rather than the fight, lafted from ten in the morning, till late at night. The two preceding ages, though remarkable for battles, had not produced fo bloody a combat. The Ottomans, broken by the enemy in front, were at the fame time attacked in the rear. In lefs than an hour, refiftance was over, on the fide of the Turks, but the reft of the day was fpent in butchery and blood. All endeavoured to gain the bridge, but it was rendered impaffable, by the heaps of the flain. To avoid the fury of the fword, thoufands threw themfelves into the river, and were drowned. Thirty thoufand were faid to lie dead on the field,

* Hift. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

^p Sept. 11.

before

before the coming of night saved a few fugitives from death. The camp of the enemy, the magnificent pavillion of the sultan himself, the stores, the provisions, the ammunition, all the cannon and baggage, fell into the hands of Prince Eugene. The grand Vizier was killed, the seal of the empire taken; the Aga of the Janizaries, and twenty-seven Bashaws were found among the slain. Never was victory more complete. But the advanced season, and the want of resources, in the court of Vienna, prevented it from having any immediate or striking consequences⁹.

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ON the thirteenth of November, the King embarked for England, under the convoy of a squadron of men of war; and on the fourteenth arrived at Margate. He entered London on the sixteenth, amid the acclamations of the populace. Intemperance and riot were mixed with solemn thanksgivings; and as every individual had suffered by the waste of the war, the whole nation seemed sincerely to rejoice at the return of peace. The parliament had been summoned by the lords of the regency, to meet on business, on the twenty-third of November. But that assembly was further prorogued to the third of December. An object of the utmost consequence, and, in the state of the times, of the greatest difficulty, had been communicated by the King to the ministry, before his return to England. He wished to retain a great part of the standing army in pay, after the re-establishment of peace. His servants felt the pulse of the nation, by publications on that subject. But instead of persuading the people into the views of the Crown, they alarmed their fears. The resentment of mankind in general, was added to their astonishment. They saw, with a degree of indignation, that those who had most violently opposed a standing force in former times, were the chief supporters of that unpopular measure in the present reign.

King returns
to England.
Nov.⁹ Hist. d'Allemagne.

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III.1697.
A session of
Parliament.

THE session at length was opened, on the third of December, with a speech from the throne. The King informed his parliament, that the war, into which he had entered by the advice of his people, was now terminated, in its object, an honourable peace. That, however, he was sorry his subjects could not find at first that relief from the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, which either he could have wished or they have expected. The funds, intended for the preceding year, he told them, had failed. There was a debt, on account of the fleet, and on the part of the army. The revenues of the crown, he said, were anticipated for the public use. He himself was wholly destitute of means to support the civil list. He told them, that he trusted their providing for him during his life, in a manner suitable to his honour, and the dignity of government. He informed them, that the increase of the navy, since his accession to the crown, had proportionably augmented its charge. That the interest and reputation of England, rendered necessary a great force at sea. The circumstances of affairs abroad, he said, were such, that he assured them, England could not be safe without a land force. He expressed his hopes, that they would not give an opportunity to the enemies of the nation to effect, under the notion of a peace, what they could not accomplish by a war; and he therefore desired the commons to consider the matter, in such a manner as to provide the necessary supplies.

Views of
parties.

THIS speech was construed, by the different parties in parliament, as they themselves were variously inclined. The disaffected deeming it haughty, and even insolent, in its whole strain. Some wished to ease the subject, by reducing, to a low degree, the peace-establishment. Some, who loved their country, were afraid of a standing army. The adherents of James, were resolved to distress William on popular grounds. The few who

Journals, Nov. 3.

harboured

harboured in secret republican opinions, opposed, from principle, a measure calculated to place an uncontrollable power in the hands of the King. The different views of all the parties centered in one point; and were supported by the people, in their opposition to the Crown. The nation was exhausted with late taxes. They were alarmed at the continuance of present burdens, and terrified at future imposts. The kingdom had derived no advantage from the peace, except the prospect of ease from the discontinuance of the war; and the people, disappointed in their reasonable hopes, became discontented, violent, and clamorous. A more steady, but a no less determined conduct was observed by the commons. They addressed the King on his speech, in terms full of respect, but with great reserve¹. They assured his Majesty, that as the house had effectually enabled him to carry on the war, they were ready to assist and support him in the time of peace. On the seventh of December, the address was read, and ordered to be presented by the whole house².

THE first resolutions of the commons bore the appearance of moderation, though they promised not implicit compliance. On a division of the house, the friends of the court carried a vote of supply³. Having inquired into the deficiencies of the aids of the preceding year, they resolved, that a sum, not exceeding six hundred thousand pounds, to be raised on the credit of the exchequer, should be transferred to the supplies of the next session of parliament. On the tenth of December, they received the King's answer to their address. Though he perceived the design of the commons, he receded not from his own purpose. He told them, as they assisted him beyond expression in the war, he had no doubt of an equal zeal in the house to maintain the peace⁴. This answer, signifying plainly the King's wishes to retain

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The army
ordered to be
disbanded.¹ Nov. 3.² Dec. 9.³ Journals, Dec. 7.⁴ Dec. 10.

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1697.

Arguments
for the ques-
tion.

a considerable standing force in his pay, hastened the discussion of that important point. In a committee of the whole house, it was resolved, without a division, the next day^x, that all the land-forces raised since the twenty-ninth of September 1680, should be paid and disbanded.

THE court-party urged various arguments for carrying a point, in which the King had signified himself to be much concerned. They urged, that as France had not yet disbanded any of her troops, it would be dangerous, as well as absurd, to trust to the faith of a treaty for the safety of the nation. They affirmed, that to trust the navy with the protection of the kingdom, was to leave the fate of its independence to fortune. They averred, from the example of the late revolution, that a wind might arise, which could carry an enemy out of their ports, and, at the same time, confine the ships of England to their own harbours. They freely owned, that some dangers might arise to the liberties of the people from a standing army. But they denied it to be true, that public freedom was always ruined by armies. They produced Venice and the States of the United Provinces, as examples of this position; and they endeavoured to prove, that the liberties of France fell, through the dark policy of Lewis the Eleventh, and not by the means of a military force. They attempted to raise the fears of the people, by explaining the facility with which the late King might return. They represented the disaffection of a part of the nation, as too strong to be suppressed without the terrors of a standing army. They concluded with observing, that as the power of the purse was in the hands of the nation, the Crown might, without danger, be trusted with any degree of the power of the sword.

General ar-
guments.

ON the other side, it was urged with vehemence, that an island like Britain had little to fear from an enemy whose naval

^x Dec. 11.

force

force was inferior to its own. They affirmed, that the fitting out of a fleet was a work of time. That the preparations of the kingdom might, in a great measure, keep pace with those of the invaders. That the confederates would either call the attention of France to another quarter, or she might be opposed with effect, on the coast of England, by troops called from Scotland and Ireland. They affirmed, that no wind could arise more favourable to the French, in quitting their principal ports, than to the English in sailing from their own. Besides, that, merely for the bare possibility of such a circumstance, no Prince could be supposed to hazard a vast expence, upon one improbable contingency. That the examples of Venice, Holland, and France, were inapplicable to the present argument. That the two republics kept their standing forces only in their conquered countries. That though Lewis the Eleventh invaded the liberties of his subjects, without public violence, a standing army was soon found necessary to support the usurpations of the crown, on the natural rights of the people. They urged, with great force of argument, that a militia was the most natural and least dangerous protectors of the kingdom; as the gentry, freeholders, and traders of England, were more concerned in the freedom and safety of their country, than soldiers, whose only motive to action was their pay.

THEY descended from general to particular arguments. They averred, that the most likely way to restore the late King, was to support a standing force to defeat his designs. To prove this position, they affirmed, that the affection of the people was the only rock on which the throne of the Prince could remain firm. That when it leans on a standing force, it depends on the unsteady humours of the soldiery. Revolution and change, they shewed, from the examples of former ages, had proceeded oftener from the caprice of an army, than from the violence and inconstancy of the multitude. They alleged, that the fate of the kingdom would

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Particular
reasons
against it.

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would depend on the political principles, or the avarice of the chief officers. That one might be swayed by an affection for the late King, another gained with French money. They descended to all the inconveniences, arising from standing armies. They mentioned quarrels, assassinations, robberies, the dishonouring of women, the insolence to men, their injustice to mankind in general, the licence derived from the pride of their station, their contempt for laws, by which they ceased to be confined. They, however, concluded, that it was, by no means, their design, to ruin, by the peace, those who had deserved so well of the nation, by their courage, fidelity, and conduct in the war. That their arguments were directed against the thing itself, and not against particular men; and that, therefore, the officers ought to receive, from the parliament, a recompence for the loss of their commissions.

The opposing
members
prevail.

THE adherents of the crown propagated rumours of danger, without doors, to strengthen their arguments within. They affirmed, that the French ambassador was stopped; that the King of Spain was dead; that Europe was ready to plunge again into a war. They endeavoured to gain the interested with promises, and to impress the minds of the feeble with fears. But these artifices produced no effect on the country party. Some of the latter, in the course of their arguments, upbraided the King himself with a breach of faith to the nation. They observed, that, in his declaration when Prince of Orange, he promised, upon the settlement of the nation, to send back all his foreign forces. But that, instead of adhering to his solemn engagements, he still retained a great number of aliens about his person. That of his countrymen, the Dutch, he had a troop of horse, of two hundred and twenty men; and one regiment of body guards of the same nation, consisting of four battalions, amounting to more than two thousand

fix hundred soldiers. That he had also, in the same capacity, one regiment of Scots, consisting of one thousand six hundred men; and that of French refugees, who depended on himself alone, he had two regiments of dragoons and three of foot, falling in all little short of five thousand men. The disaffected exaggerated greatly the dangers to be apprehended from these troops. They compared them to the pretorian bands, who executed the tyrannical decrees of the worst Emperors of Rome; and even to the Turkish Janizaries, who, by being cut off, in their infancy, from all connexions with the rest of mankind, know no umpire but the sword, and own no ties but an absolute submission to the will of the reigning Prince^z.

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THE warmth expressed in these debates, excited disgust on both sides. The King was highly displeased, with the conduct of the commons. A majority of the commons were almost dissatisfied with the choice they had made of a King. William was at no pains to conceal his sentiments. He complained, that by reducing his army, the commons had rendered him contemptible in the eyes of Europe; that he was doubtful, whether he could support either his government at home or any of his alliances abroad, in his present despicable state; that had he foreseen such returns for his services, he would never have meddled with English affairs; and that he was weary of governing a nation, who, through their jealousy of the crown, exposed their sovereign to contempt and themselves to danger^a. But when the King vented his resentment in complaints, his chief adviser, the Earl of Sunderland, yielded to his own fears. He had supported, with all his eloquence, the arguments for a standing army. He even was deemed the author of the measure. He found that the Whigs and the Tories were alike his enemies. That the first hated him for his measures in the reign of James. That the latter abhorred him for his treachery

The King
disgusted.^z Trenchard's Remarks.^a Burnet, vol. iii.

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The large
provision for
the civil list.

to that Prince. He, therefore, resolved to prevent the falling of the storm, by resigning the office of lord-chamberlain^b, and retiring into the country. The anxiety of William to keep Sunderland near his person^c, was construed, by his enemies, into a kind of criminal gratitude, for that lord's betraying the councils of his predecessor.

THE resolution, for reducing the army to seven thousand men, being carried, the commons brought a bill^d into their house, for regulating the militia, and for rendering them serviceable to the nation. They voted, the next day^e, that ten thousand men were necessary for a summer and winter guard at sea. They resolved, that a sum, not exceeding seven hundred thousand pounds, should be granted to his Majesty, for the support of the civil list^f. They, at the same time, passed a bill, against corresponding with the late King and his adherents. They agreed to an act, for continuing the imprisonment of several persons accused of being privy to the late conspiracy against the life of the King. They voted three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for maintaining guards and garrisons, for the year 1698^g. They granted a supply not exceeding two millions seven hundred thousand pounds, to answer and cancel all exchequer bills. To reconcile the army to the projected reduction, they ordered a gratuity to the common soldiers; and half-pay to such officers as were natural-born subjects of England, till they should be provided for in some other manner^h. They provided for the deficiencies of former fundsⁱ. They resolved to pay the sums due for subsidies to the allies^k. They considered the state of the national debts; and voted that all arrears should be gradually paid.

1698.
Obtained by
an artifice
of the King.

THE King is said to have owed the large sum, for the support of the civil list, more to his own management, than to the gene-

^b Dec. 26.^c Burnet, vol iii.^d Dec. 17.^e Dec. 18.^f Dec. 20.^g Jan. 14, 1698.^h Jan. 18.ⁱ Jan. 22.^k Feb. 10.

rosity

rosity of the commons. The leading members had designed to give only six hundred thousand pounds for that purpose. But William told the adherents of the Princess of Denmark, that he intended to form a household for her son, the Duke of Gloucester; and that the establishment would require fifty thousand pounds¹. He insinuated, at the same time, to such members as still retained some regard for the late King, that he had promised to pay to the exiled Queen her jointure, amounting to fifty thousand pounds, in consequence of an agreement with France at the treaty of Ryswick. This precaution facilitated the grant of an addition of one hundred thousand pounds a year to the civil list. He, however, found means to retain, in his own hands, the money destined for the Queen. The Earl of Portland, being sent ambassador to Paris, in the beginning of the year, insisted that, in the conferences between himself and the Marechal de Boufflers, the latter had promised secretly, that King James should be removed from St. Germain. He averred, that this removal was the condition of the payment of the jointure. Boufflers denied the fact. But Lewis the Fourteenth was not in a disposition to argue the matter with William^m. The King observed the same strain of œconomy with regard to the duke of Gloucester. An establishment for that Prince was not made for some time after the provision for the civil list was granted; and when his household was at length formed, fifteen thousand pounds a year were only givenⁿ.

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1698.

AN attempt made^o by the opposition in the house of commons, to apply a part of the forfeited estates, to the use of the public, was disappointed by the art of the court party. The latter insisted, on beginning with the grants of the two preceding reigns. The persons affected by the amendment opposed the motion. They joined their influence with those who had received grants from the reigning Prince. Petitions were presented on every side. Difficulties were

An inquiry
into grants
and fraudulent
indorsements of ex-
chequer bills.

¹ Dukes of Marlborough. Burnet.

^m James II. 1697.

ⁿ Dukes of Marlborough.

^o Jan. 11.

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raised; and the whole matter was dropt, as the interests of all parties were concerned in defeating the measure. During this attempt toward a kind of resumption of grants, another inquiry of some importance employed a part of the attention of the commons. The exchequer bills upon their being first issued, bore no interest. But on their being paid in upon any of the taxes, and issued a second time, they were entitled to seven and a half *per cent.* interest. This circumstance induced some of the King's officers, in the exchequer, customs, and excise, to place false indorsements on the bills, before they had been circulated at all. One Duncomb, who was receiver-general of the excise, had amassed a fortune, by this fraudulent practice, sufficient to protect himself and the partners of his guilt from justice. He was expelled the house^p. A bill fining him, in half his estate, valued at the enormous sum of four hundred thousand pounds, passed the commons. The lords were equally divided. But the duke of Leeds, being in the chair of the committee, rejected the bill, by his casting voice. The wealth of Duncomb and the character of Leeds, gave rise to reflections less improbable, than difficult to be ascertained.

A new East-
India com-
pany esta-
blished.

DEBATES on the expediency of enlarging the stock of the East India company, employed the latter part of this long session of parliament. The company, by bribing the King and corrupting his servants, had obtained, in September 1694, a new charter, exclusive of the interlopers on their trade. These interlopers, consisting of some capital merchants, had been, for several sessions, supported, in their pretensions, by various votes of the commons. The old company, by the suggestion, of some persons in power, offered seven hundred thousand pounds, at four *per cent.* for the service of government, upon condition of having their own exclusive charter confirmed by an act of parliament. The other merchants, protected by Mountague, chancellor of the exchequer,

^p Journals.

proposed

proposed to the house of commons, to advance two millions at eight *per cent.* in consideration of an exclusive trade, to be vested in the subscribers. A bill was ordered to be brought in, upon this offer, for settling the commerce to the East Indies. The old company petitioned, in vain, against the bill, in the lower house^a. They followed it to no purpose to the lords. The royal assent was given, on the fifth of July; and such was the eagerness of the nation to employ their money, in the stock of the new company, that the subscription of two millions was filled in the space of three days.

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1698.

The two houses having finished the public business, were prorogued, on the fifth of July; and two days after, a proclamation was issued for dissolving the parliament, in terms of the triennial act. The King's speech had been less suitable to his temper, than to sound policy. He congratulated his parliament on the association, on their remedying the corruption of the coin, on their restoring public credit. He thanked them for their supplies for the war, their provision for maintaining the peace, and satisfying, with the least burden possible to his people, the debt of the nation. He told the commons, that he deemed himself personally obliged to their house, for their regard to his honour in establishing a permanent revenue for the civil list. He assured both houses, that he valued nothing so much as the esteem and love of his people; and that, as for their sake, he had avoided no hazard in war, he should make it his whole study and care to improve and continue the advantages and blessings of peace^r.

Parliament
dissolved.

THOUGH William pretended to part, on the best terms, with his parliament, the rigid behaviour of the commons, with regard to the army, made a lasting impression on his mind, and even affected his conduct. Deeming himself left at the mercy of his ene-

Embassy of
Portland to
France.^a Journals.^r Ibid. July 5.

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mies, by the reduction of his forces, he endeavoured to secure himself against France, by gaining her confidence, and flattering her favourite views. The Earl of Portland, who had declined in favour, though he still retained the esteem of the King, was sent with a splendid equipage, in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the court of Versailles. He made his public entry into Paris, on the twenty-seventh of February, with a pomp more suitable to the vanity of Lewis, than the gravity of his own master. The court of France answered the advances made by the King of England, with equal ardour, from views of their own. The pretensions of the house of Bourbon, on the succession of the Spanish monarchy, had employed the mind of the French King, ever since the signing of the treaty of Rislewick. The distresses brought upon his kingdom by his exertions, in the war, joined to a decline in his own ambition, rendered him extremely anxious, for the continuance of the peace; and he was willing to relinquish, in a great measure, the claims of his family, to obtain that desirable end.

Intrigues for
the Spanish
succession.
March.

THE relapse of Charles the Second into one of those fits of illness, which were so common to his feeble constitution, gave fresh spirit to the intrigues of the competitors for his crown. The only pretenders to the succession, prior to the treaty of Rislewick, were the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria. The first, as the male representative of the family of Austria. The latter, as the husband of an Arch-duchess, the only surviving child of the Emperor, by the second daughter of Philip the Fourth of Spain. The powers of Europe, from a jealousy and fear of the house of Bourbon, had contested the right of the Dauphin of France, though the son of the eldest daughter Maria Theresa. Philip himself, to her exclusion, had declared the descendants of her younger sister Margaret, born of a second bed, the heirs of his crown. The son of the Elector of Bavaria, in default of male issue
by

by Charles the Second, would therefore have possessed the whole succession, if either the testament of Philip the Fourth, or the renunciation of his eldest daughter, at her marriage with the French King, had been deemed valid and decisive.

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THE Elector of Bavaria, either diffident of his right or of his own power to support his claims, had applied for the protection of Lewis the Fourteenth; and had desired to know from that Prince, what part of the Spanish dominions he would chuse to reserve for himself. Lewis returned an evasive answer; and in December 1697, sent the Marquis d'Harcourt, in the character of ambassador, to learn the state of parties in Spain, to inquire into the views of the court, the disposition of the grandees; and, above all, to discover and traverse the secret measures of the Imperial ministers. Though he found that the party which favoured the lineal succession, in the family of Bourbon, were the most numerous, they had the least credit. The Queen and her creatures favoured the Emperor, and held the reins of government. When they despaired of the life of the King, they injured, with their eagerness, the cause which they wished to promote. The Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who governed in Catalonia, supplanted the Spanish officers with Germans; and took every measure that seemed calculated to secure that province, for the house of Austria, while he ultimately disobliged the Spaniards, without accomplishing his own views.

Negotiations
of France in
Spain.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, soon after the arrival of the Earl of Portland at the court of France. Lewis the Fourteenth, wishing to preserve the peace, was still inclined to a partition of the dominions of Spain. Finding it needless to treat with the Emperor, he discovered an inclination to enter into treaty with the King of England. But the unexpected demands of Portland

A treaty of
partition
proposed to
William.

* E. c. Torcy, vol. i.

* Ibid.

obstructed,

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obstructed, for some time, the designs of Lewis. The Earl plainly told that Prince, that he did not expect to find King James at St. Germain. He complained of that circumstance as a breach of a promise made by the Marechal de Boufflers, in their conferences in Flanders. The Marechal denied the whole affair. Portland continued obstinate. But when William disapproved of his conduct, he changed his tone. He protested, that agreeable to the intentions of his master, he would be glad to establish a good understanding and even a perfect harmony, between that Prince and the French King. The latter was encouraged, upon these assurances, to propose to William a partition of the Spanish monarchy, nearly on the same plan as that concluded with the Emperor Leopold, about thirty years before^u. Portland sent a courier to England, with the proposals of the court of France. William was guarded and undecisive, in his answer. But his language discovered that he was far from being averse from the measure^w.

Negotiations
for that pur-
pose in Eng-
land.

Lewis perceiving, that Portland was not sufficiently instructed to conclude the treaty, on which he had fixed his mind, sent the Comte de Tallard, with full powers to England. That minister arrived in London, on the nineteenth of March. William disapproved of the mode of partition proposed by France. But the defenceless state, in which he had been left by his parliament, induced him to listen to any terms, calculated to continue the repose of Europe. Besides, his health was declining, and a feeble constitution had subjected him to a premature old age^x. He was become inactive in his person; and his ambition and love of glory had declined in proportion as his unfitness for the field arose. The negotiation begun in France, between Lewis and the Earl of Portland, was continued in England, between William and Tallard. Portland, in the mean time, was recalled; and succeeded in his embassy by his brother-in-law, the Earl of Jersey.

^u De Torcy, vol. i.^w Ibid.^x His Answer to the French Ambassador.

A friendly

A friendly correspondence subsisted, between the two courts, during the summer. But though the negociation advanced, it was not destined to be concluded, till William, by the dissolution of his parliament, found leisure to repair to Holland^y.

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AT the settlement of the revenue for the civil list, the King had engaged to the adherents of the Princess of Denmark, to form an establishment for her son, the Duke of Gloucester, who was now arrived at an age to be placed in the hands of men. The Earl of Marlborough had retained his influence with the Princess, during his disgrace with the King; and William, who respected his parts, though he disliked his principles, made use of the present occasion to recal him to his presence. The Earl had lessened his professions to the late King, in proportion as the views of restoration, entertained by that unfortunate Prince, declined. He, therefore, was under no difficulty in accepting William's returning favour. He was appointed governor of the Duke of Gloucester, on the nineteenth of June; and on the sixteenth of July, he was declared one of the lords-justices for the administration of government, during his Majesty's intended absence abroad^z. The first officers of state were named in the commission. But the chief management of affairs rested in the hands of the Lord Somers, then chancellor, admiral Ruffel, who had been created Earl of Orford, and Mountague, a man of vivacity and scheming abilities, who had for some time served with reputation as chancellor of the exchequer.

Earl of Marlborough restored to office.

WILLIAM sailed from Margate, on the twentieth of July; and on the twenty-second he arrived at the Hague. His leaving the kingdom was construed by his enemies into an unjust preference given to Holland, over a country which had raised him to a throne. The nation was uneasy under an unusual burden

The King goes abroad.

^y De Torcy, vol. i.

^z Gazette.

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of public debt; and malcontents and designing men inflamed the passions of the people, to forward their own views. The press teemed with bold publications. Complaints were mixed with the conversations of the idle, the discontented, and the speculative. The tumult and noise of a general election, furnished an ample field for declaimers, of every kind. The corruptions which had crept into parliaments, were a great topic of disquisition. Complaints were made, that one hundred and sixteen members of the lower house were in office. That many more were devoted to the Crown, by means of secret pensions or expectations of reward. To this circumstance the generality of mankind ascribed their misfortunes; and they laid to the charge of the King, an evil which sprung from the weight thrown by the increase of the public revenue in the scale of the crown^a.

Proceedings
of

ON the day of the King's departure from London, the parliament of Scotland met at Edinburgh. The Earl of Marchmont, then lord chancellor of that kingdom, was nominated commissioner; and the session was opened with reading the King's letter in the usual form. His Majesty thanked them for their chearful aid in the war. He congratulated them upon the blessings to be expected from an honourable peace. He laid on the urgency of his present affairs, the blame of his not appearing in his kingdom of Scotland in person: an excuse uniformly made every session since he came to the throne. He informed them, that he judged it necessary for their preservation, that the forces upon their present establishment should be continued. He recommended the raising supplies for making good the deficiencies in former grants, for paying the arrears of the army, and for repairing the forts. He concluded with assuring them of his care to maintain their laws, religion, and liberties; and of his royal favour and firm protection in all their concerns^b.

^a State-Tracts.^b Letter to the Scot. Parl.

UPON the report of the committee for the security of the kingdom, the parliament voted, that there was a necessity for continuing the present standing force. Notwithstanding this complaisance to the views of the King, the Scottish nation in general entertained a well-founded resentment against the Crown. Their commercial company was not only discouraged by the ministry, but even injuriously treated by William himself. He had made his court to the parliament of England, by disavowing, in some measure, the acts of the parliament in Scotland. He had even carried his opposition to the new commercial company, established by the Scots, beyond the limits of his own dominions. In England, the two houses of parliament had terrified the merchants from subscribing to the funds formed by the Scottish company. The jealousy of the Dutch prevented money from being found in their country. The King's resident at Hamburgh had discouraged with menaces the merchants of that city, from performing their contract for furnishing the deputies of the company with at least two hundred thousand pounds sterling. Their remonstrances to the King, though favourably answered, produced no beneficial effect. His residents abroad were not hindered from obstructing the subscriptions solicited by the company. They even disowned the authority of the acts of parliament, and the letters patent upon which the Scottish company was founded^b.

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III.1698.
the parlia-
ment of
Scotland.

THESE disappointments arising from acts which were deemed unjust, roused the resentment of the nation to an uncommon degree. But the majority of their representatives were gained to the interest of the King, either by the possession or expectation of the wretched pittance of offices in the gift of the Crown. The parliament, it is true, addressed the King upon the subject; but in terms, that, by softening the complaint, seemed little calculated either to command or expect redress. The company were

On the affair
of Darien.^b Petition of the gen. council to parl. 1698.

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1698.

Affairs of
Ireland.

also induced by the ministry, to transmit a soothing petition of their own to William. In opposition to the public memorials presented against their deputies in Hamburgh, they requested an intimation to be made to the senate of that city, that they might enter into commerce with the Scottish company. Instead of demanding that assistance from government, which had been solemnly promised by the King, they desired, only, as a mark of the royal favour, the use of two of the smallest frigates that lay useless in the harbour of Burnt-island. These unmanly representations scarce deserved any return; and they received none that was favourable. The parliament was, in the mean time, adjourned*. They seemed only to have raised the present expectations of their constituents, to aggravate their future disappointments.

SIR Charles Porter, lord chancellor of Ireland, dying at Dublin of an apoplexy, on the eighth of December, 1696, left the kingdom in a state of tranquillity, under his two colleagues in the government, the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda. Irish affairs exhibited nothing remarkable in 1697; nor in the succeeding year till the parliament met, in the end of September. The lords-justices, in their speech to that assembly, recommended to their care the settlement of the linen manufacture, as more advantageous than the woollen; the latter being the staple-trade of England. They told them; that the King, since the peace, had sent into that kingdom a part of the forces who had served abroad during all the war. That he had disbanded the greatest part of the forces who had served in Ireland, with a resolution, however, to continue their subsistence to the officers. They concluded with informing them, that the King expected to be enabled to support the present establishment; and that, for that purpose, an account of what the revenue produced for one year, from Midsummer 1697, should be laid before the house of commons^d.

* Sept. 1698.

^d Journals, Sept. 27, 1698.

ILL-HUMOURS, which seemed to lurk in the lower house, were suppressed by a considerable majority in favour of the Crown. A supply was granted, for the support of the establishment*. An attempt to address the King, to disband the five regiments of French Protestants, then in Ireland, was over-ruled. A tax was voted, on old and new drapery, that should be exported. An impost of thirty thousand pounds was laid upon lands, in addition to ninety thousand already imposed. Notwithstanding this liberality to the Crown, the lords-justices adjourned the two houses, without the usual ceremony of a speech of thanks. An act was passed in this session, for confirming the estates and possessions held and enjoyed under the acts of settlement and explanation. A bill for the better security of his Majesty's person and government was introduced; and after a debate rejected: and though the Crown had warmly recommended to the parliament, to encourage the linen in preference to the woollen manufacture, as interfering with England, the commons annexed to their vote of supply, a resolution to regulate the woollen trade of Ireland†.

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II.

1693.

DURING these transactions in Scotland and Ireland, the King was employed in Holland in conferences with the Comte de Tallard, on the subject of the partition treaty proposed by the French King. William having, in some measure, resolved, before his departure from England, to accede to the overtures made by France, communicated, in part, his design to the Lord Somers; the great seal of England being necessary to render valid the treaty which he proposed to conclude. No other person born in England seems to have been trusted with a transaction, whose efficacy depended upon its being kept a profound secret. On the sixth of August, the King arrived at Loo. He was followed to that place by Tallard; and on the fifteenth of the month, the

William in
Holland.

* Oa. 14.

† Oa. 10.

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King wrote to the lord chancellor for full powers, under the great seal, with blanks for names, to treat with the French ambassador. The desire expressed by the King, when he wrote to Somers, to receive his advice on the subject of the negociation, seems to have been an unmeaning compliment; as the treaty itself was concluded^z four days after the letter was sent from Loo. To press the necessity of the treaty, and to urge the chancellor to hasten the seal, the King assured him, that according to all intelligence, the King of Spain could not outlive the month of October^h.

First partition treaty signed.

THOUGH the articles were settled on the nineteenth of August, the treaty itself was not concluded in form, till the first of October. It was signed by the Comte de Tallard, as ambassador of France to the King of England; by De Briord, as in the same capacity to the Republic of Holland, and by the ministers of William and those of the States. Upon the eventual demise of the King of Spain, his dominions were to be partitioned among the competitors for his crown, in the following manner. The Dauphin was to possess in Italy the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the Marquisate of Final; on the side of Spain, the province of Guipuscoa, or, in more precise terms, all the Spanish territories on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the mountains of Navarra, Alava, and Biscay. Spain, the Indies, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands, were allotted for the electoral Prince of Bavaria; and in case of his death, to his father the Elector, who had no pretensions whatsoever on the succession of Spain. The dukedom of Milan formed the share designed for the Arch-Duke Charles, the Emperor's second sonⁱ.

^z August 19.

ⁱ De Torcy, vol. i. p. 45.

^h William to Somers, August 15, 1698.

THE contracting powers mutually engaged to keep the treaty a profound secret, during the life of the King of Spain. This condition, though necessary, was very difficult to be executed. The avowed design of the alliance, was the preservation of the repose of Europe. There was, therefore, a necessity for the allies to satisfy the Emperor, at the same time that they limited his views. It was impossible to render him well pleased with a treaty which deprived him of the great object of his ambition. It was necessary to terrify him into a compliance. William, from a persuasion of his own influence with Leopold, undertook to communicate the treaty to that Prince, and to gain, by prudential considerations, his consent. But when these views were in agitation, intelligence of the treaty of partition was conveyed, by some means or other, from Holland to Madrid. The King of Spain, resenting a division made of his dominions by foreigners, called a council of his whole ministry. The result was a will, instituting the electoral Prince of Bavaria his universal heir, according to the testament of Philip the Fourth, in favour of the descendants of his second daughter, in exclusion of the house of Bourbon. The King himself unexpectedly recovered, in some degree, from his illness; and the hopes and fears of Europe were suspended for the year.

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III.1698.
Its effects on
the Spanish
court.

WILLIAM having remained in Holland till the first of December, arrived on the fourth of the month, at Kensington. The parliament had been frequently prorogued, to wait the King's return. The people became discontented at his long absence, as he had not now the excuse of business and war. The new parliament met at length at Westminster on the sixth of December^k. The commons chose Sir Thomas Littleton for their speaker, and the King having approved their choice, on the ninth of the month, made a speech from the throne. He doubted not, he said, but they

A new par-
liament.^k Journals, Dec. 6.

were

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were met, with hearts fully disposed to provide for the safety and to preserve the honour and happiness of the kingdom. Two things, he told them, seemed to demand their consideration, to acquire that desirable end: What strength ought to be maintained by sea? What force to be kept up by land? He observed, that the flourishing of trade, the supporting of credit, the quieting the minds of the people at home, and the weight and influence of England abroad, depended upon the opinion the nation and foreigners should form of the security of the kingdom. He recommended to the commons, to make some farther progress in discharging the debts contracted in a long and expensive war; and he concluded, with observing, that as the things he had mentioned were of common concern, he could not but hope for unanimity and dispatch¹.

Resentment
against the
King's
speech.

WILLIAM, however, was soon convinced, that his hopes of unanimity, in favour of his own views, were ill-founded. The bad grace, with which he had yielded to the reduction of the army, in the preceding year, his evasive execution of the act passed for that purpose, his long absence from the kingdom, without any important reason, a jealousy arising to his people, from his apparent neglect of sea affairs, which he owned he never understood^m, his known predilection for land forces, his fresh demand for an increase in their number, in England, the care he took to continue the military establishments in his other kingdoms, were all calculated to raise the resentment, and to awaken the fears of parliament. The commons, in particular, were so much incensed at his speech, that, contrary to the usual custom of their house, they voted no address. Even the lords agreed not to their address till the twenty-second of December; and when presentedⁿ, it was found to be conceived in very general and undecisive terms. His own servants seemed to have deserted William, upon the pre-

¹ Dec. 9.^m Burnet, vol. ii.ⁿ Jan. 3, 1699.

sent

sent occasion. The current of the nation against a standing army ran extremely high; and the ministry were unwilling to expose themselves to the rage of the people, by gratifying the King.

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WHEN the affair of the army came under debate in the house of commons, the servants of the crown produced no estimates, and they made no proposals. The whole business devolved on the country-party. They proposed seven thousand men, as a sufficient establishment for guards and garrisons; and they carried their motion with little difficulty. On the seventeenth of December, it was resolved, that all the land forces in England, in English pay, and these natural-born subjects, should be forthwith paid and disbanded. That all the forces in Ireland, excepting twelve thousand men, and these also natural born subjects, maintained by that kingdom, should be likewise disbanded. A bill was immediately brought in upon this resolution, and prosecuted with ardour. It was provided, by the first enacting clause, that the army in England and Wales should be reduced, on or before the twenty-sixth of March then next ensuing, except such regiments, troops, and companies, not exceeding seven thousand men, as, before the first day of the same month, should be particularly expressed, in a proclamation under the great seal. The lords exhibited the same spirit and zeal, with the commons. An opposition to the bill was made by some of the adherents of the crown. But the attempt was so feeble and ill-supported, that it threw disgrace on the cause that was meant to have been served.^o.

The army
reduced to
seven thou-
sand men.

THE opposition made by the friends of William, tended only to furnish his enemies with an opportunity of being severe on his character and conduct. They insinuated, that he neither loved the nation in general, nor placed any confidence in Englishmen.

William dis-
pleased,
threatens to
abandon the
kingdom.

^o Burnet, vol. ii.

That

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That he had left the kingdom in the preceding summer, without any apparent excuse for his absence. That he was employed neither in the concerns of the people, as King, nor in the affairs of the States, as Stadtholder. That he went merely to enjoy a lazy privacy at Loo, with a few favourites and creatures, in a manner unworthy of his character, and unsuitable to his dignity^p. These open complaints and insinuations of the same kind, rendered fretful the mind of William, naturally peevish, melancholy, and severe. His deportment, when he was humoured the most, was stiff, ungracious, and cold. But now, his resentment had so far overcome his prudence, that he alternately yielded to fits of passion, or sunk under a load of despondence. He is even said to have formed a resolution of abandoning the kingdom; and that he had prepared a speech, in which he was to request of the two houses, to name such persons as they should think fit, to manage a government, that he himself was resolved no longer to hold.

1699.
He yields to
the com-
mons.

This speech, intended to be pronounced on the fourth of January, was never publicly made. The private insinuations of the King, were little regarded, as they were not deemed sincere. He had, twice since his expedition into England, derived advantage from the same threat. But the expedient was now too stale, either to alarm the fears of the people, or to gain the favour of parliament. Prudence, at length, overcame some part of the resentment of William. He resolved to comply with a measure, to which the two houses seemed determined to adhere. On the first of February, he came to pass the bill for disbanding the army, and made a speech from the throne. He informed his parliament, that he came to pass the bill, as soon as he understood it was ready to receive his assent. That though there appeared great hazard in disbanding such a number of troops, in the present state of affairs; and that though he might think himself unkindly treated, in being deprived of those guards who had come along with him from

^p Burnet, vol. iii.

Holland to the aid of England, and who had attended him in all the actions in which he had been engaged, yet, being convinced of the fatal consequences of any jealousies that might arise between himself and his people, he was resolved, for that reason only, to give his concurrence to the bill. He, however, informed them, that he thought himself obliged, for his own justification, and in discharge of the trust reposed in his hands, to declare plainly his judgment, that the nation was left too much exposed. He deemed it, therefore, incumbent upon them, as the representatives of the people, to provide such a force as should be necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of the peace of Europe^a.

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THE commons, in some measure, complied with William's desire, with regard to the security of the nation. Though they were inflexibly resolved to reduce the land-forces, they increased to fifteen thousand men, the establishment by sea^b. The necessary orders were, in the mean time, issued for disbanding the army. But his predilection for his favourite Dutch guards, recurred again to the King's mind. On the eighteenth of March he sent a message written in his own hand, to the house of commons, by the Earl of Ranelagh, paymaster-general of the forces^c. He told them, that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards, who came with him to England. That he intended to send them away immediately from the kingdom, unless the house, out of consideration to him, should find means to continue them longer in his service: a measure which his Majesty would construe into an act of great kindness. This condescending expedient produced no favourable effect on the commons. The question, that a day should be appointed for considering the message, was carried, in the negative. A committee was appointed to frame an address, representing the reasons why the commons could not comply. The address was accordingly presented, on

Solicits them
for his Dutch
guards in
vain.^a Journals, Feb. 1, 1699.^b Feb. 19.^c March 18.

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Parliament
prorogued.

the twenty-fourth of March. The answer of William contained a recapitulation of his own services to the nation, his confidence in their fidelity to his person, and his resolution to preserve entire the constitution which he had restored.

THE provision made by the commons, for the effectual reduction of the army, was the last business of importance in this refractory session. The two houses, however, continued to sit till the fourth of May. Though William yielded to his prudence, he could neither conceal his resentment nor suppress his complaints, for the unkind treatment which he had received from the commons. He furnished an example of both in his speech from the throne, when he prorogued the parliament. In any light in which the subject is viewed, the King had little reason to be pleased. But the fallies of passion, into which he is said to have fallen, require better authorities than those by which they are supported, to be implicitly believed. His disappointments throughout furnished matter of triumph to his enemies. But they dwelt with most malevolence, on the supposed meanness of his message to the commons, in favour of his Dutch guards. The conduct of the commons cannot, however, be disapproved. Though no danger ought, perhaps, to be apprehended from such an insignificant number of foreigners; there was a kind of necessary dignity, in committing entirely to the natives, the security of a free country.

^t March 24.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

A general tranquillity.—Second partition-treaty.—Insolence of the Spanish ambassador.—Affairs of the North.—Scotish affairs.—Change in the ministry.—A session of parliament.—Irish forfeitures.—Violence of the commons.—Bill of resumption.—King disgusted.—Affairs of Scotland.—A petition in the name of the whole nation.—The King offended.—Ministry changed.—Character of Lord Somers.—William and France on good terms.—Affairs of the North.—Scotish affairs.—A general ferment.—Violence of the discontented.—Death of the Duke of Gloucester.—Death and will of the King of Spain.—Resentment of the Emperor.—Domestic affairs.—Scotish parliament gained.—A new parliament in England.—Steps toward a war.—Settlement of the crown.—Reflections.—Proceedings in parliament.—The King's prudence.—Various impeachments.—Proceedings.—Difference between the houses.—Reflections.—Campaign in Italy.—Triple alliance.—Exhausted state of France and Spain.—Death of King James.—His son owned in France.—Preparations for war.—King declines in his health.—Contest between parties.—Affairs of the North.—A new parliament.—King's death.—His private character.—His public conduct.—Reflections.

THE tranquillity of Europe was re-established in the month of January 1699, by a treaty concluded at Carlowitz, between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte. Though the bloody battle of Zenta had produced no striking consequences, both sides, enfeebled by the waste made by victories as well as defeats, began equally to wish for peace^a. Leopold, having fixed his mind on the

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State of
Europe.^a Hist. Ottomane, tom. ii.

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Spanish succession, was anxious to disengage himself from an enemy, who, though unsuccessful, was far from being subdued; and Mustapha the Second, surrounded with misfortunes at home, was resolved to put an end, upon any terms, to a ruinous war abroad. The emptiness of his coffers, the discontents of his subjects, the seditious humour of the Janisaries, had involved the latter Prince in unsurmountable difficulties, and had rendered him utterly incapable of recovering in the summer of 1698, the laurels which he had lost in the preceding campaign^b. The eyes of both parties being turned to the same object, they contented themselves with covering their respective frontiers with their armies. A similar inactivity had subsisted, during the summer, between the Russians and the Porte, on the side of the Lesser Tartary; and though the Venetians had obtained some advantages in the Archipelago, their operations produced no effect on the cordial desire exhibited by all parties, for entering into conferences for restoring peace^c.

Peace between the
Emperor and
the Porte.

THE King of England and the States of the United Provinces had offered, by their ambassadors, their mediation to the belligerent powers. But the intrigues of Lewis the Fourteenth in Constantinople, had long disappointed their views. On the seventh of November, the plenipotentiaries met at Carlowitz. De Feriole, who had succeeded Châteauneuf, in the management of the affairs of France at the Porte, made various but vain efforts, to persuade the Turks to continue the war^d. The treaty was signed, on the twenty-sixth of January, by the plenipotentiaries of Mustapha the Second, the Emperor Leopold, the King of Poland, and the Czar of Muscovy; and soon after, by those of the republic of Venice. All Hungary, on this side of the Saave, with Transylvania and Slavonia, were ceded to the house of Austria. The Czar remained in possession of Azoph. Caminiec was restored to the Poles. The Venetians were gratified with all the Morea, and

^b Hist. de France, tom. iii.^c Hist. Ottomane, tom. ii.^d Ibid.

several

several places in Dalmatia; and thus, a temporary tranquillity was restored, though the seeds of discord were already sown in all the corners of Europe*.

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The treaty of partition, which the King of England concluded with France, at the peril of the utmost resentment of his subjects, was suddenly rendered useless, by a co-incidence of events. The King of Spain, contrary to the expectations of all Europe, recovered, in some degree, from his illness; and the electoral Prince of Bavaria, whom the treaty of partition and the will of Charles the Second, had destined for the throne of Spain and the Indies, died at Brussels, on the eighth of February†. The Elector, disappointed in the views of his ambition, attributed the death of his son to more than his distemper. But, as he produced no proofs his suspicions were ascribed to grief, more than to any just grounds of complaint. Though provision had been made, by a secret stipulation, to substitute the father in the place of the son, upon the eventual death of the latter, that article of the treaty, as it was founded upon no pretensions possessed by the Elector, was equally disregarded by both the contracting powers. France shewed an inclination to propose a new convention to the King of England, on the plan of the former treaty. But though William entertained a design of renewing his engagements, the moment he heard of the death of the Prince‡, his embarrassment, with regard to the disagreeable proceedings of parliament, drove all other thoughts from his mind, during the sitting of that assembly.

The first partition-treaty defeated.

THE leisure necessary for the settlement of foreign affairs, was sought after by William in Holland. Having made several changes in the ministry, and declared a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, he left Kensington, on the first of June; and in the evening of the third, arrived at the Hague. On the

William listens to another.

* Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

† N. S.

‡ De Torcy, vol. i.

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twenty-second of June, he left that place and retired to Loo; where, and at Dieren, he spent the most part of the season, in his favourite diversion of hunting. Tallard, who had managed so successfully the treaty of the preceding year, was ordered, by his court, to repair to Loo, in the beginning of July, to settle measures, as they were called, for preserving the tranquillity of Europe. William, very early in the year, had given orders of the same kind to his ambassador at Paris. He approved, therefore, with little difficulty of the scheme proposed by Tallard. That Spain and the Indies should be left to the Arch-duke; that the dutchy of Milan should be added to the portion intended for the Dauphin; and that the Netherlands should be settled in such a manner, as might entirely prevent either jealousy in England or umbrage in Holland^a.

Intelligence
of his views
sent to Spain.

THIS negotiation though committed only to a few individuals, did not long continue a secret from the world. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague, sent intelligence, by a courier, to Madrid. The court was alarmed. The King himself, in the midst of his weakness, was highly offended at a measure which hurt his pride. He remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the behaviour of William to his ambassador at Madrid. He ordered the Marquis de Canailles, his own minister at London, to represent in England his high displeasure at the indignity offered to himself and his crown. The Marquis, in his memorial to the lords of the regency, followed the dictates of his own malignity, more than the interest of his sovereign. He told them, his master had been informed, that King William, the Dutch, and other powers, were actually hatching new treaties, for the succession of the crown of Spain; and, what was equally detestable, contriving the division and repartition of the Spanish territories. That his Majesty had given orders, to represent the injustice of their King, to the ministers and

^a De Torcy, vol. i.

lords

lords of England. That if such things were allowed, no nation, no dominion could be safe, against the ambition of the strongest, and the deceits of the most malicious. That should strangers be permitted to put their hands in the lines of succession of Kings, no statutes, no municipal laws would be observed. That no crown could be free from the attempts of aliens; and the crown of England less than any crown. That were men to lie watching for the indispositions of sovereigns, no health could be constant, no life secure¹.

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THE Marquis descended from general observations to particular facts. He informed the lords of the regency, that it ought not to have been presumed, the King of Spain had not taken proper measures against all accidents that might disturb the public peace, and break the repose of Europe. That unless a stop should be put to these sinister proceedings, these clandestine machinations, these unjust projects, an universal war must be the consequence throughout Europe. That such a misfortune would be highly prejudicial to the people of England, who had lately tried and felt the inconvenience of novelties, and the insupportable burden of the consequent war. That this latter circumstance was so obvious, that the memorialist doubted not but it must be owned by the parliament, the nobility, and all the English nation. That the same nation must consider their own interest, their trade and their treaties with Spain, the danger arising to these, from a division and separation of the Spanish monarchy; and that nothing can prevent these misfortunes but their disappointing the project already begun at Loo, and their determining not to help forward novelties, ever supremely hurtful to all sovereignties and empires. He concluded with assuring the regency, that the King his master, would render manifest to the parliament of England,

An insolent
memorial by
the Spanish
ambassador.¹ Memorial, August 1699.

when

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He is ordered
to depart the
kingdom.

when that assembly should meet, the just resentment which he now expressed to their lordships.

THIS insolent memorial was transmitted to the King, before any answer was made by the regency. William was not of a complexion either to admit of appeals from the prerogatives of the Crown to the representatives of the nation, or to suffer any reflections against his own right to the throne. He ordered Mr. secretary Vernon to signify to the Spanish ambassador, that he must depart the kingdom precisely in eighteen days. That, in the mean time, he should confine himself to his house; and that no writing should be any more received either from himself or any of his domestics. The king, at the same time, ordered his ambassador at the court of Madrid to complain of the affront offered to his person, and the reflections thrown on his government. He endeavoured to exempt the King of Spain from having any share in the outrage committed by his ambassador. But that Prince made himself a party in the dispute, by ordering the English ambassador to depart the kingdom within the same space of time that had been limited by William to the Marquis de Canailles.

Affairs of the
North.

THESE disputes between William and Spain, neither hastened nor retarded the second treaty of partition, which that Prince concluded the next year with France. His attention was not confined to the subject of the Spanish succession, though the declining health of Charles the Second threatened Europe with those miseries which it then feared, and soon after experienced from his death. The King employed his good offices in suppressing a flame, which seemed ready to be kindled in the North. Christian the Fifth, King of Denmark, dying on the fourth of September, was succeeded in the throne by his son Frederic the Fourth. Frederic inheriting the resentment, and pursuing the designs of

his

his father against the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, began to make great preparations, both by sea and land, to reduce that Prince to those terms which he pretended to have a right to exact. The Duke, on the other hand, had strengthened his interest by a marriage with the Princess-Royal of Sweden. He himself was commander in chief of the troops of that kingdom; and he had obtained a force from his brother-in-law, Charles the Twelfth, to defend himself against the designs of Denmark. William, in his double capacity of King of England, and Stadtholder of the United Provinces, considered himself as guarantee of the treaty of Altena; and, to secure the tranquillity of the North, he proposed that the Swedish troops should retire from Holstein. The King of Sweden and the Duke accepted the proposal of the mediator. But the King of Denmark, having privately entered into an alliance, against Sweden, with the King of Poland, and Peter Alexiowitz, Czar of Muscovy, exacted terms so exorbitant, that it was apparent he meant nothing less than to preserve the peace*.

WHILE William extended his care to the interest of other nations, he neglected, in a scarce pardonable degree, the protection of a part of his own subjects. The Scottish company of adventurers, though labouring under various difficulties, had resolved to send two ships to sea. On board of these, and a few tenders, they embarked some goods for commerce, guns and military stores for service, some provisions, and twelve hundred men. A council of seven was appointed to direct the expedition. They were bound to the Isthmus of Darien in America, to make an establishment in a place of which the Spaniards held no part. This unadvised plan was conducted with as many errors, as it afterwards incurred of misfortunes. One half of the scanty provisions destined for the voyage, was consumed before the adventurers weighed anchor. The two ships, though miserably

Affairs of the
Scottish com-
pany.

* Hist. de Suede, tom. ii.

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provided, were allowed only one hundred pounds each, and each tender ten pounds, to relieve them upon any emergency. They had sailed from the Frith of Edinburgh, on the seventeenth of July 1698; and, after having encountered many difficulties and suffered much misery, arrived in America, about the middle of October¹.

They are discouraged by the King.

HAVING treated with the natives for a permission to settle on the coast of Darien, the adventurers landed, on the fourth of November. The King, either swayed by the jealousy of the Dutch, or to gratify the English, who had already signified their disapprobation of the company, seemed resolved to add to the misfortunes in which the Scots had involved themselves. He sent orders to the governors of the colonies, to issue proclamations forbidding his subjects in America to give any assistance to the adventurers, upon pain of his displeasure, and of suffering the severest punishment. There was a degree of inhumanity, and a palpable injustice, in this conduct. The King himself had given his assent to an act, and signed a royal charter for the establishment of the company. The Spaniards had not yet complained of any encroachments on their territories. William, by evasive answers to the representations of the Scots, had, in a manner, prevented them from providing against a hardship, which no subjects, acting under the authority of the law, had any reason to fear from their sovereign. To complete the misfortune, the King listened to the complaints of the Spaniards^m, against an ill-fated body of adventurers, already perishing in their own folly. They were now destitute of all things. A foreign Prince was preparing to expel them by force; and they were deserted by their own.

Distress of the
adventurers;
a ferment in
the nation.

THE survivors among the Scottish adventurers being in distress, were forced to send a deputation to the English colonies, to obtain

¹ Defence of the Scots, &c.

^m May 3, 1699.

from

from the humanity of the inhabitants, the supply which the rigid edicts of government had denied. They sailed to Jamaica; they directed their course from that island to New-York. They found no relief in either place; and they prosecuted their voyage to Europe. The company, and the whole Scottish nation, were inflamed at once, with resentment and disappointment. The first sent an address to the King. They followed the address with a petition for a session of parliament. Neither of the papers produced the desired effect. The King, in his answer, by his secretary, the Earl of Seafield, regretted the loss which the kingdom and the company had lately sustained. He told them, that, upon all occasions, he would protect and encourage their trade. That the subjects of Scotland should always enjoy the same privilege, as formerly, to trade with the English plantations. But as for the parliament, that he had adjourned that assembly to the fifth of March; and that they should be assembled, when he judged the good of the nation required their meeting. This new repulse was construed into a fresh injury. Despair was added to rage and resentment; and a general ferment seemed to threaten a general revolt^a.

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1699.

THE King embarked for England, on the thirteenth of October; and having landed, on the seventeenth at Margate, arrived the next day at Kensington. The obstructions attending the service of the Crown, in the last session of parliament, had either prevailed with William to make a change among his servants, or induced some of themselves to resign. The Earl of Orford retired from the admiralty. The Earl of Jersey succeeded the Duke of Shrewsbury as secretary of state. The Duke of Leeds was removed from the head of the council; and the office of president was conferred on the Earl of Pembroke; whose place, as lord privy-seal, was filled by the Lord Londale. A few days^o after the King's return, the Duke of Shrewsbury came

William returns. A change in the ministry.

^a Enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage at Darien.

^o Oct. 25.

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1699.

Parliament
meets.

again into office, as lord-chamberlain. Montagu, the chancellor of the exchequer, foreseeing the difficulty of managing the affairs of the Crown, in a refractory house of commons, resigned his place at the board of treasury. These changes in the higher departments, neither pleased the Whigs nor gratified the Tories. A sullen humour prevailed through the kingdom; and though the two parties that divided the nation were implacable, with regard to each other, they seemed both to agree to oppose jointly the King^p.

IN this state of things and opinions, the parliament met, on the sixteenth of November. The King made an elaborate speech to the two houses, full of expressions of affection for his parliament and care of the public good^q. He, however, seemed to have still retained a sense of his dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the commons in the last session. The commons, on the other hand, brought back to their house, the ill-humour in which they had been prorogued. In the place of an address of compliments and thanks, as had been usual on such occasions, they presented to the King, but after a long interval^r, a remonstrance. They beseeched William, from the necessity of a mutual confidence between himself and his parliament, to shew marks of his highest displeasure, to such persons as should presume to misrepresent their proceedings. They promised, in return, to discourage all false rumours and reports, reflecting on his Majesty's person and government, as tending to create misunderstandings between the King and his subjects. William chose to soften the rage of his commons, rather than to gratify his own resentment. He seemed as if he understood not the ill-humour of the address; and his answer, though guarded, was full of an appearance of kindness^s.

^p Publications of the year.^q Dec. 2.^r Nov. 16.^s Dec. 24.

WILLIAM,

WILLIAM, however, was too late in his scheme of conciliating the affections of the commons with soothing words. He was ill-served in the house, by those members who formed a part of his ministry. Montagu was not succeeded in the chancellorship of the exchequer, by a man of equal parts. Mr. secretary Vernon, if a member of abilities, was not sufficiently trusted by the King, to acquire any considerable weight in parliament. The ill-humour, the industry, and the eloquence, were all on the opposing side. All the debates, and most of the resolutions of the commons, were violent and hostile. They had appointed, in the last session of parliament, seven commissioners, to inquire into the state and grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland. The lower house had repeatedly passed bills for applying those estates to the public service. But the bills had been defeated in the house of lords, by the influence of the Crown, and the interest of such as had obtained grants from the king. The opposition founded sanguine hopes of distressing the Court on a subject so popular. They called therefore for a report of the inquiry, which was accordingly laid before them, by Mr. Annesley, one of the commissioners.

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IV.

1699.
Inquiry into
Irish forfei-
tures.

In this singular report it appeared, that three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one persons had been outlawed, since the thirteenth of February 1689. That all the lands belonging to forfeited persons, amounted to more than one million and sixty thousand acres. That the annual rent of these lands, amounted to two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds; which, by computing six years purchase for a life, and thirteen for inheritance, amounted to the full value of two millions six hundred and eighty-five thousand one hundred and thirty pounds. That some of the lands had been restored to the old proprietors, by the articles of Limerick and Galway; and

Report of the
commission-
ers.

* Journals.

others,

CHAP.
IV.

1699.

others, by a corrupt reversal of outlawries, and by royal pardons, obtained by the favourites of the King. That sixty-five grants and custodiams had passed the great seal of Ireland. That the most considerable of these grants were made to persons born in foreign countries; to Keppel, to Bentinck, to Ginckle, and to Rouvigny; who had been all dignified with peerages in one or other of the two kingdoms. That besides, a grant had passed the great seal to Elizabeth Villiers, now Countess of Orkney, a woman peculiarly favoured by William, of all the private estates of the late King James, containing ninety-five thousand acres, worth twenty-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-five pounds a year: and that, upon the whole, the value of Irish forfeitures amounted to three millions three hundred and nineteen thousand nine hundred and forty-three pounds*.

1700.
Violence of
the com-
mons.

THE commons having examined this report, resolved, unanimously, on the fifteenth of December^w, that a bill should be brought in, to apply all forfeitures in Ireland from the thirteenth of February 1689, to the use of the public. A clause was also ordered to be inserted in the bill, for erecting a judicature for determining claims touching the said forfeitures. But, at the same time, the house came to a resolution, not to receive petitions from any person whatsoever. This uncandid mode of proceeding in the majority, offended the dispassionate; while it alarmed the court, and disgusted the King. While yet the bill remained in committee, another incident added uneasiness to resentment in the breast of William. On the fifteenth of January, Mr. Montagu, in a fit of indiscreet zeal, informed the commons, that a member of the house, in a letter to the commissioners, had directed them to make a separate article of the Countess of Orkney's grant; because that circumstance would reflect on a CERTAIN PERSON. Montagu explained this certain person into the King. The house ordered him to make good his charge. He endeavoured,

* Journals.

^w Dec. 15, 1699.

in vain, to avoid an answer. But being threatened with the Tower, he named Methuen, lord-chancellor of Ireland, as the informer. Methuen denied the charge. Montagu became the victim of his own zeal; and the commons voted that his report was false and scandalous. They resolved, at the same time, that the four commissioners, who had signed the report concerning the Irish forfeitures, had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity. They, at the same time, committed Sir Richard Leving to the Tower, as a person who had thrown a groundless and scandalous aspersions on the four commissioners*.

C H A P.
IV.

1700.

THOUGH the court-party were, almost in every question, the minority, they endeavoured to defeat, in part, the bill of resumption, by proposing a clause, for reserving a proportion of the forfeitures to the disposal of the King. The house, not content with putting a negative on this motion, resolved that the advising, procuring, and passing the grants for the forfeited estates, and others in Ireland, had been the occasion of contracting great debts upon the nation, and laying heavy taxes on the people; and that the passing of these grants highly reflected on the King's honour^y. While the commons exhibited this spirit of refractoriness, the affair of the supply for the current service commanded a part of their care. The land forces were continued on the same footing, as in the preceding year. But the seamen were reduced to seven thousand men. The ways and means were chiefly a land-tax of two shillings in the pound, with a borrowing clause of near a million, with the surplus of the old subsidy, ending on the twenty-fifth of December, together with that of the funds for the civil list, which were to terminate at the end of the present year. In a narrow inspection of every branch of the revenue, a great loss to the public was discovered in the collection of the excise. A clause was inserted in the bill of supply, to enable his Majesty to farm

They tack
the bill of re-
sumption to
the supply.

* Journals, Jan. 1700.

7 Jan. 18.

that

C H A P.
IV.

1700.

Their resolu-
tions hostile,

that branch of the revenue; and it was at the same time provided, that no excise or custom-house officer should be capable, for the future, to sit in the house of commons^x.

To secure the assent of the King to the resumption of the Irish forfeitures, the bill was called a bill of supply; and tacked to that for the grants of the year. The money to be raised by the sale of the lands, was appropriated to the discharge of the transport-debts, the arrears of officers, the sums due for clothing, the interest upon tallies, orders, tickets, and exchequer-bills. During the debates on these subjects, the commons, in a grand committee, considered the state of the nation^y. In a question, which tended to an animadversion upon the King's servants, the court-party prevailed. But the house resolved, on the fifteenth of February, to represent to his Majesty in an address, their resolutions, relating to grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland. William's answer expressed some part of the resentment, which he entertained against the harsh proceedings of the commons. He told them that he was not only led by inclination, but even by justice, to shew favour to such as had served him well. That their service in Ireland was, with peculiar propriety, rewarded out of the estates forfeited by the rebellion in that kingdom; and that the lessening of the national debt, by just and effectual means, would, in his opinion, best contribute to the honour, safety, and interest of the kingdom^z. The commons were so much offended with this reply, that they resolved, that whoever had advised the answer to their address, had used his utmost endeavour to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the King and his people^a.

and proceed-
ings displeas-
ing to the
King.

THIS session of parliament was throughout hostile to the King. The grand committee for trade had examined into several piracies, committed in the East Indies, by one Captain Kidd and his

^x Journals.^y Feb. 14.^z Feb. 22.^a Feb. 26.

crew.

crew. On this examination it appeared, that William had inadvertently made himself a kind of party in the affair, by signing a warrant, for the granting of pirates-goods to the Earl of Bellamont and several others. The commons sent an address to the throne, that Kidd, who was ordered home from America, should not be tried, discharged, or pardoned, until the next session of parliament. This conduct in the house shewed a distrust of the King, which raised his resentment, as it hurt his pride. An inquiry into the state of the commissions of the peace and lieutenancy, produced an address^b, that was not grateful to the King. The house represented, that to restore gentlemen of quality and estates to these commissions, would much conduce to the good of the kingdom; and they desired, that neither men of small estates, nor dissenting from the church of England, should either be continued or appointed^c. These proceedings were more disgustful to the King, in their manner, than in themselves repugnant to his authority or hurtful to his character.

C H A P.
IV.

1700.

THOUGH a majority of the lords seemed to be in opposition to the measures of William, the peers treated him with more complaisance than the commons. The complicated bill, comprehending the resumption and supply, met with great opposition, in the upper house. Some had been gained by the servants of the crown. Many disapproved of the precedent of tacking a foreign clause to a money-bill, as reducing the peers to a subserviency to the factions and views of the commons. But the force of both parties, when joined, was not sufficient to reject the bill. Amendments were, however, made with regard to the Irish forfeitures. But these amendments were unanimously disapproved by the lower house. Conference succeeded conference. The commons were in a ferment. They spoke of impeaching the Earls of Portland and Albemarle. They shut themselves up,

They carry
their point
against him.^b April 1.^c Journals.

C H A P.
IV.

1700.

after the second conference with the lords, till ten at night; and seemed determined on the harshest means to force the court-party into compliance. In this important interval, the house resolved to address the King, that no person, not a native of his dominions, except Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted to his councils either in England or Ireland^d. William was not of a complexion to give a favourable answer, nor was he in a condition to refuse the demands of the exasperated commons. He sent a private message to his friends among the lords, to suspend their opposition. The bill was immediately passed, without amendments; and to prevent the falling of the threatened storm, he came suddenly to the house, gave his assent to the act of resumption, and prorogued the parliament^e, without any speech from the throne.

Affairs of the
Scotish com-
pany.

WHILE William was harassed in one of his kingdoms, by a violent and successful opposition in parliament, he was perplexed in another, by vehement instances for redress. On the fourth of December 1699, the council-general of the Scotish company, informed the secretary of their nation in England, that they had prevailed upon the Lord Basil Hamilton, to make a journey to London, to address the King, in behalf of more than thirty persons, wrongfully detained prisoners at Carthagen, by the Spaniards. William, seldom capable of concealing his resentment, exhibited it upon the present occasion, in a manner unsuitable to his dignity. He ordered the chancellor of Scotland to acquaint the council-general, that he had refused access to Lord Basil Hamilton, as he had not waited upon him when he was formerly in London; and that he had never since given any public evidence of his loyalty^f. He, however, promised to demand, in the terms of treaties, the release of the prisoners at Carthagen. That it was his firm intention to advance the trade of Scotland; and that the subjects of that kingdom should enjoy the same liberty of com-

^d April 10.^e April 11.^f Chancellor's Letter to the Directors.

merce, that others enjoyed in the English plantations. The company, however, were resolved not to relinquish their purpose. They wrote to the chancellor. They sent a letter to Lord Basil Hamilton. They requested the first to use his best endeavours for obtaining admittance for the noble person whom they had employed. They approved of the conduct of Hamilton; and ascribed their disappointment to a dislike to their own cause, more than to any objection entertained by the King against his person ^e.

C H A P.
IV.

1700.

EMBARRASSED with complaints and teased by entreaties, William endeavoured to get rid of the Scots, with the sanction of the English parliament. The commons being so refractory, the first application was made to the lords. Neither the influence of the crown, nor the prejudices of the house, against the new company, were capable of carrying the point against the Scots, without violent debates and long delays. An address was, at length, sent down to the commons, for their concurrence. But the commons were not in the humour of being complaisant to the King. The enemies of William were pleased to see his affairs embroiled. Some apprehended, that there was a design to involve the two kingdoms in a quarrel; that the King might derive, from the necessity of the nation, that increase of the land forces, which had been so often denied to his earnest solicitations to parliament. The leaders of opposition were, by no means, inclined to remove the general discontent which had soured the temper of the Scots, against the King. The disaffected members, in the mean time, propagated a report, that the opposition of the King to the Scottish company, proceeded neither from a regard to foreign treaties nor domestic advantage, but from an affection for the Dutch, whose trade along the Spanish main was in danger of being ruined, by the establishment of a new colony at Darien ^h. The commons, upon the whole, refused their concurrence to the address; and, soon

Opposed by
the King.

^e Letter to the Chancellor.

^h Burnet, vol. iii.

C H A P.
IV.

1700.

A petition in
the name of
the whole
Scottish na-
tion.

after, they rejected a bill sent down from the lords, for appointing commissioners to treat with the Scots, concerning an union of the two kingdoms¹.

THE ferment continuing to rage in Scotland, the Marquis of Tweeddale presented a petition to William, in the name of the whole nation^k. They recounted the hardships of the company, both at home and abroad, their own feelings upon a subject so melancholy, and the promises of the King to favour, protect, and support the general trade of the kingdom. They requested him to order the parliament to sit; as nothing could more conduce to the support of the credit and interest of a company, in whose misfortunes and prosperity the whole nation were concerned, than the meeting of the representatives of the people. They reminded him of his promise of permitting that assembly to sit, whenever the good of the nation required that measure; and they assured him, that the good of the nation could, at no time, require their meeting more than on the present occasion. This irregular petition produced nothing but an additional disappointment. The King made answer, that the parliament should not meet till the fourteenth of May. But that then it should meet for the dispatch of business. The discontents of the Scots were inflamed into a species of madness, upon this fresh instance of the King's disregard to their complaints. A general revolt might have been apprehended, had the power of the kingdom borne any proportion to the resentment of the people.

The King
disgusted.

THOUGH the King had extricated himself from present trouble, by the sudden prorogation of the English parliament, he was still far from having freed himself from the storm, which had shaken, in some degree, his throne. His own conduct, during the session, was more apt to inflame than to sooth the minds of

¹ Journals.^k March 25, 1700.

those

those by whom he was most opposed. He made no secret of his displeasure at the proceedings of the commons. He was at no pains to conceal his resolution to defeat the bill of resumption, by refusing his assent should it pass the house of lords. He became sullen, melancholy, and discontented. His resentment broke forth frequently in a manner inconsistent with his prudence. He either apprehended not the dangers, in which the votes of the commons might terminate; or he was not much concerned where they might end¹. He even seemed indifferent about possessing the name of King, after the authority, which he deemed to be inherent in that capacity, had vanished from his hands; and had not the safety of those whom he favoured most depended on his compliance, he would not probably have suppressed the rage against the commons, which his enemies hoped he was to have carried to extremity. They perceived, that should he quarrel with the commons, he would lose what still remained of the affections of his people. His going constantly beyond sea, after every session of parliament, furnished his opponents with an opportunity of impressing the minds of the nation with an opinion, that he even hated the company and society of his English subjects².

THE recess of parliament, as it freed William from daily mortifications, encouraged him to endeavour to prevent the return of the disagreeable measures which had so much disturbed his repose. He found that, in the course of the session, the commons had expressed great animosity against his ministers, particularly against the lord chancellor, Somers, who was the most able of his servants, and considered as the head of the Whigs. Somers had gained a considerable degree of the King's confidence, by his ability in business, and the modesty of his manner in tendering his advice. William, however, resolved to dismiss him from his service, from the hopes which he had entertained, that a man disliked by the commons, would carry into his retreat all the un-

A change in
the ministry.

¹ Burnet, vol. iii.

² Ibid.

C H A P.
IV.

1700.

Character of
the Lord
Somers.

popularity that had of late attended the measures of the crown. When Somers, who laboured under an illness during the winter, had recovered health sufficient to appear at court, he was told by the King, that it was necessary for the public service, he should resign the seals. Somers excused himself from making the delivery of the seals his own act; as that circumstance might be construed by his enemies, into either guilt or fear. The Earl of Jersey was sent with a warrant, to demand the seals, in form; and they were accordingly returned to the King.

SOMERS, though only the son of a country-attorney, had raised himself, to the first office in the law, by dexterously accommodating his talents to the events of the times in which he lived. He was a man of a respectable character in private life, and of abilities in his profession; but his parts were more solid than brilliant, or even clear. He was rather a good chancellor than a great statesman. His integrity and diligence in office, were, with reason, commended. He was too diffident, and too compliant with the King, to make any splendid figure, beyond his own line of the law. His complaisance to the King's humour, his flattering him in his very errors, his feeble manner of recommending what seemed right to his own judgment, bore more the appearance of a convenient, than of an able servant. Upon the whole, he seemed more calculated to smooth the current of business, by amending and softening measures already adopted, than to propose and execute those spirited and manly expedients, which times of faction seem to demand at the hands of a great minister. The difficulty which William encountered in supplying properly the place of Somers, argued that his dismissal of that lord was a precipitate measure; while, at the same time, he was justly censured, for throwing a kind of disgrace on a servant, who had served him with fidelity in perilous times. But the King had concluded, from the late opposition to all his measures, that the Tories only were capable of carrying forward, with facility, the public business.

^a Swift's MS. notes on Mackay.

^o May 20.

DURING

DURING the violent heats in parliament, William turned a part of his attention to the affairs of Europe. The negotiations for the second partition of the dominions of Spain proceeded. But a desire of persuading the Emperor to enter into the same engagements, long prevented the King and the States of Holland from signing the treaty, though the articles had been settled. In the month of October, the Emperor, after various evasions, formally rejected every treaty of partition whatsoever; yet neither the King of England nor the States shewed any eagerness to close with France, upon the disposition already agreed, with regard to the Spanish succession. In the beginning of January, in the present year, the King of Spain declined so manifestly, that his death was daily expected. This circumstance hastened the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed at London, by the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and the Comte de Tallard, on the twenty-first of February; and at the Hague, on the fourteenth of March, by Briord, the French ambassador, and by the plenipotentiaries of the States^p.

C H A P.
IV.1700.
Second treaty
of partition

THE second partition of the Spanish dominions differed materially from the disposition made by the former treaty. The Archduke Charles was placed in the room of the electoral Prince of Bavaria, as heir of the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies. Naples, Sicily, the Marquisate of Final, the islands on the Italian shore, and the province of Guipuscoa, were to fall to the share of the Dauphin, together with the dutchies of Lorraine and Bar, which their native Prince was appointed to exchange for the dutchy of Milan. In this summary disposal of territories and kingdoms, the King of England was not forgetful of his friend the Prince Vaudemont, to whom the country of Binche was to remain a sovereignty. To prevent the union of Spain and the Imperial crown, in the person of one Prince, provision was made, that in

concluded
between
William and
France.

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Treaty with
Sweden.

case of the Archduke's demise, the King of the Romans should not succeed to the throne; and, in like manner, it was particularly stipulated, that no King of France or Dauphin should ever wear the crown of Spain. A secret article provided, for the contingency of the Emperor's refusing to accede to the treaty; and against any difficulties, which might arise from the duke of Lorraine, with regard to the projected exchange of his native territories for the duchy of Milan^a.

WHILE William seemed to provide for the repose of the south of Europe, he extended his care to the tranquillity of the north. The young King of Sweden, apprehensive of a storm, which already began to break on his dominions, entered into a new defensive treaty with the maritime powers. The contracting parties became reciprocally guarantees of all their dominions. Charles the Twelfth engaged to furnish the King of England with ten thousand men, to be paid by the latter Prince, should he find himself obliged to take arms in support of the treaty of Riswick. England and the States, as guarantees of the treaty of Altena, between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, seem to have agreed, though not in an express article, to aid Charles with a strong squadron of ships of war, when attacked by his enemies. The treaty was signed on the thirteenth of January; and the requisition, or rather the application for the ships, was made in March^b. William, in bad humour with his refractory parliament, gave orders for preparing a squadron, without either communicating to them his intentions, or demanding a supply. The first would be imprudent, in the untoward humour of the times, as England was little concerned in the affairs of the North; and the latter would most certainly be refused, considering the general resolution, formed by the commons, for diminishing the expences of the nation.

^a De Torcy, vol. i.^b Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

BUT

BUT before William took any avowed part in the affairs of the North, he went to Holland, and his favourite retreat at Loo. Having appointed a regency^a, for the administration of government in his absence, he left Hampton-court, on the fourth of July; and on the sixth arrived at the Hague. The alliance formed against Sweden began to shew itself in the motions of the confederate powers. The Russians, Poles, and Saxons entered Livonia and Ingria. The Danes, led by the Duke of Wertemberg, invaded Holstein; and having seized some considerable forts, sat down before Tonningen. The strength of the place, the conduct of the governor, the unskilfulness of the besiegers, an unsuccessful assault, and the march of the troops of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, who had passed the Elbe, induced the Danes to relinquish their designs on Tonningen, and to retreat towards their own frontiers. A combined squadron of English and Dutch men of war, with fire-ships and bomb-vessels, under the admirals Rooke and Allemonde, arrived, on the twentieth of July, at the mouth of the Sound^r. The fleet of Sweden, commanded by the king in person, having joined the allies, the Danish ships retired under the guns of Copenhagen. The King of Denmark was himself cooped up in Holstein, by some Swedish frigates cruising along the coast; while his capital was bombarded, though ineffectually, by the combined fleets of the allies^s.

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Copenhagen
bombarded.

HIS active spirit suggested to the young King of Sweden, the means of putting an end, with one decisive stroke, to the war. He resolved to besiege Copenhagen by land, while the fleet blocked up that capital by sea. He fixed the place of his descent at Humblebeck, opposite to Landskroon. He landed in person, the first of all the Swedes. He drove to flight the enemy, who had attempted to defend the shore. A deputation of the

Denmark
forced into a
peace.

^a June 27.

^r July 20.

^s July 30.

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clergy and principal inhabitants, by a contribution of four hundred thousand rix-dollars, prevailed with Charles to spare the city. The King of Denmark was, in the mean time, reduced to a situation the most critical. The troops of the house of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, pressed him on the side of Holstein. His fleet was besieged in the harbour of Copenhagen. The enemy was in the heart of his dominions. He could derive no hopes but from submission and negociation. The Count de Chamilli, ambassador of France, offered his own mediation, in the name of his master. The powers who had guaranteed the treaty of Altena, joined their good offices to those of Chamilli, for restoring peace; and, on the eighteenth of August, a treaty was concluded at Travendal, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, to the exclusion of Russia and Poland. The terms were honourable for the Duke of Holstein, but humiliating to Denmark. The first was re-established in all his claims; whilst the latter was forced to pay to the Duke two hundred and sixty thousand crowns, to indemnify him for the expence of the war^t.

Affairs of
Scotland.

THE sudden restoration of the tranquillity of the North, may be ascribed, in a great degree, to the decisive measures of the King of England. But when he was securing the peace of foreign nations, tumults, discontents, and clamours prevailed in a part of his own dominions. On the twenty-first of May, the parliament of Scotland had met at Edinburgh; and the King's letter, containing the usual excuse for not opening the session in person, being read, the Duke of Queensberry, as lord-high-commissioner, perceiving the bad humour of parliament, adjourned the house for three days. When they met, on the twenty-fourth, petitions, addresses, and representations of particular, as well as general grievances, were poured in upon them

^t Hist. du Nord, tom. i.

from

from every side. The council-general of the Indian and African company, as they had suffered most, were the loudest in their complaints. A motion was made, that the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement; and that the parliament would maintain and support the same. The commissioner perceiving that this embarrassing vote was on the point of being carried, suddenly adjourned the house for three days. This circumstance added fuel to the flame. When the house met, they resumed their motion; and the commissioner again adjourned them, for twenty days^u.

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THE conduct of the commissioner was considered, by a great majority, as an arbitrary breach upon the freedom of voting in parliament. They met that very evening, and signed a spirited address to the King. They complained of their being interrupted in their debates, by an adjournment, contrary to an express act of parliament; wherein it was provided, that nothing should be done or commanded, that might, either directly or indirectly, prevent the liberty of free voting and reasoning of the estates of parliament. They affirmed, that the second adjournment was a manifest infringement on the claim of rights, which had accompanied the very act that had placed the King on the throne. They concluded with intreating his Majesty to permit his parliament to meet, on the day to which it was then adjourned; and to sit as long as might be necessary for redressing the grievances of the nation. A deputation was sent with this address to the King. He declared^w that he could give no answer at the time to their petition; but that they should know his intentions in Scotland. The parliament, was, in the mean time, further adjourned by proclamation.

Parliament
address
against an
adjournment.

THOUGH the Earl of Seafield, and other servants of the Crown, had been, for a whole year, employed in gaining, with

A general
ferment.

^u May 30.

^w June 11.

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promises and pensions, the members of the Scottish parliament, the clamours of the people made more profelytes, than the bribes employed by the King. The current ran rapidly in one way; whilst the disaffected added their own force to the violence of the stream. The general cry was, that the freedom of debate was most effectually ruined, the claim of right invaded, and a private power usurped over the parliament. The King, they justly observed, assumed more than a negative by these unconstitutional adjournments. A bill is defeated by the first. By the latter, the right of giving advice, one of the great ends of all parliaments, is utterly prevented and overturned. In this disposition of the people in general, the lower sort became outrageous. Upon some vague intelligence received at Edinburgh, of an advantage gained by their countrymen at Darien, over the Spaniards, the populace committed every species of excess and insult against the officers of the government. The King was, not unjustly, deemed a party against the African company; and his name was treated with indecency, and his authority with contempt. A national address was, in the mean time, encouraged on every side; and transmitted to every borough and county for signatures and names.

Violence of
the discon-
tented.

To add to the general ferment, advices arrived from Spain, that several of the adventurers in Darien, had been sent to that country and condemned as pyrates. That the chief proofs brought against them, were the proclamations of the governors of the English colonies, by the express commands of the King, containing a formal disavowal of the legality of the settlement; together with words, disclaiming the undertaking of the Scots, expressed by William himself to the Spanish ambassador; and transmitted, in writing, by that minister to the council of the Indies. In the midst of the clamours raised upon this fresh intelligence, William endeavoured, in vain, to sooth the Scots into some temper, by a letter to the Duke of Queensberry. The national

national flame continued to increase. The discontented members talked of sitting by force, and of forming themselves into a convention. They even affirmed, that the army was ready to join their cause against a government, which, by denying protection, had no right to obedience. That they wanted nothing but money to declare the throne vacant; to restore the late King, or to confer the crown on some other Prince, more inclined than the present, to support the just claims of the nation*.

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THESE discontents, so favourable to his views, were not capable of rousing the late King, from the lethargy into which he had fallen, ever since the treaty of Rîswick. Rendered careless by misfortunes, weighed down with years, and unmanned by his own religious enthusiasm, he had resigned every expectation of regaining his crowns. To the resolution of transporting himself into England, he seems to have still adhered, had William, as was generally apprehended, yielded to the disorders that had long threatened his dissolution. But though he had resigned all hopes, with regard to himself, James never doubted but his son would, one day, recover the crowns which he himself had lost. He thought that the objections to himself, proceeded either from the views of a few leading men, or the terrors of the populace, who were animated with an enthusiasm similar to his own. He deemed the lineal succession so essential, and even necessary to monarchy, that things must, in course, fall back to their old channel, when the terrors of his own return, and the pressure of William's ambition, were both removed from the nation†.

Inactivity of
the late King.

THE death of the only son of his daughter, the Princess of Denmark, and the only person, after her Royal Highness, included in the new settlement of the crown, seemed to favour the

Death of the
Duke of
Gloucester.

* Manchester's Correspondence. Cole's coll.

† Contin. of James II.'s Memoirs, MS.

expectations

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expectations of the late King. The Duke of Gloucester, as he was commonly called, though his patent was never made out, from a superstitious prejudice against that title, had arrived at the eleventh year of his age. On his birth-day, the twenty-fourth of July, he fell ill of a malignant fever. His constitution, which was tender and feeble, soon sunk under the violence of his disorder; and he expired, at Windsor, on the night of the twenty-ninth of the month. Though, as is usual with regard to princes who die in youth, much has been said of his parts and acquirements, he was little lamented by the nation, and less by the King. The people were discontented with the government, and rendered careless of its concerns, through the different views of the parties into which they were divided; and William, who had never any affection for the mother, was not, perhaps, much displeased to see her influence weakened by the death of the son. A prevailing report, that the Princess had sent, very clandestinely, an express to notify the demise of her son to her father, might contribute to lessen the concern of William for the loss which the kingdom had sustained^z.

Death of the
K. of Spain.

THE King having passed three months in Holland, returned, on the nineteenth of October, to England. Unwilling to meet a parliament that had opposed him in all his views, he prorogued that assembly to the twenty-first of November; and, after a further prorogation, dissolved them, before the end of the year. The face of affairs in Europe had suffered, in the mean time, a very important change. Charles the Second, King of Spain, having so long struggled with distempers, yielded at length to their force, and died, on the first of November. The resentment which he had conceived against the authors of the second treaty of partition, seemed to have hastened the death of that feeble Prince; while, at the same time, it produced the most decisive measure in

^z Lamberty, tom. i.

all his reign. Having resolved to prevent the projected partition of his dominions, the only difficulty lay in the appointment of an universal heir. His inclination pointed to the family of Austria. But the Pope, whom he consulted by letter, and afterwards the clergy of Spain, at the instigation of the Cardinal Portocarrero, induced that superstitious Prince to nominate the Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin, his successor in all his dominions^a.

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IN the will, which was dated on the second of October, the King acknowledged the right of his sister, the Infanta Maria Theresa, Queen of France, and mother of the Dauphin. He also acknowledged the right of his aunt, Anne of Austria, the mother of the French King; and consequently the right of the Dauphin, as the only heir, by the laws of the kingdom. To prevent an alarm in Europe, at the union of such extensive dominions to France, the Dauphin's second son was called to the throne of Spain. Until this Prince should arrive at Madrid, and even till he was of age, a council of regency, with the Queen at their head, were nominated for the administration of affairs. Upon the demise of Charles, the regency wrote to the French King, and, at the same time, ordered the will to be delivered to that Prince, by the Spanish ambassador residing at his court. Lewis consulted his council; in which it was resolved to drop the second partition treaty, and to adhere to the testament of the late King of Spain. A war, it had been always foreseen, was the inevitable consequence of the death of that Prince; and the court of France wisely concluded, that it was much easier to keep possession of the whole kingdom, by virtue of the will, than to conquer and retain the share allotted to the Dauphin, by the treaty concluded with England and the States^b.

His will in
favour of the
Duke of An-
jou.

LEWIS the Fourteenth joined to these reasons, one other of equal weight. Should he refuse the bequest made to his grandson

Lewis XIV.
accepts the
will.

^a De Torcy, tom. i.

^b Ibid.

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of the crown, all the dominions of Spain must have fallen into the hands of the Emperor, the hereditary rival of the power of his family. The very courier that brought the will to France, had been ordered, in case of the refusal of that court, to proceed to Vienna, with a tender of the throne to the Archduke. This circumstance would have again revived the power possessed, by the house of Austria, in the days of Charles the Fifth, when the united weight of Spain and the empire had almost proved fatal to the French monarchy. These reasons coinciding with the ambition of Lewis, he flattered himself, that the war, which must otherwise have been kindled in Europe, was least to be dreaded on the grounds which he now had chosen. The resolution adopted for accepting the will in France, was followed by the precaution of forming alliances abroad. Lewis entered into a treaty with the King of Portugal, with the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua. The latter of these Princes received a French garrison into his capital. The allies of France, on the side of Germany, were the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele, the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, and the Bishop of Münster. The Elector of Bavaria, then governor of the Netherlands, and his brother the elector of Cologne, were uncles to the new King of Spain, and resolved to maintain his right to the crown^a.

Resentment
of the Empe-
ror.

THE King of England and the States of the United Provinces affected to be highly offended, at the breach made by Lewis the Fourteenth on the second treaty of partition. But they were in no condition to support, at present, their resentment with any decisive measure. They observed, therefore, a cautious silence; while the Emperor, possessed of less power of revenge than either, made a great deal of noise^b. Perplexed and rendered undecisive by his disappointments, Leopold was, for some time, uncertain what measures he should adopt to possess himself of an object, of which he had been

^a De Torcy, tom. i.^b Stanhope to Manchester, Dec. 10.

unexpectedly deprived. He, at length, fixed on the Milanese, which he claimed as a fief of the empire. On the twenty-second of November, he issued his mandate to the inhabitants of that dutchy, which they were to obey on pain of being considered as rebels. This resolution was more calculated to raise the ridicule than the terror of the house of Bourbon, on that side. He was in want of every resource of war. Without money at home, without alliances abroad; and as irresolute in his conduct, as he was destitute of power and full of pride^c.

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IV.

1701.

BUT though the French King had nothing immediately to fear from the resentment of the Emperor, his own precautions against a war hastened its approach. During these transactions, one Schonenburgh, a Flemish Jew, resided at Madrid, in the double capacity of agent for England and the States of Holland. The chief view of William, being to preserve the barrier in Flanders, in the hands of the Dutch, and to prevent the Netherlands from being annexed to the crown of France, he ordered Schonenburgh to signify to the regency, his earnest desire of living on the footing of their former amity with the court of Spain; and to insinuate, at the same time, his expectations, that the barrier in Flanders should be preserved in its present form. The regency, or, as they were called, the Junto, had abandoned the fate of Spain to the arbitration of France. They knew the weakness of the Spanish dominions in all quarters, and the utter inability of the kingdom to defend itself on any side. They, therefore, requested the French King to accept, in a manner, of the generalship of their monarchy. They commanded the viceroys of the provinces to obey his orders; and under the pretence, that the States were making preparations for war, they impowered the court of France to take possession of the barrier in Flanders, with French troops^d. Though William might have been jealous of proceedings contrary

William proposed to preserve a good understanding with Spain.

^c Stanhope to Manchester, Manchester to Verdon, Dec. 18.

^d Jan. 5, 1701.

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IV.

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State of af-
fairs at home.

to the principles which he had long avowed, he was induced, for various reasons, not only to acquiesce at present, in the forward measures of France, but, afterwards, even to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou as lawful sovereign of Spain^c.

THE untoward situation of the King's affairs at home, had greatly contributed to his present want of decision abroad. The refractoriness of the last session of parliament, their supposed insults to his person, and actual opposition to the crown, had convinced William, that either he must change his servants or his measures. The first suited best his temper. He had removed the chancellor before his departure for Holland. The death of Lord Londale, in the month of July, had made a vacancy in the office of privy-seal. The department in the secretary's office had been long vacant. The King took advantage of these circumstances to gratify the Tories, who he deemed could serve best the measures of the crown, without offending, by displacing the Whigs. The Earl of Tankerville, removed into the office of privy-seal, gave room at the head of the treasury to the Lord Godolphin^f. Sir Charles Hedges was taken from the board of admiralty and made secretary of state^g. The Earl of Rochester, considered as a leader of the Tories and high-church party, was nominated in council, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Montagu, who had suffered a degree of ignominy in the house of commons, through his own indiscretion, was removed, by the title of Lord Halifax, into the house of lords^h. The King manifestly trimmed between the two parties. He hoped to divide the Whigs, by retaining some of them in office. He expected to soften the opposition of the Tories, by admitting a few of their leaders into the vacant departments of the ministry.

The Scottish
parliament
reconciled.

WHILE the King was making preparations for meeting the new representatives of England, on good terms, his ministers in Scot-

^c April 17.^f Dec. 12, 1700.^g Nov. 7.^h Dec. 4.

land

land were employed, in reconciling the parliament of that kingdom to the views of the crown. The national address, for the meeting of parliament, which had been promoted with such eagerness by the discontented, was defeated by the King's ordering that assembly to meet before the address was presented. On the twenty-eighth of October, the parliament met accordingly; and the King's letter was, in every respect, well calculated to allay the ferment, which had so long prevailed in the nation. It was conceived in the most soft and insinuating terms. The King promised his resolution to give his assent to all acts for the better establishing the government of the church, the security of personal liberty, and more especially for repairing the losses and promoting the interest of the African and Indian companies. He laid the want of protection, which they had experienced before, on the necessity imposed upon himself by the state of Europe. But as that state was now changed, he was determined to support to the utmost their rights and their claims. Though this condescending expedient had, at first, no visible effect on the indignant humour of the Scots, yet, by the concurrence of secret practices on the members, it contributed to sooth, at last, the parliament into a perfect compliance with the views of the crown. The longer the session continued the more ground was gained by the ministry; till, at length, in the month of January, the storm, which threatened the repose of Britain, was entirely laid.

ON the sixth of February, the new parliament met at Westminster, but, under the pretence of giving time to the members to arrive in town, they were adjourned to the tenth of the same month. The commons having presented Mr. Harley, whom they had chosen for their speaker, the King made a speech to both houses, from the throne. He told them, that the great misfortune of the nation, in the death of the Duke of Gloucester, had rendered it absolutely necessary to make a further provision for

A new parliament in England.

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the succession in the protestant line. He earnestly recommended that measure to their earliest care, as the happiness of the nation and the security of religion, depended on an immediate and proper settlement of the crown. The death of the King of Spain, he said, and the declaration of his successor, had made so great an alteration in foreign affairs, that he desired the parliament to consider very maturely their present state; and that he doubted not, but their resolutions would conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of all Europe. These things, he continued, were of such weight, that he had called a new parliament, to obtain the more immediate sense of the kingdom in such an important conjuncture. He recommended to the commons to provide for the late deficiencies and the unfunded debts, to inspect the state and augment the strength of the navy, and to deliberate on the regulation and improvement of trade.

Mutual animosities of the Whigs and Tories.

THE animosities of parties, the prospect of advantage, which arose to the members of the lower house, from the very misfortunes of their constituents; and above all, the importance which the commons had lately acquired by their successful opposition to the crown, had rendered seats in parliament uncommon objects of contest, during the late elections. Bribery and corruption, perhaps never absent entirely from such occasions, had arrived at a pitch too indecent to be overlooked, had even those, who were rivals for the suffrages of the people, been less inflamed against one another's conduct. The first care of the commons, as is usual in new parliaments, was turned to undue elections. But the matter of right was decided by favour more than by its merit; every dispute becoming rather a trial of the force of parties than the object of impartial decision. The Tories having discovered their superiority, by the election of a speaker of their own party, are said to have used their power in a manner less suitable to justice, than

than to their own prejudices against the Whigs; and to have, thus, weakened still more their opponents, by depriving many of them of their seats in the house. But the charge of injustice might probably have been transferred to the other side, had their power equalled their animosity against their rivals. The passions of all being inflamed by these contests, the great business recommended by the King was, for some days, either entirely forgotten, or commanded only the secondary care of the commonsⁱ.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this seeming inattention to the business of the nation, the parliament had not yet discovered any part of that animosity, which their predecessors had exhibited against the King. On the fourteenth of February, they resolved to assure his Majesty, that they would support his government, and take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe. Though the King in secret wished, and had probably determined, when circumstances should arise, to quarrel with France, for departing from the second treaty of partition, he durst not avow his inclinations for a war, upon a foundation universally unpopular. He, however, took advantage of the general assurances made by the commons, and, with his answer to their address, laid before them a memorial, which he received from the envoy-extraordinary of the States of Holland. This memorial, fabricated, perhaps, in conjunction with William himself, contained surmises of the hostile dispositions of France, by the motions of her troops on the side of Flanders, together with the eventual requisition of the succours from England stipulated by treaty. The King demanded the advice of his commons, on the first part of the memorial; and, as to the latter, he desired their assistance^k.

Steps toward
a war.

ON the fifteenth of February, the commons, with a view to the treaty of partition, had addressed the King, to lay before them all

All parties
eager for it.ⁱ Journals.^k Feb. 17.

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the treaties concluded between his Majesty and any other Prince or state, since the late war. But when they received the answer to their general address, they demanded the treaty between England and the States, signed on the third of March 1677, together with all the renewals of the treaty since that period. The King complied, and the house addressed him on the twentieth of February¹, to enter into such negotiations, in concert with the States and other potentates, as might conduce to the preservation of the peace of Europe. They assured him, at the same time, of their support and assistance, for the performance of the treaty concluded in the year 1677, between England and the States of the United Provinces. William seized, with eagerness, the general assurances made in this address. He thanked the commons in terms expressive of his approbation of their conduct; and he seems, though his designs were then unknown, to have used great address in reconciling the nation, by degrees, to a war.

Melfort's letter before the houses.

To secure the assistance of parliament, by exciting their fears from France, the King had communicated a few days before, an intercepted letter from the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth, concerning some wild and exploded projects for replacing James again on the throne. Melfort having incurred the dislike of the adherents of the late King, on account of his violence and absurdity, had been dismissed from the service of that Prince. James was now directed in his councils by the Earl of Middleton, a man of moderate principles in politics, a protestant in his religion, and possessing considerable abilities in business. The letter, alluding chiefly to past transactions, contained no material information. Though the lords deemed it worthy of an address to the King, the commons, with more dignity, passed it over with the contempt it deserved. They, however, resolved, upon other considerations, to place the navy on a respectable footing. They

¹ Feb. 20.

voted

voted unanimously^m, that such persons as should advance five hundred thousand pounds for the service of the fleet, should receive six per cent. interest, and be repaid the principal out of the first aid to be granted in the present session. They also resolved, on the twenty-sixth of February, that thirty thousand men should be employed in the service of the yearⁿ.

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THOUGH the settlement of the crown was a matter of the utmost importance to the nation, the lower house were neither early in their attention to that business, nor expeditious in bringing it to a conclusion. On the third of March, the commons resolved, that to preserve the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and to secure the established religion, there was an absolute necessity for making a fresh declaration of the limitation of the crown in the Protestant succession; and that provision should be made for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject^o. The latter part of the resolution was suggested by the Tories, who had been uniformly accused by their rivals of high principles of monarchy. They affirmed, that the nation was in so much haste when they settled the present government, that many securities were overlooked, which might have prevented much mischief. They therefore moved, that the conditions of government should be settled before the person should be nominated, lest what really was meant for the good of the subject, should be ascribed to any dislike to the Prince on whom the election should fall. This salutary expedient was construed by the Whigs into a design of defeating the measure, by protracting the business. But the motion was so popular in itself, and so consonant to the principles which they themselves professed, that they could not oppose it, though it came from their political enemies.

Settlement of
the crown.

IN a committee of the whole house, the commons came to further important resolutions, which were reported; and, with

Articles for
the security
of the subject.

^m Feb. 19.

ⁿ Feb. 26.

^o March 3.

a few

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a few amendments, approved, on the twelfth of March. They resolved, that all affairs, with regard to government, cognizable in the privy council, should be transacted there, and signed by the members. That no person whatsoever, not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or dominions belonging to these kingdoms, or who was not born of English parents beyond seas, though such person is naturalized, should be capable of receiving any grant from the Crown, or office under the King. That in the event of the crown's descending or being transferred to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of parliament, to enter into any war, for the defence of territories not depending on the crown of England. That whoever should come to the possession of the throne, should join in communion with the church of England. That no pardon should be pleadable to any impeachment in parliament^p.

The Princess
Sophia placed
in the suc-
cession.

To these votes they added others, which seemed to reflect on the reigning Prince, while they provided securities against his successors in the throne. They resolved that no person who should hereafter come to the crown, should go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the consent of parliament. That no person who should possess an office under the King, or receive a pension from the Crown, should be capable of serving in the house of commons. That the commissions of the judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries ascertained and established. That the Princess Sophia, Dutchess-Dowager of Hannover, should be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, after the reigning King, the Princess of Denmark, and the heirs of their respective bodies. That the further limitation of the crown should be restricted to the Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; and that, upon these resolutions, a bill should be brought in before the house^q. The bill was accordingly presented, by Mr. Conyers,

^p March 12.

^q Ibid,

on the last day of March; and though it met with obstruction, from various incidents, it passed, on the fourteenth of April, and was sent up to the lords^{*}.

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THE Princess Sophia, thus eventually elected to succeed to the throne of England, was the nearest person of the royal line, who was not already under a legal incapacity of possessing the crown. An express act of parliament had excluded all Roman Catholics from the succession; and all the descendants of Charles the First, except William and the Princess of Denmark, were of the Popish persuasion. The parliament, therefore, were obliged to return to the posterity of James the First in another line; and to Sophia, as grand-daughter to that Prince, by his daughter Elizabeth, who had been married to the unfortunate King of Bohemia. Though the same power which conferred on the Princess the succession of the crown, might, with equal justice, have placed any other person on the throne, the parliament chose to adhere, in some degree to the royal blood, as committing the least outrage on monarchy, to which a majority of themselves were attached from principle. A different conduct might, for a time, have deprived the elected Sovereign of the reverence which most men, born under monarchies, pay to the hereditary line. But the influence arising from the disposal of an immense revenue, had, even then, placed the power of the Sovereign on a much more solid foundation, than the feeble prerogative derived, by hereditary princes, from the opinion of the people.

as the Protestant nearest to the crown.

THIS consideration had certainly its weight with the present parliament, in limiting the force of the executive power, in the settlement of the succession. As the crown which they conferred was a voluntary gift, they had a right, if they chose, to deprive it of its unnecessary ornaments, and even of some of its jewels.

Reflections.

^{*} Journals, April 14.

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But power had turned into another channel; and the mounds which were reared, became, in a manner, useless, as the waters ceased to rise on that side. The Crown was destined, from the very exertions made by the people against its exorbitant claims to acquire in influence, what it lost in prerogative. Authority, by these means, lost gradually its terrors and its insolence. Power had ceased to be splendid; but it became permanent and irresistible: and mankind may be imperceptibly surrounded with the toils of despotism, while they have the vanity to think themselves free.

Proceedings
of parliament.

THE parliament having placed the important business of the succession in a way of being secured, began to inquire into domestic mismanagements, and the conduct of the Crown, with regard to foreign powers. They had already provided for the credit of the nation. They had placed the navy on a formidable footing, by granting large supplies. It, however, had been evident, that the King wished least for their assistance in the latter line. But the majority seemed by no means willing to gratify their Sovereign, in the point of an immediate increase of the land-forces of the kingdom. In their measures consequent upon the resolution of adhering to the treaty with the Dutch in 1677, the commons made a shew of aiding the King, without offending the nation. They resolved, that twelve battalions, then in Ireland, should be made up, with new levies, to ten thousand men; and sent to the aid of the States. But they, at the same time, resolved, that no new levies should be made, in Ireland or elsewhere, to supply the twelve battalions now to be transported beyond seas.

Lord's address
against the
partition
treaties.

THE present distrust of the King, was followed by animadversions on his former conduct. The lords, having addressed the

* Journals of the commons.

throne,

throne, for the late treaties, these, together with other important papers, were laid before them, about the middle of March. Having, in a committee of the whole house, examined the treaties of partition, they agreed upon an address, containing bitter reflections on their tendency. They complained, that the last treaty with the French King, had been huddled up without being laid before parliament, though then actually sitting; and even without being considered in council; circumstances as unjust in their nature, as the measures themselves were fatal in their consequences. They insinuated, that the treaty had probably been the cause of the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou. That the cession of Sicily, Naples, several ports in the Mediterranean, the province of Guipuscoa, and the dutchy of Lorrain, as stipulated, in favour of France, by the last treaty, was contrary to the pretence of the treaty itself; the professed object of which was, the peace and safety of Europe. They requested his Majesty to require and admit, for the future, in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural born subjects, and, for that purpose, to constitute a council, to whom all such foreign and domestic affairs as concerned either his Majesty or his dominions, might be referred. The King's answer was moderate and prudent. It contained a brief evasion, conceived in handsome terms. He owned, that the address contained a matter of very great moment; and that he would take care, that all treaties he might conclude, should be for the honour and safety of England.

THE King having perceived, at the beginning of the session, that the current of parliament was likely to set powerfully against his measures, had resolved to fall down with the stream. He had filled the vacant offices with some of the high-church party. He was now determined not to exasperate, as he could not soothe the commons. They had already, in various resolutions, ren-

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The King's
prudent ma-
nagement of
the commons.

* Journals of the lords.

" Ibid.

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dered manifest their disapprobation of the King's late measures, and exhibited a distrust of his future conduct. William, however, exhibited publicly no symptom of displeasure, at the conduct of the majority. He had, now, turned his thoughts wholly upon war. In several messages to the commons, he communicated the negotiations abroad, in terms which plainly insinuated, that they were at once ineffectual and near their end. He was supported in his present views by the leaders of the Whigs at home, and through his own management, by the Dutch from abroad. The first expected to regain the advantages which they had lost, in the confusions of war; and the latter were either led by the influence of the King, in their councils, or swayed by views of their own. Memorial regularly followed memorial to William; and he, as regularly, with message after message plied the commons.^w

Several lords
impeached.

A MAJORITY, however, being equally averse with their constituents, from a renewal of war, the commons resolved, without one dissenting voice, upon a vote of advice to the King. Instead of agreeing with his message^x, that all negotiations seemed to be at an end, they requested the King to carry on the negotiations, in concert with the States; and they, at the same time, promised to enable, effectually, his Majesty to support the treaty, concluded, in the year 1677, with the United Provinces. Upon a debate, on the treaties of partition, they expressed their highest disapprobation of both, in resolutions as well as in words. They addressed his Majesty to remove the Earl of Portland^y, the Lord Somers^z, and the Lord Halifax from his presence and councils for ever; having ordered them to be impeached at the bar of the house of lords. These violent measures, as they were called by the Whig-party, produced a counter-address from the lords; a majority of

^w Journals, March 22.

^y April 1.

^x March 27.

^z April 14.

whom,

whom, had been gained by the joint influence of the Court and the persons accused. The King, to avoid any contest with the commons, passed over the address of the peers in silence. The first proceeded on articles to maintain the impeachments, in which the piracies of captain Kidd, under the sanction of the broad seal, and his being manned and furnished by his Majesty's ships, was not the least extraordinary^a.

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WHILE the King chose to make no reply to the lords, he prudently returned a soothing answer to the commons. But though they presented an address of thanks, they were not to be entirely gained. To support their own resolutions to enable the King to adhere to the treaty of 1677, they voted three shillings in the pound on land. But they applied the savings on the civil list, to the current service. The fifty thousand pounds allotted as a dower to King James's Queen, had been hitherto retained by William, in his own hands, under various pretences; and more than twenty thousand pounds, had reverted to the crown, by the death of the Duke of Gloucester. These sums, making in all, near one hundred thousand pounds, were applied, after a violent contest with the adherents of the Court, toward the payment of the public debts. During transactions so unfavourable to the views of the King, men who wished to regain his favour and secure his confidence, endeavoured to rouse the nation to a desire for war. A difference between the two houses had been fomented to favour this design. But the people had been hitherto unconcerned spectators of the contests, which agitated the parties in parliament.

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

IN all governments that have any tincture of freedom, the voice of the nation is generally the standard to which public measures

Artifice of the
court.

^a Journals.

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are formed. Juntos in office as well as excluded factions, adapted their conduct to this great criterion; and when the nation are not roused to forward the private views of either, by means of favourite prejudices, they both endeavour to excite the clamours of the populace, or to gain them to their respective parties, through the channel of their fears. Though the resolutions of the house of commons were hitherto calculated to please the nation, the excluded party, together with some of those servants who were best acquainted with the King's mind, infused gradually into the people a wild suspicion of their representatives. That assembly, who had evidently secured the liberties of the subject, by the limitations in the act of settlement, were censured as attached to a system of arbitrary power. Those who called a protestant successor to the crown, were accused of favouring the popish line; and men who endeavoured to appear as good husbands of the treasure of the nation, were stigmatized as enemies to the public. Though with regard to many individuals, these charges might have been, in some measure, founded on fact, the means used to impress the nation with a bad opinion of the whole, were highly unjustifiable.

Kentish petition.

THE first measure taken for rousing the nation to an ardour for war, exhibited itself in the county of Kent. The grand-jury and other gentlemen and freeholders had assembled at Maidstone, on the twenty-ninth of April, and through the management of the adherents of the King, presented to the house of commons what was deemed a libel, in the form of a petition^c. The house voted the petition to be scandalous insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution of parliament, and to subvert the established government. The persons who presented the paper were delivered over into the custody of the serjeant at arms; and upon a suspicion of an intended rescue, committed to the

^c May 8.

Gate-

Gate-house. Those who had advised and promoted the Kentish petition, artfully increased the ferment, which this decisive measure of the commons had raised. A libel subscribed Legion, was transmitted to the speaker, containing many articles of accusation; and charging the house with tyranny to the subject and undutifulness toward the King. The commons addressed the throne against the endeavours that had been made to raise tumults among the people; and they requested him to provide effectually, by the exact execution of the laws, for the peace and security of the kingdom^d.

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WHILE the party thus armed the prejudices of the populace against the commons, they found means to secure the majority, which they had obtained in the house of peers. The articles against the impeached lords were either considered as frivolous in themselves, or they were but languidly maintained. The two houses, at length, fell into an irreconcilable difference upon the mode of proceeding. The commons insisted, that the lords whom they had impeached, should abstain from voting in the upper-house; and that a committee, from each of the houses, should meet to adjust the time, manner, and order, in the intended trials. The lords refused the first demand, as it seemed to include a condemnation, before conviction. To the second, they replied, that as the sole right of judicature was in themselves, they had also the sole right to appoint the time, manner, and order of all trials on impeachments. These differences filled the end of the month of May and almost the whole of June, with altercation, contest, and noise. The peers had appointed days for the trials. The commons refused to appear; and the impeached lords were acquitted. The King, in the mean time, observed a prudent silence. Though he was not displeased at the current, which had turned against the commons, he avoided to irritate that assembly; and he dismissed

Difference
between the
houses.

^d Journals, May.

them,

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Reflections
on the con-
duct of the
commons.

them, by prorogation, on the twenty-fourth of June, in apparent good humour, though he, perhaps even then, had resolved never to meet the same house again.

THOUGH no house of commons had ever fallen under the displeasure of party writers in a degree equal to the present, they certainly deserved to meet with more praise than censure. That several members had private views to promote, in their opposition to the crown, cannot well be denied. But that the conduct of the whole seemed calculated to discharge the duty of the representative of the people to their country, is equally true. Their chief demerit, in the eyes of those who favoured the views of the King, was their pursuing every measure calculated to prevent the nation from being engaged, as a principal, in a continental war; and the party, who abetted the notions of the court, had the address to rouse the resentment of the vulgar in their own cause. Some of the proceedings of the lower house, it must be acknowledged, were tinged with those partialities which too often disgrace popular assemblies. Whilst they pointed their utmost vengeance against those leaders of the Whigs, that bore a share in the last treaty of partition, they passed over some Tories, who were equally deep in that unadvised transaction. But an undeviating attention to justice, can scarce ever be expected from men inflamed with the prejudices of party.

and on that
of the King.

THE conduct of William, during the session, was as suitable to prudence, as it was, to the designs, that, without acknowledging them, he had adopted. The Whigs and Tories were inflamed against each other to such a degree of inveteracy, and they were also so equally poised, that without declaring for either, he had a prospect of commanding both parties. Some leaders of each side were still in office. But he chose to make no advances to the Whigs, nor to gratify the Tories. The two factions took different

rent ways to obtain the management of government. The first departed from their principles, in their endeavours to gain the King. The latter seemed rather inclined to owe their influence to their sovereign's fear of their power. William, all the while, observed a profound silence; and even after the prorogation of parliament, when he resolved to pass over into Holland, he left the government in such mixed hands, that no judgment could be formed to which party he most inclined.

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ON the thirtieth of June, the King left Hampton-court; and on the third of July, he arrived in the Maese. The battalions from Ireland, the levies from England, and the regiments from Scotland, were in Holland before the King; who had raised the Earl of Marlborough to the command of the whole. In some measure prepared for war, he applied himself to negotiations nominally calculated for preserving peace. He had, in the preceding April, acknowledged the new King of Spain, by a letter under his own hand. The States, after heavy complaints, had done the same for the sake of their commerce. But it had long been no secret, that neither were willing to permit the house of Bourbon, to enjoy in tranquillity, the vast accession of power they were supposed to have received in the crown of Spain. A mock-show of a treaty, in the mean time, employed the summer. The French court, though they seriously wished for a continuance of peace, behaved in a manner that seemed to hasten the war. Despairing of any happy issue to conferences, where neither side would depart from their claims, D'Avaux, the ambassador of France at the Hague, was recalled, on the eighth of August; having left a memorial with the States, more apt to inflame their resentment, than to remove their fears.

William in
Holland.

BEFORE William passed into Holland, the flames of war had been kindled in Italy, between the Emperor and the house of

War in Italy.
French de-
feated at
Carpi,

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Bourbon. The Prince de Vaudemont, governor of Milan, had obeyed the will of Charles the Second, and submitted himself to the new King. A body of French troops, at the requisition of the Prince, had entered the Milanese. These were soon after followed by a powerful army; and the Duke of Savoy, whose daughter was now married to the young King of Spain, was declared captain-general of the whole. On the other hand, the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene, entered Italy in the end of May, to the number of thirty thousand men. The Marechal de Catinat, as the Duke of Savoy was not yet arrived, commanded the French, in conjunction with the Prince de Vaudemont. They took possession of the Mantuan. They posted themselves along the Adige. Prince Eugene, however, under the feint of a design to cross the Po, forced the passage of the Adige, entered the intrenchments of the French at Carpi, and obliged the enemy, after having suffered a considerable loss, to cover themselves behind the Mincio^e.

and again at
Chiara.

THE retreat of the Marechal de Catinat left Prince Eugene master of the whole country lying between the Adige and the Adda. The Marechal posted himself behind the latter river and the Oglio, to prevent, if possible, the Imperialists from entering the Milanese. The French, in the mean time, were joined by the Duke of Savoy, who left Turin on the twenty-fourth of July, to place himself at the head of the army. The continual checks received after the arrival of the commander in chief, raised, in the mind of Catinat, a suspicion, that the misfortunes of the field had not altogether proceeded from the great abilities of Prince Eugene. He dispatched to court an account of his uneasiness, concerning the fidelity of the Duke of Savoy. But Lewis the Fourteenth, ascribing to Catinat's own impatience, the surmises which he had communicated concerning the Duke, sent the Marechal de Villeroy to supersede him in his command. Villeroy, willing upon

^e Memoires du Fouquier, p. 240.

his.

his arrival to signalize himself with some action, entered into a concert with the Duke, to surprise a small post at Chiara, occupied by a corps of infantry, at the head of the Imperial camp. The project was rash, and had it even been attended with success, altogether useless. The Duke of Savoy acquainted Prince Eugene of the design of M. de Villeroi, and the disposition of the intended attack. The French, being thus betrayed, were repulsed with great loss^f. The rest of the campaign produced no action of any importance. The confederates quitted first the field, and retired into winter-quarters, between the Oglio and the Adda.

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THOUGH the successes of the campaign were far from being decisive, they animated the Emperor, and gave weight to his negotiations. He had secured the Elector of Brandenburg, through the channel of his vanity, by dignifying him with the name of King. The Princes of Germany, who at first affected to consider the war in the light of a family-dispute for a crown, were induced to depart from their proposed neutrality, by the recent victories obtained in Italy, over the combined forces of France and Spain. The maritime powers, whose aid was the most important of all, were prepared, by motives of their own, to come into the views of the court of Vienna. The King of England, highly offended with Lewis the Fourteenth, for having made him, in a manner, the tool of his ambition, in the last treaty of partition, had resolved on a war. The Dutch, swayed by the influence of William, jealous of their own commerce with Spain, on account of the advantages already obtained by France, and terrified at the preparations made by the latter kingdom on their frontiers, discovered an uncommon eagerness for taking up arms. Denmark, gained by the subsidiary treaty, was ready to abet the views of the maritime powers, with a considerable body of men; and if Sweden and Poland had taken no

Negotiations
of the Empe-
ror.

^f Sept. 11.

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IV.

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Sept. 7.
Triple alli-
ance.

part in the intended confederacy, it was because they were engaged in a war at home ^g.

THE departure of D'Avaux from the Hague, in the beginning of August, had put an end to even the appearance of treating with France, for the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe. A fair field was now left for the negotiations of the Emperor. That Prince, in proportion as he perceived the inclination of the maritime powers for war, rose in his demands with regard to the terms of the projected alliance. He was determined, at first, to be satisfied with nothing less than the whole Spanish monarchy. But the King of England and the States, being resolute to undertake for no more than the recovery of Flanders, as a barrier for Holland, and the dutchy of Milan, for the security of the Emperor, the latter Prince thought it prudent to depart from his vast schemes. All difficulties being thus removed, the treaty, which afterwards obtained the name of the grand alliance, was signed on the seventh of September. The design avowed in the articles, was the procuring satisfaction for the Emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies. It was also stipulated, that the King of England and the States, might retain for themselves whatever lands and cities their arms should conquer, in both the Indies ^h.

Exhausted
state of
France

THOUGH France had foreseen the storm which was now ready to burst upon her, in all its rage, she had been as negligent in her preparations as she was destitute of resources. Lewis himself, having no inclination to enter into a war, gave too much credit to the pacific disposition of other powers. He might have perceived, and he probably was not ignorant, that the jealousy entertained by the rest of Europe, on account of the late accession of his family to such vast dominions, could scarce permit him to enjoy his good

^g Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.^h Vid. Treaty.

fortune

fortune in peace. But the truth is, he was cured of his former ambition. The caution of age had come upon him, with its inactivity and weakness. His people had scarce time to breathe, after immense exertions, that had drained their coffers, exhausted their strength, and depressed their spirit. The commerce, which had been interrupted by the late war, had not yet returned to the old channel. His own unadvised policy had also contributed to impoverish his kingdom. His raising and lessening the value of money, had left his people in such a state of uncertainty, with regard to their property, that they exported their specie into other countries; whilst he himself assisted the general waste, by remitting great sums into Flanders and Italy to maintain his armies; and into Germany to gain the favour of Princes, who, soon after, deserted his causeⁱ.

To render his situation still more critical, the dominions of his grandson, destitute of the means of defence, became a burden, instead of an aid, to France. The Spanish monarchy, vulnerable on every side, presented to the enemy a weakness proportionable to its own magnitude. The finances were at a very low ebb. The spirit of the people had declined with the resources of the nation. They could protect themselves from none, though they were destined to be the prey of all. Their state was so wretched, that in the present year, the court of Madrid were scarce able, on the requisition of France, to equip two men of war, and to send two thousand five hundred men into Andalusia, for the security of that province^k. To alleviate these distresses at home, the French King endeavoured to strengthen himself with alliances abroad. He had attempted to secure the Duke of Savoy, with terms of great advantage to himself, and the marriage of his second daughter to the young King of Spain. He had also concluded a treaty with the King of Portugal, on the eighteenth of June. But nei-

ⁱ Hist. de France. De Torcy.^k Schonenburg's Correspondence.

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ther of those Princes were sincere in their engagements. The first betrayed the councils and armies of France, in the very first campaign; and the latter deserted her alliance, when her affairs began to assume an unfavourable aspect.

Death of
King James.

THE steps taken by William and the States, against the house of Bourbon, were no secret at the court of France. But intelligence of the conclusion of the treaty could not have arrived at Versailles, when an incident happened, which induced Lewis, perhaps too precipitately, to declare himself in opposition to England. The unfortunate King James, having ever since the peace of Ryswick, lost every hope of being restored to the throne, had resigned himself to all the austerities of religious enthusiasm. His constitution, though vigorous and athletic, had, for some time, begun to yield to the infirmities of age, and to that melancholy, with which superstition, as well as his uncommon misfortunes, had impressed his mind. In the beginning of September, when he was, according to his daily custom, at public prayers, he fell suddenly into a lethargy; and though he recovered soon after, his senses, he languished for some days, and expired on the sixth of September. The French King, with great humanity, paid him several visits during his sickness; and exhibited every symptom of compassion, affection, and even of respect¹.

Lewis XIV.
promises to
own his son;

LEWIS being under a difficulty how to proceed upon the expected death of James, called a council to take their advice, whether he should own the Prince of Wales as King of Great Britain and Ireland. The King himself had hesitated long on this delicate point. But the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, and all the Princes of the blood declared, that it was unbecoming the dignity of the crown of France, not to own that the titles of the father devolved immediately upon the son^m. Lewis approv-

¹ MS. Account of King James's Death.

^m Continuation of the Life of James II.

ing of a resolution to which he had been of himself inclined, resolved to inform the dying King, in person, of the determination of the council. When he arrived at St. Germain's, he acquainted first the Queen, and then her son of his design. He then approached the bed in which James lay, almost insensible with his disorder. When James, rousing himself, began to thank his most Christian Majesty for all his favours, the latter interrupted him, and said: "Sir, what I have done is but a small matter. But what I have to say is of the utmost importance." The people present began to retire. "Let no person withdraw," he said, "I come to acquaint you, Sir, that when God shall please to call your Majesty from this world, I shall take your family into my protection, and acknowledge your son, as then he will certainly be, King of Great Britain and Ireland^a."

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THE voice of a divinity could not have made a greater impression on the unfortunate servants of James, who were all present, than this unexpected declaration from the French King. They burst at once into a murmur of applause, which seemed to be tinged with a mixture of grief and joy. Some threw themselves, in silence, at his feet. Others wept aloud. All seemed to be so much affected, that Lewis himself was melted into tears. James, in a kind of ecstasy, half-raised himself on the bed, and endeavoured to speak. But the confused noise was so great, and he so weak, that his voice could not be heard. The King himself, as if unable longer to bear this melancholy scene, retired. But, as he passed through the court of the palace, he called the officer of the guard, and ordered him to treat the young Prince as King, whenever his father should expire^o. Though James survived this declaration but one day, he sent the Earl of Middleton to Marli to thank his most Christian Majesty for his kindness to himself and his promised protection to his family. Upon his

Who is declared King of Great Britain and Ireland.

^a Continuation of the Life of James II.

^o Ibid.

death,

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death, his son was acknowledged by the court and the nation. Lewis himself visited him in form, and treated him with the name of Majesty. But the adherents of the nominal King, chose not to proclaim him with the usual solemnity, not knowing how the title of France would be taken by that Prince, who was the only support of his cause^p.

Preparations
for war.

THOUGH the Marquis de Torcy, in the name of Lewis, endeavoured to convince the English ambassador, the Earl of Manchester, that this transaction was no infringement on the treaty of Ryswick, the insult to William was too flagrant to be borne with patience. He accordingly recalled his ambassador from the court of France; and sent directions to the lords justices to order Pouffin, the French envoy, to quit England. Preparations for war were, in the mean time, made on every side. The King of Denmark ordered the troops stipulated by the treaty of subsidy, to march through Holstein and Hannover toward Flanders. The Dutch entered Juliers, with a considerable force. The French possessed themselves of the towns on the Rhine, as auxiliaries to the circle of Burgundy. Nothing but the mere form of a declaration was now wanting to constitute a war. The King of England having determined to take the field early in the spring, settled with the United Provinces, in the capacity of Stadtholder, the state of the war, for the following year. He was pressed, in the mean time, by the Emperor to break immediately with France. But he had lately suffered so much from the refractoriness of the English commons, that he prudently declined to enter upon hostilities, without their approbation and aid.

King declines in his
health, and
returns.

BUT the feeble constitution of William was now become unequal to the great exertions of his mind. Worn out with vexation, as well as with the vigilance necessary for the management

^p Manchester to Blathwayte.

of the affairs of a nation, who amidst all their professions of regard, were, in a great measure, averse from his manner of governing, his health never settled and vigorous, had long begun apparently to decline. The weak state to which he was now reduced, had rendered him almost invisible at Loo; while he was in fact the center round which the affairs of Europe turned. But now, the alliance into which he had entered, and the measures, in consequence, he was forced to adopt, rendered his presence necessary in England. Having brought to great forwardness, a perpetual alliance between the English and the Dutch, for the recovery and preservation of Flanders, he embarked, on the fourteenth of November, and landed, the next day, at Margate. In England, during the King's absence, nothing remarkable happened, except the ferment which the transactions of the preceding session had raised between the parties. Having carried their contests into the press, the people, as usual, when their passions are inflamed, were vehemently agitated between the arguments and declamations of the two great parties, the Whigs and the Tories^p.

CHAP.
IV.

1701.

THE Whigs, however, more active or more determined than their opponents, had the address to turn the opinions of the people to forward their own designs. The declaration of the French King, for the title of the Prince of Wales, was an incident too favourable to their views, to be dropt without being used. The vulgar were easily persuaded, that those who opposed the measures of the Crown in parliament, were enemies to the King; and they were loud in their complaints against the proceedings and conduct of the house of commons. The severity of that assembly to the Kentish petitioners, their contests with the lords, their animadversions on the foreign transactions of government were magnified, and

Contests be-
tween parties.^p Publications of the times.

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introduced as proofs of their attachment to the exiled family. The late settlement of the crown in the Protestant line, the limitations, highly favourable to the liberties of the people, imposed upon the eventual succession of a foreign family, were either entirely forgot or totally misrepresented. Addresses to William, upon the insult offered by France, were transmitted to him in Holland. Flattery, absurdity, and folly, as usual, abounded in these unmeaning productions. But they served the purpose of the King, who had resolved to meet no more a parliament, that had already shewn so much aversion to the war in which he was now irrecoverably engaged.

Affairs of the
North.

ON the thirteenth of November, the parliament was dissolved by proclamation; and writs were issued for another to meet, at Westminster, on the thirtieth of December. The contests usual in all elections, were carried to a height proportionable to the violence and animosity of parties acting on the prejudices of the vulgar. Noise and tumult filled every corner of England, while every State in the North and West of Europe were indefatigably preparing to take arms. The kingdoms of the East were still engaged in the war which Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had kindled, in the preceding year, to frustrate the unjust combination of his neighbours against his kingdom. The defeat of the Russians, in the battle of Narva, had rendered that active and gallant Prince, a conqueror the more formidable, that he seemed eager with new exploits to eclipse the glory of the old. His victories in Poland were as rapid as the march of his troops. The Russians were every where routed, as soon as seen; and the King himself, having passed the Duna, in the sight of the enemy, and totally defeated the Saxons, formed, at Birzen, the resolution of depriving King Augustus of the throne of Poland.

^a Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

THE new parliament met, on the thirtieth of December; and the commons, from their first measure, seemed to have brought into their house, all the animosities which had inflamed their constituents during the election. But though every art had been used by the Whigs, and several Tories had, in consequence, been deprived of their former seats, the latter seemed still to form a majority. The first trial of the force of the parties, was made in the choice of a speaker. Sir Thomas Littleton, nominated by the Whigs, was rejected, on a division; and Harley, abetted by the Tories, was placed in the chair. The King, who favoured Littleton, was deserted in the vote, by such Tories as were in his service. They preferred the influence of their party, to the countenance of a Prince, whose reign was apparently drawing to its end. Their conduct, however, had already been so much resented by the King, that he resolved to place his whole confidence in the Whigs. He dismissed Sir Charles Hedges from the office of secretary of state: in which the Earl of Manchester, lately returned from his embassy in France, was placed. The Earl of Carlisle supplanted the Lord Godolphin, at the head of the treasury. The Earl of Pembroke, supposed to be a Whig, though he had actually corresponded with King James^s, was soon after made lord-high-admiral of England; and the Duke of Somerset, not much more averse to the old cause, succeeded Pembroke as president of the council.

C H A P.
IV.1701.
A new parliament.

THE commons having presented their speaker, the King made a speech to both houses from the throne. He promised himself, he said, that they were met together full of a just sense of the danger of Europe, and a high resentment of the late proceeding of the French King. He expatiated upon the indignity offered to himself and the nation, in owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales as King of England; and he recom-

King's
speech.^s 215 against 212.^s Stuart-papers.

C H A P.
IV.

1701.

mended to them to consider, what further effectual means might be used, to secure the succession of the crown in the Protestant line. He complained, that the French King, by placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, had furnished himself with the means of oppressing Europe, and that he had surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that though the name of peace had still continued, other States were put to all the inconvenience and expence of war. He enlarged on what England had to fear from the power of the house of Bourbon; and he informed the houses, that to obviate the general calamity which threatened Christendom, he had concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both houses of parliament. He told them, that the eyes of Europe were turned toward their deliberations; and that every thing abroad was at a stand till their resolutions should be known. Having flattered them with their importance, he demanded supplies from the commons for a great strength at sea, and such a strength by land, as were expected, from the late alliance, by the allies. He concluded his speech with various arguments for their unanimity; and he hoped, as he himself was desirous of being the common father of all his people, they would, on their side, lay aside parties, divisions, and animosities^t.

1702.
Proceedings
of parliament.

THOUGH the two houses were, as much as ever, divided into parties, such was the management of the King, and the disposition of the times, that they vied with one another to forward the ends proposed in his Majesty's speech. The lords addressed the King in the warmest and most affectionate terms. The commons, without one dissenting voice, voted the supply. Instead of being offended at the treaty which was to engage the nation in an immediate war, they addressed the throne, that no peace should be made with France, till reparation should be made to the King

^t Journals, Dec. 31.

and

and the nation, for her owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England". On the second of January, they brought in a bill for the attainder of that Prince. They introduced another bill, on the ninth, for the further security of his Majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line". The next day, they resolved, that the proportion of land-forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, should, in terms of the treaty, be forty thousand men. They voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the year. But when the commons thus gratified the King, they were not negligent in their duty to their constituents. They regulated the number of soldiers to be employed in every regiment of foot and troop of horse. They examined, with great exactness, the state and condition of the navy. The animosity of parties seemed to be lost in an attention to business; and, when disputes and contests were most to be feared, all were unanimous and seemingly composed.

C H A P.
IV.

1702.

DURING proceedings so friendly to the designs of the Crown, the King himself became sensible, that he was not destined, in person, to carry into execution, the great schemes which he had formed. He, however, endeavoured to conceal the declining state of his health, to accomplish, with more facility, his favourite views. A fortunate coincidence of circumstances, had thrown the opinions of the people into the same channel with his own. The parties, in parliament, were so well poized, that in a mutual fear of each other, they both courted the King. The animosities which had always embroiled and embarrassed his measures, were suspended; and he had the satisfaction to have one glimpse of serenity in the evening of a tempestuous reign. To continue a calm so favourable to his scheme of embarking England in the war, he spread reports of his recovery. But an accident accele-

The King
falls from his
horse.

" Journals, Jan. 10. 1702.

" Jan. 9.

rated

C H A P.
IV.

1702.

His death.

rated that dissolution, which was apparently advancing though by slow degrees. On the twenty first of February, willing still to continue his usual diversion of hunting, he mounted his horse, though in a languishing state of health, and riding out from Kensington towards Hampton-court, the horse fell, and in his fall, his Majesty broke his right collar-bone. He was carried to Hampton-court, and the bone was set; but, contrary to advice, he returned the same evening, in his coach to Kensington.

THIS accident, though it might have hastened the death of William, bore, for some time, no appearance of proving fatal. On the twenty-eighth of February, the gazette declared, in express terms, that the King was perfectly recovered; and, on the same day, he sent a message to both houses, concerning an union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland. On the first of March, the bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, received the royal assent by commission. On the second day of that month, such symptoms appeared, that all hopes of the King's recovery were lost. A defluxion fell upon his knee. The asthma, to which he had been always subject, increased. He breathed short, and he was restless and feverish. The two houses, in the mean time, continued to sit. The council was assembled to receive the reports of the physicians. But, even in that extremity, it was maliciously remarked, that no Englishman of quality had any access to the King's chamber. About five in the morning, of Sunday the eighth of March, his Majesty received the sacrament, from the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and at eight he expired, in the arms of one of his pages. Some papers, which might throw considerable light on the history of this Prince, were, with his last breath, consigned to the hands of the Earl of Albemarle; and they were probably destroyed by that lord. Albemarle, whose original office was that of a transcriber of letters, had been employed, in the preceding month, on a service of

of the same kind. He had returned, on the seventeenth of February, from Holland, with all the secret correspondences which had passed between the King and the Pensionary, under the supposition, that the latter was also dying.

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THOUGH the character given of the Prince of Orange^x, in an early period of his life, ran through the whole conduct of King William, when he sat on the throne of England, some new and striking features were called forth, by the extraordinary events which filled his reign. His political conduct, and the disposition of his mind, have been variously and oppositely represented: a thing not surprising, in a country where writers have not been able to divest themselves of the prejudices and partialities incident to party. In such a jarring state of opinions, this Prince must have been too much praised by the one side, and by the other as extravagantly condemned. The nearest path to truth, must certainly lie between these two extremes. But that path, though obvious, has not, hitherto been trod by historians; who have uniformly yielded to the prejudices of others, or have been swayed by their own. Their proximity to the period concerning which they wrote, may form, for many, a complete excuse. The passions of party, came glowing down on the current of the times. Authors caught the heat of those with whom they themselves were most connected in life; and became, inadvertently, and sometimes designedly, partial, through a weakness which they unjustly dignified with the name of principle.

Reflections.

WILLIAM the Third, King of Great Britain and Ireland, was in his person of a middle size, ill-shaped in his limbs, somewhat round in the shoulders, light brown in the colour of his hair and in his complexion. The lines of his face were hard, and his nose aquiline. But a good and penetrating eye threw a kind of light

His person.

^x Vol. i. p. 163.

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on his countenance, which tempered its severity, and rendered his harsh features, in some measure, agreeable. Though his constitution was weak, delicate and infirm, he loved the manly exercises of the field; and often indulged himself in the pleasures, and even, sometimes, in the excesses of the table. In his private character, he was frequently harsh, passionate, and severe, with regard to trifles. But when the subject rose equal to his mind, and in the tumult of battle, he was dignified, cool, and serene. Though he was apt to form bad impressions, which were not easily removed, he was neither vindictive in his disposition, nor obstinate in his resentment. Neglected in his education, and, perhaps, destitute by nature of an elegance of mind, he had no taste for literature, none for the sciences, none for the beautiful arts. He paid no attention to music, he understood no poetry. He disregarded learning. He encouraged no men of letters, no painters, no artists of any kind. In fortification and in the mathematics, he had a considerable degree of knowledge. Though unsuccessful in the field, he understood military operations by land. But he neither possessed nor pretended any skill in maritime affairs.

And private
character.

IN the distribution of favours, he was cold and injudicious. In the punishment of crimes, often too easy, and sometimes too severe. He was parsimonious where he should be liberal; where he ought to be sparing, frequently profuse. In his temper he was silent and reserved, in his address ungraceful; and though not destitute of dissimulation, and qualified for intrigue, less apt to conceal his passions than his designs. These defects, rather than vices of the mind, combining with an indifference about humouring mankind through their ruling passions, rendered him extremely unfit for gaining the affections of the English nation. His reign, therefore, was crowded with mortifications of various kinds. The discontented parties among his subjects, found no difficulty

difficulty in estranging the minds of the people from a Prince, possessed of few talents to make him popular. He was trusted, perhaps, less than he deserved, by the most obsequious of his parliaments; but it seems, upon the whole, apparent, that the nation adhered to his government, more from a fear of the return of his predecessor, than from any attachment to his own person, or respect for his right to the throne.

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IV.

1702.

THESE harsh features of the mind of King William, presented themselves only to those who took a near and critical view of his conduct. To men who observed him at a distance, and as a principal object in the great scale of Europe, he appeared a respectable, a prudent, and even a great Prince. During the last twenty years of his life, his abilities, by a dexterous management of the events of the times, raised him to an influence in Christendom, scarce ever before carried by a Prince beyond the limits of his own dominions. Peculiarly fortunate in the success of his political measures, he obtained his authority through channels the most flattering, because the most uncommon. He was placed at the head of his native country, as the last hopes of her safety from conquest and a foreign yoke. He was raised to the throne of Great Britain, under the name of her deliverer from civil tyranny and religious persecution. He was considered in the same important light by the rest of Europe. The Empire, Spain, and Italy looked up to his councils, as their only resource against the exorbitant ambition and power of Lewis the Fourteenth; and France herself, when she affected to despise his power the most, owned his importance, by an illiberal joy upon a false report of his death^b.

His public
conduct.

BUT if the private character of William has been too critically examined, here the praise bestowed on his public conduct ought

Reflections on
both.

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to terminate. Though he was brave in action, and loved war as an amusement, he possessed not the talents of a great general, and he was too prodigal of the lives of men. Though he obtained the name of a deliverer in England, and though, in fact, he might be considered in that light, with regard to Europe, more is owing to his own ambition, than to a general love of mankind. In Holland, where he obtained the chief authority, in a time of public distress, he frequently exercised his power in a manner inconsistent with the rights of a free state^c. In England, he scarce adhered, in any thing, to the moderate declaration which paved his way to the throne. Though he obtained the crown by election, he shewed no disposition to relinquish any of its hereditary ornaments; and though he affected to despise royalty, no Prince was ever more fond of the distinction paid to a King. His intrigues to expel his uncle from a throne, which he himself intended to mount, were by no means suitable with any strict adherence to virtue^d. To gain to his interest the servants of King James, may not have been inconsistent with those allowances generally made for ambitious views. But there was a considerable want of morality, in his being accessory to the suggesting of those unpopular measures, which he turned, afterwards, with so much success, against that unfortunate as well as imprudent Monarch^e. Upon the whole, if we must allow that King William, with all his faults, was a great Prince, it ought also to be admitted, that virtue was never an unfurmountable obstacle to his ambition and views on power.

^c D'Avaux.^d James II. D'Avaux. MSS. 1688. Dalrymple's Append.^e D'Avaux. MSS. 1688.

QUEEN

QUEEN ANNE.

CHAP. V.

Accession of Anne.—State of parties.—Her first speech to parliament.—She resolves to prosecute the war.—A general ferment.—New ministry.—Marlborough and Godolphin in chief power.—They correspond with St. Germans.—Parliament prorogued.—Affairs of Scotland.—A great ferment.—A secession of members.—Act of settlement rejected.—Campaign of 1702.—Operations at sea.—Success before Vigo.—New parliament.—Proceedings.—Pension refused to Marlborough.—His intrigues with St. Germans.—Bill against occasional conformity.—Division between the houses.—Parliament prorogued.—Conduct of the Whigs.—Queen favours the Tories.—Court of St. Germans apply to Marlborough.—Affairs of Scotland.—Character of the Duke of Hamilton.—His instructions from St. Germans.—New parliament.—Act of security.—Act of settlement rejected.—Violent heats.—State of Scotland, with regard to England.—Affairs of Ireland.—Campaign of 1703.—Progress of the French and Bavarians.—Operations on the Rhine—In Flanders—and at sea.—Affairs of the North.—A session of parliament.—Ample supplies.—A dreadful tempest.—Bill against occasional conformity.—Scottish plot.—Character of Simon Fraser.—His crimes.—His plot discovered.—Dispute between the houses.—Parliament prorogued.

ANNE, Princess of Denmark, eldest surviving daughter of James the Second, mounted the throne of England, upon the death of King William, in consequence of the act passed in the year 1689, for the settlement of the crown. The two

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Accession of
Anne.

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March 8.

houses of parliament, as soon as the death of the late King was made known, assembled; and unanimously congratulated the Queen upon her accession. To the privy council, who met at the same time, she made the customary declaration; and ordered all the Lords and others, who had served the late King in council, to take the oaths to herself in the same capacity. She was proclaimed in the afternoon of the eighth of March, with the usual solemnity, amidst the applause of the populace. The two succeeding days were employed in receiving the addresses of the two houses of parliament, the felicitations of the church, and the congratulations of the city of London. The late king, unpopular while he lived, was almost forgot as soon as dead; and the people, with their usual eagerness for novelty, turned all their thoughts toward the first measures of the new reign.

State of parties.

THOUGH the late King had no reason to be pleased with either of the two parties who had divided between them the nation, he had, some months before his death, thrown himself and his affairs into the hands of the Whigs. The hopes derived by the Tories from the declining state of his health, had prevented that violence, which they might have otherwise exhibited in parliament, on account of their being excluded from power. The unanimity in the two houses, with regard to foreign affairs, proceeded, probably, from the same cause. The Whigs could deny nothing to the Crown, as their leaders were in office; and the Tories were not averse from a war, which they themselves were sure to manage, after the expected demise of the King. The two parties had pledged themselves too far to retreat from their engagements; and, therefore, though a change of ministry was naturally to be expected, from the accession of a Princess, whom the coldness of her predecessor, and the disrespectful conduct of the party now in power, had evidently thrown into the arms of the Tories, there was no reason to apprehend any change in the great line of the measures of government.

THE

THE Queen, in her first speech to parliament, furnished a proof, that she was led by councils very different from those of her predecessor in the throne. Though she paid a compliment to his memory in the beginning, she concluded with a kind of censure upon his conduct. She assured the two houses, that as her own heart was entirely English, she would agree to every thing that they could either expect or desire for the happiness and prosperity of England. The expression manifestly regarded the too great attachment to his own countrymen, for which King William had been blamed. But to this allusion to the predilection of the late King for foreigners, she added words that seemed highly to reflect on his moral conduct. In confirmation of her promise to both houses, she assured them, that they would always find HER a strict and religious observer of her word. The first part of the Queen's speech contained the usual assurances of a new reign. She agreed, she said, in sentiments with the concurrent addresses of the two houses, that too much could not be done for the allies, to reduce the exorbitant power of France. She recommended an union with Scotland, as necessary to the peace and security of both kingdoms; and she desired that the revenue for the support of the civil government, should be renewed in a manner suitable to her own honour and the dignity of the Crown*.

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1702.
Anne's first
speech.
March 11.

THOUGH the Queen was at no pains to conceal her attachment to one party, the other could not oppose her measures in parliament without deserting their own. The eagerness which she discovered to adhere to the measures of King William, with regard to foreign affairs, would render an opposition to the necessary supplies too inconsistent with the late conduct of the Whigs. They made a merit, therefore, of complying with what they could not prevent. The commons pursued, with a show of unanimity and zeal, the affairs recommended from the throne.

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

* Journals, March 11, 1702.

They

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1702.

They settled upon her Majesty^c during life, the revenue possessed by the late King for the support of the civil government. They ordered a bill, to empower the crown to appoint commissioners to treat for an union between England and Scotland. Provision had been already made, for the eventual expence of a war, during the succeeding summer; and the Queen, instead of demanding supplies from the nation, found an opportunity of alleviating a part of their burden. When she came to the house of lords, on the thirtieth of March, to give the royal assent to the bill for the establishment of her own revenue, she made a speech from the throne, calculated to gain popularity. She told the two houses, that though the funds for the civil list might greatly fall short of what they formerly produced, she would give directions, that one hundred thousand pounds of her own revenue should be applied to the public service of the year^d.

The Queen
engages to
support the
allies.

WHILE Anne was rendering herself popular at home, she gained the esteem of her allies abroad, by shewing a warm zeal for their cause. Two days after the death of William, she condoled with the States of the United Provinces upon that event, in a letter. She assured them, that as she had succeeded the late King in his throne, she would also succeed him in the same inclination, to a constant union and amity with their republic, as well as adherence to the late alliances. That she would concur with the allies in general, in measures necessary for the preservation of the common liberty of Europe, in reducing the power of France within proper bounds. That she should always look upon the interests of England and those of the States as inseparable, and united with such ties as could not be broken, without the greatest prejudice to the two nations. The Earl of Marlborough was probably the adviser of measures, which he afterwards executed with ability. The attachment which this nobleman had uniformly shewn to the

^c March 14.^d Journals, March 30.

Queen,

Queen, when she was little respected by the nation and persecuted by the court, had either excited sentiments of gratitude, or created principles of obedience to his inclinations in her mind. The first honours, and even the first considerable office, conferred in the present reign, were bestowed on the earl^e. On the thirteenth of March, he received the garter. The next day, he was appointed captain-general of all the forces to be employed by the Queen, in conjunction with the troops of the allies; and, the week thereafter, he was dispatched to Holland, in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the States^f.

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THE victory obtained by the Tories over the Whigs, by the succession of a sovereign of their own principles to the throne, produced a ferment without doors, though all things bore a face of harmony and unanimity within. Violent men of both parties carried their own prejudices, with indecent freedom, to the press; and disgraced their conversation with mutual reflections of the worst and most dangerous kind. The Whigs were openly accused of aiming at the establishment of a commonwealth, by endeavouring to deprive the reigning Queen of the succession to the throne. The memory of the late King was attacked with open assertions of the same kind; though it is highly probable, that Prince was very indifferent about what person should mount, after him, the throne. An inquiry by the lords into this idle tale, produced only a negative proof of its not being founded in fact. They voted, upon an examination of King William's papers by a committee, that nothing appeared that tended to the prejudice of her Majesty, or her succession to the crown. The Lords followed this unmeaning vote, with animadversions upon injurious reflections printed against the Whigs^g. The Tories, in the mean time, failed not to annoy their opponents, in the same way. They procured a vote, that a book, reflecting on King Charles the First,

A ferment
without
doors.

^e March 13.

^f Life of Marlborough, vol. i.

^g May 12.

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was a scandalous and villanous libel, that tended to the subversion of monarchy; and, as such, they ordered the book to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman ^h.

A new ministry.

ON the twelfth of April, the late King was privately interred; and, on the twenty-third of the same month, the Queen was crowned, with the usual solemnity at Westminster. The Tory party, who already governed her councils in private, were now admitted, without reserve, into the public departments of the state. The offices of the household were filled with men of high principles for monarchy. The Lords Somers and Halifax, together with other leaders of the Whigs, were excluded from the new privy-councilⁱ; and their places supplied with eminent Tories. The Marquis of Normanby, remarkable for his attachment to her family, was raised to the office of lord privy-seal, by the Queen. But the most important promotion of all was that of the Lord Godolphin, to the staff of lord high-treasurer of England. Though Godolphin was well qualified for this important station, he owed his office more to the influence of the Earl of Marlborough, than to his own merit. The connexion, which had long subsisted in political views, between these two noble persons, had been lately more closely cemented, by the marriage of the son of the former with the eldest daughter of the latter. Their private interests being thus united, they carried forward, with harmony as well as abilities, the business of the public.

Marlborough and Godolphin in correspondence with St. Germain.

THE accession of Anne to the crown had removed to a distance the hopes of the court of St. Germain. But they were not entirely quashed, till the appointment of her servants^k. Though Marlborough had been raised by King William, in the preceding year, to the command of the British troops in Flanders, he listened, after the death of James the Second to the solicitations made in

^h May 16.

ⁱ April 4.

^k Stuart-papers, 1701.

favour

favour of the son of that unfortunate Prince¹. A kind of principle, in favour of the family of Stuart, had been mixed with this noble man's aversion to William; and there is scarce any doubt, that had their restoration to the throne suited equally with his own private interest, but he would have preferred them to any other race of sovereigns. Godolphin had been long attached to the same cause. Though he had promoted the views of the Prince of Orange, he soon changed his opinion, with regard to King William. He had listened with attention, ever since the expulsion of James, to all overtures made by the adherents of that Prince; and, upon his death, he expressed the same attachment and regard to his son. The natural timidity of his disposition, prevented him formerly from making any vigorous exertions in favour of the excluded family; and, after the demise of William, the thing itself became more difficult, and besides, his own zeal was rendered more cool, by the prospect of advantage which he derived from the new reign.

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THE state of opinions had actually changed in England, with the state of its affairs. The crown, by the death of William, had fallen almost into the old channel. Instead of a foreigner and only a relation, a Princess, a native of the kingdom, the only daughter of a King, whose title, as far as it was hereditary, was undoubted, and at the same time, a protestant, and much attached to the church, had now possession of the throne. The greatest part of the high-flying Tories, and even some vehement and determined Jacobites, were satisfied, on account of its convenience, with a small deviation from the line of succession. Though they were both, especially the latter, invariably attached to the hereditary descent of the crown, they were willing to leave to events, that might arise in the progress of time, what could not be done at present, either with certainty or without danger. Though they had a recent example before them, that the quiet enjoyment

State of opinions with regard to the Queen's accession.

¹ Stuart papers, 1701.

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of the crown depended by no means upon any hereditary right, they hoped, that the influence of the reigning sovereign would enable her to bequeath the throne to her own family. Similar sentiments had been adopted by the few persons who still formed, at St. Germain's, the idle show of a court. They knew the professions, which the Queen had made to her father, during the most part of her predecessor's reign; and they endeavoured to flatter themselves with hopes, that she only took possession of the government to restore and confirm the crown, especially at her death, to her excluded brother¹.

War declared:

THESE reasons united the Tories and the Jacobites, in an unanimous support of the government of the new Queen. The Whigs either yielded to the current of the people, always violent for monarchy in every new reign, or they were ashamed of opposing measures, which sprung first from themselves. On the second of May, the business of the intended war against France and Spain, was debated in the privy-council. The Earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to the Queen, is said to have proposed, that the English nation should only engage in the measures of the allies, as auxiliaries; and that the chief weight of the war ought to rest on those, who had most to fear from the power of France. The Earl of Marlborough, who had returned from Holland, after settling the projected operations with the States, declared himself vehement for an immediate declaration of war, to be issued by England, as a principal. The measures taken by himself, during an embassy of a few days in Holland, rendered, in some degree, necessary the measure which he supported. The States, upon the assurances made by the Queen, had agreed to all the proposals of her reputed favourite. They had raised him to the chief command of their troops, the allies had furnished, with alacrity, their several quotas, and every thing was actually prepared for a vigorous and active campaign. A majority of the council yielded

¹ Stuart-papers, 1702.

either

either to the influence or reasons of the Earl of Marlborough. Their resolutions were communicated, the same day, to the commons; and war was declared in form on the fourth of May.

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THE commons had agreed to all that the court desired with regard to war, before the death of the King. They had, therefore, no opportunity of shewing their liberality, in that respect, to the Queen. The public business being brought to a conclusion, the parliament was prorogued, on the twenty-fifth of May. Preparations for prosecuting the war with vigour, by sea as well as by land, had been made in the principal ports of the kingdom. The Earl of Pembroke, who had been raised, by the late King, to the office of lord-admiral of England, was succeeded in that important department by the Prince of Denmark. The complaisance of the different parties to the new Queen, induced them to overlook an informality in the commission conferred on her consort. He was permitted to chuse a council, for his information and assistance, in the execution of his office. This circumstance was considered as the creation of a new board, a thing not allowable, according to the opinion of many, but by act of parliament. But the respect of the nation for the Queen, and the peculiar situation of the Prince himself, prevented all enquiry upon this subject.

Parliament
prorogued.

WHILE the business of the public was carried on with such unanimity in England, the affairs of Scotland became embroiled, intricate, and perplexed^m. Though the late King had found means to allay the ferment, concerning the business of Darien, the animosities and heats against government were rather suspended than extinguished. The discontents of the Scottish nation had uniformly subsisted, during the whole of King William's reign; and that Prince, with more policy than justice, had continued, for

Affairs of
Scotland.

^m Burnet, vol. iii.

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the thirteen years he had sat on the throne, the same convention-parliament, which had placed the crown of Scotland on his head. The unabating disgust among the people, rendered the King unwilling to remand them to a choice of a new representative. Though the old parliament had frequently proved refractory, he knew that they had rather yielded to the current of the times, than to either their regard to the interests of their constituents or their dislike to his own government. Besides, his servants had, through a long habit and experience, discovered the secret channel to the vote of every member. They made such good use of this knowledge, that the ferment concerning Darien had unaccountably subsided at once, in the January of 1701; and a kind of surly tranquillity prevailed, among the people, during that whole year^a.

A great ferment.

THE conduct of Anne, upon her accession to the throne of Scotland, was by no means calculated to extinguish the discontents, which lay lurking in every corner of that kingdom. Unwilling to offend the Whigs, whom her ministers considered as the most powerful party, they continued all the servants of her predecessor, in the higher departments of the state. The joy, therefore, which her elevation had raised among the discontented, soon declined. They applied, through their leaders, for the dissolution of the convention-parliament. But they were opposed by the ministers, who were afraid to venture upon the new choice of a people already inflamed. The Queen suffered herself to be persuaded by the arguments of the latter, or to be swayed by her own fears. She continued the old parliament, which was appointed to meet on the ninth of June. To add to the discontents of those, who called themselves the country party, the Duke of Queensberry, highly obnoxious to the people in general, was appointed commissioner. Prior to the meeting of parliament, the

^a Mem. of Scotland.

Queen endeavoured to allay the bad humour of the malcontents, and to soothe the people into an acquiescence with regard to her own measures. She wrote a letter as early as the twenty-first of April, to the parliament, full of assurances of her protection to the rights of the people, and the interest and independence of the kingdom. She expressed her regret at the disappointments of the African company. She promised her concurrence in every thing for the encouragement of the commerce of the nation in general, and for repairing the losses of the adventurers in particular. She recommended, at the same time, the union between the kingdoms; and that she should think the bringing to perfection a measure so salutary, the greatest happiness of her reign^o.

FAIR words were by no means sufficient, either to gratify the populace or to gain their leaders. When the parliament, on the ninth of June, met at Edinburgh, the duke of Hamilton, before her Majesty's commission was read, rose in his place and protested against their sitting. He offered his reasons, in a short speech to the house; and communicated a paper to the same purpose, containing his own protest, and that of such members as should adhere to his opinion. He immediately went out of the house. Eighty members following his example, seceded at the same time; and were received in the streets with the loudest acclamations of the populace, who had assembled on this extraordinary occasion. The members who remained in the house, notwithstanding this great secession, considered themselves a legal parliament. After the commission and the Queen's letter were read, they adjourned, for two days; and, when they met again, on the eleventh of June, they appointed the usual committees, and proceeded to business. Overtures were received immediately for various acts of importance. One of these, declaring the present meeting a legal parliament, and discharging all persons from disowning its authority,

A secession of
eighty mem-
bers.

Letter, April 21, 1702.

under

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An act for
settling the
crown re-
jected.

under the penalty of high-treason, was unanimously passed and touched with the scepter, the next day ^P.

THE dissenting members endeavoured in vain to justify their own conduct to the Queen. Though she admitted their messenger, the Lord Blantyre, into her presence, she absolutely refused to receive their address. She signified, at the same time, to the sitting members, that she was resolved to maintain against all opposers, their dignity and authority as a legal parliament. The session accordingly proceeded, with an appearance of vigour, amidst all the clamours of the people. They granted an immediate supply to the Queen. They reprimanded the faculty of advocates, for declaring, that the protest and conduct of the seceded members, was founded on the laws of the kingdom. They passed an act for enabling the Queen to appoint commissioners, for an union between the two kingdoms^q. But, notwithstanding their unanimity upon these points, an overture made by the chancellor, the Earl of Marchmont, for the settlement of the crown in the protestant line, and for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, was rejected. The commissioner having received no instructions, upon that head, from England, laid his commands upon Marchmont not to proceed. But the vehemence of the latter overcame his respect for the authority of the former.

Causes of that
circumstance.

THE Queen herself and her English ministers were, at the time, extremely averse from this measure. They had various reasons for keeping the succession open in Scotland. They wished to retain a check upon the Whigs, and to awe the family of Hannover; who, from a near prospect of the crown, might extend their intrigues to the affairs of the kingdom. They favoured, at the same time, the excluded Prince. Besides, the

^P June 12.^q June 25.

regard

regard which Anne may be naturally supposed to have entertained for a brother, she had given a thousand assurances to her father, to do every thing in her power to restore the succession to the ancient channel, even before the death of her own son the Duke of Gloucester. The demise of that Prince, her own despair of progeny, her respect for the memory of a father, and some affection for her own family, had probably rendered her inclined to transfer the crown, at her death, to the pretended Prince of Wales. Her chief minister Godolphin, and her greatest favourite the Earl of Marlborough, had added the most solemn oaths, to their promises to support the interest of King James and his son. They had renewed these promises, even since the accession of the reigning Queen had thrown the whole power of the kingdom into their hands: though they never meant to deprive her, during her life, of the crown, should she continue to hold it under their direction and ministry.

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DURING the heats raised by the ill-timed overture made by Marchmont, the members who opposed it, discovered an inclination for admitting the dissenting members into the house. Queensberry, afraid of the consequences, adjourned the parliament, from the thirtieth of June to the eighteenth of August. A kind of unsettled tranquillity succeeded the combustion raised by the Scottish malecontents. But though commissioners were appointed for an union between the two kingdoms, both parties shewed so little inclination to finish that important treaty, that the whole fell for the time to the ground. The majority of the Scots had, in their disgust at the conduct of the late King, with regard to their commerce, forgot those terrors for their religion, which had induced them to place the crown on his head. The Highlanders, especially, who were never enthusiasts, had always suffered their high notions of hereditary right, to

Parliament
prorogued.

* Stuart-papers, 1702.

overcome

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overcome their attachment to Presbytery. The accession of Anne, by bringing the throne nearer to the old stock, had established in their minds a kind of certainty, that things were to return to their former channel. The assurances given by them of supporting, upon a proper occasion, the efforts of the malcontents¹, encouraged greatly the secession of the dissenting members; who certainly covered their affection for the excluded family, under the specious pretext of adhering to the laws of their country.

Campaign in
Flanders.

THOUGH the war was kindled on all sides, between the allies and the house of Bourbon, the campaign produced no decisive event. The feeble state of the latter, was balanced by the unprepared condition of the former; who, except England and Holland, were not furnished with the means of acting with any vigour. The military operations of the season began, on the part of the allies, with the siege of Keyserfwaert, which the Elector of Cologne had placed in the hands of the French¹. The Prince of Baden assembled, in the mean time, an army on the Upper-Rhine, to cut off the communication between the country of Alsace and town of Landau, which he resolved to besiege. The French found themselves unable to relieve either of those important places. Keyserfwaert surrendered to the allies, after a siege of fifty-nine days²; and Landau, having been gallantly defended for three months, fell into the hands of the King of the Romans, on the tenth of September. The Duke of Burgundy, having under him the Marechal de Boufflers, made an attempt, in vain, upon Nimeguen³; and the Earl of Marlborough, having taken the command of the allied army in Flanders, on the second of July, was disappointed in all his endeavours to bring the enemy to battle. He, however, reduced Venlo⁴, Ruremonde⁵, and the citadel of Liege⁶; and having thus opened the navigation of the

¹ Stuart-papers, MSS.² April 15.³ June 15.⁴ June 11.⁵ Sept. 23.⁶ Oct. 7.⁷ Oct. 23.

Macse,

Maese, and the communication with the town of Maestricht, put an end, with reputation, to the campaign on the side of Flanders.

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THE principal effort of the Emperor was made in Italy, where Prince Eugene, who commanded his forces, was opposed by the combined armies of France and Spain. Eugene, as early as the first of February, had surprised Cremona. But he was instantly expelled from the place, chiefly by the valour of the Irish troops, in the French service. The Marechal de Villeroi was, however, taken by the Germans, and the command devolved on the Duke De Vendôme. The young King of Spain took the field, in person. Having left the government in the hands of the Queen, assisted by a council, he had passed into Naples, and took the nominal command of the army, which was actually led by Vendôme. A body of five thousand, under the general Visconti were defeated, at Santa Vittoria, on the twenty-sixth of July. Prince Eugene was forced, on the first of August, to raise the blockade of Mantua; and he was in some degree worsted, on the fifteenth of the same month, at Luzara. This advantage, obtained by the French in Italy, was followed by a victory on the Upper Rhine. The Marquis de Villars, having been detached by the army commanded by the Marechal de Catinat, defeated the Imperialists, under the Prince of Baden, though flushed with the conquest of Landau. To sum the whole of this campaign, the French lost the greatest number of towns, and gained most advantages in the field.

in Italy, and
on the Rhine.

THE operations at sea were less favourable to France and Spain, than the campaign by land. The confederate fleet, consisting of fifty ships of the line, thirty English and twenty Dutch, commanded in chief by Sir George Rooke, sailed, on the first of July, from St. Helens. They carried twelve thousand troops on board, nine

Operations
at sea.

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thousand English, and three Dutch, under the command of the Duke of Ormond. Detained by calms and by contrary winds, they arrived not in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, which place they intended to attack, till the twelfth of August. Having landed the troops, the Duke of Ormond took Fort St. Catharine and Port St. Mary; which last place was plundered by the licentious soldiery, contrary to the intentions and commands of their general. After a vain attempt on Fort Matagorda, the troops were reimbarcked, in the middle of September. The confederates steered then their course to Vigo, where the Spanish galleons, under the convoy of thirty French ships of war, commanded by Chateau-Renaud, were just arrived; and having unexpectedly, and almost unperceived, come to anchor before the place, they resolved to attack it with the utmost vigour.

Success be-
fore Vigo.

THE French and Spaniards had carried up their vessels beyond a streight, defended on the one side by a castle, on the other by platforms mounted with cannon, together with a strong boom, formed of masts, cables, and chains, thrown across the entrance. The Duke of Ormond having landed some troops, took the castle^a. Vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, broke through the boom. He was followed by the Dutch squadron, under Vandergoes. The French admiral, perceiving the boom broken, the castle and platforms taken, the enemy in the same basin with his own squadron, ordered his ship to be set on fire. His example was followed by all the rest. But when the enemy were thus employed in destroying their own fleet, the English and Dutch endeavoured to extinguish the flames. Six men of war were taken, seven sunk, and nine burnt. Of thirteen galleons, nine fell into the hands of the confederates, and four were destroyed. Though the greatest part of the treasure on board the galleons, had been removed by the enemy, the English

^a Oct. 22.

and Dutch made an immense booty; and the Spanish marine was annihilated from that moment. The Duke of Ormond having thus amply recovered at Vigo, the laurels he had lost before Cadiz, returned to England; and was received at London with great marks of favour by the Queen, and with the loud acclamations of the populace.

IN Poland the war was carried on with vigour, between Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and King Augustus. The first advancing to Warsaw with rapid march, put a sudden end to the Polish diet assembled at that place. Augustus fled precipitately to Cracow, whither he was pursued by the Swedes. The King of Poland, in the mean time, having posted himself advantageously at Cliflow, with thirty thousand men, chiefly Saxons, Charles marched toward him; and without permitting his troops to rest a moment, though much inferior in number, attacked, routed, and put to flight the enemy. Four thousand Saxons lay dead on the field. A great number of the Poles were also slain. Two thousand, with all the artillery and baggage of King Augustus, fell into the hands of the Swedes. Cracow, though provided with the means of defence, surrendered without resistance. But an accident which befel the conqueror, stopt his own progress and encouraged his enemies to renew their efforts. Having fallen from his horse, in marching out of Cracow, he was confined for six weeks to his bed; while Augustus assembled at Sandomir, his own partisans, under the name of a diet. Another diet, soon after, met at Warsaw. They sent a deputation to the King of Sweden; but that Prince refused to admit their deputies into his presence, under the pretence, that the Republic had made themselves parties in the war, by having fought against him in the battle of Cliflow^b.

War in Poland.

^b Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

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A new par-
liament.

DURING these transactions abroad, the Queen made a progress through a part of the kingdom. She visited Oxford. She spent some time at Bath. She accepted of an invitation to Bristol. She was received every where with the marks of public joy, indiscriminately bestowed by the populace on all princes. But it appeared in the new elections, for she had dissolved the parliament on the second of July, that, from her avowed principles in favour of the high-church, she was extremely popular. The Tory-party, when the votes depended on the free suffrages of the vulgar, prevailed. The new parliament, after two prorogations, met at Westminster, on the twentieth of October; and the commons having unanimously chosen Mr. Robert Harley for their speaker, the Queen, as usual, made a speech to both houses from the throne. Having expressed her satisfaction at meeting a new parliament, she demanded such supplies as might enable her to comply with engagements already made, and such others as might be deemed necessary for the encouragement and support of the allies. To induce her subjects to bear, with cheerfulness, the necessary taxes, she desired her parliament to inspect all the accounts of receipts and payments, and to punish abuses. She observed, she said, with a degree of concern, that the funds for the year had, in some measure, failed; and that, though she had paid and applied the hundred thousand pounds, which she had promised to the last parliament, yet that sum had not supplied the deficiency^c.

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

THE lords congratulated her Majesty, in general terms, upon the success of her arms, under the Earl of Marlborough^d. But the commons shewed the principles that prevailed in their house, by comparing, with advantage, the present reign with the last. The Queen had mentioned in her speech, her great concern at the disappointment before Cadiz; and the commons, in their

^c Oct. 21.^d Oct. 23.

address,

address, made light of that misfortune, when compared with the wonderful progress of her arms in Flanders, under the Earl of Marlborough, who had signally RETRIEVED the ancient honour and glory of the English nation. This reflection on the memory of the late King, was opposed by the Whigs, in a manner which shewed only the great superiority of the Tories, when the house was divided upon the question ^d. The same day a supply was unanimously voted for the war. The commons resolved, on the thirtieth of October, that forty thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the next year. They voted, on the sixth of November ^e, that the English proportion of land forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, should be forty thousand men. They granted a supply of eight hundred thousand pounds ^f, for maintaining these forces, three hundred and fifty thousand, for the guards and garrisons, including five thousand men, to be employed by sea; and fifty thousand pounds, for subsidies to her Majesty's allies.

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IN the midst of this good humour in parliament, intelligence of the success before Vigo arrived at London. The Queen acquainted the two houses, that she had appointed the twelfth of November as a day of thanksgiving, for the signal successes of her arms. She accordingly went, in person, to St. Paul's, on that day ^g, attended by the peers and commons. A slight dispute between the two houses, interrupted, for a moment, the general harmony and unanimity which seemed to prevail. On a complaint made to the commons, by Sir John Packington ^h, against the Bishop of Worcester, for an undue interference in the late elections, they addressed her Majesty to remove that prelate from the office of lord almoner. The lords, offended at the proceedings of the commons, against a member of their body, presented a counter address to the Queen. She, however, chose to comply with the

A dispute
between the
houses.

^d Oct. 26. ^e Nov. 6. ^f Nov. 10. ^g Nov. 12. ^h Nov. 18.

request

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An eventual
pension
settled on the
Prince of
Denmark.

request of the commons, whom she knew to be devoted to her service. She had told the lords, with a degree of spirit, that though she had not yet received any proof of the complaints against the Bishop of Worcester, she considered it as her undoubted right to continue or displace any of her servants at pleasure. That prelate was accordingly dismissed immediately from the office of almoner^k. His disgrace proceeded more from the resentment of the high-church party, for his having adhered to their opponents, than from any undue influence used in the election for Worcester.

THE readiness shewn by the Queen to gratify the commons, produced a return of complaisance on the part of that assembly. In consequence of a message, carried to the house by Secretary Hedges, they resolved, that the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled on the Prince of Denmark, should he happen to survive her Majesty^l. But to an application made by the Queen, in favour of the Earl of Marlborough, they paid not the like regard. That nobleman, having finished with great reputation, the campaign in Flanders, had, in the beginning of November, quitted the army and resolved to return to the Hague. Having embarked on the Maese at Maestricht, he was taken prisoner by a part of the garrison of Guelders, the only place now remaining to the French, in Spanish Guelderland. The good fortune which had attended the Earl in the field, did not desert him on the present occasion. Producing a fictitious pass to the enemy, he was dismissed in a few hours, without being known; and, having settled measures with the States, he arrived in England, in the end of November^m.

One refused
to Marl-
borough.

Two daysⁿ after his arrival, a committee of the house of commons, presented the Earl with the thanks of that assembly, for his great and signal services. On the second of December, her

^k Nov. 21.^l Nov. 25.^m Nov. 28.ⁿ Nov. 30.

Majesty

Majesty informed the council, that she intended to raise him to the rank of a duke; and, on the tenth of the same month, she sent a message to the commons, to request them to settle, upon him and his heirs for ever, five thousand pounds a year, which she had granted him out of the post-office, during her own life°. The private character of Marlborough, notwithstanding the brilliancy of his public transactions, was not calculated to gain friends. An inordinate love of money had induced him frequently to stoop to acts of meanness, that were as inconsistent with the conduct of a gentleman, as they were unworthy of his great talents. His political delinquency was, at the same time, brought to his account, by the two great parties which divided the nation. The Tories had not yet forgot his desertion of his benefactor King James the Second; and those who favoured the revolution remembered, to his disadvantage, his conduct toward the late King. The Queen's message was received, at first, with astonishment and silence. A violent debate, at length, arose. Much was said of the merit of Marlborough. But the house informed the Queen, that they could not comply with a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown^p.

THE Duke foreseeing, from the complexion of the debates, that their result would be unfavourable, prayed the Queen to withdraw her message. This circumstance, however, hindered not the commons from presenting their address. The Tories, who now formed a great majority, contrived to convey a reflection on the late King, in their refusal of a settlement on Marlborough. They complained that the revenue of the crown had been already too much reduced, by the exorbitant grants of the last reign, to bear any further alienation. The adherents of the excluded branch of the family of Stuart, seemed to be most inclined to involve Marlborough in the censure passed upon King William. Though he

His intrigues
with St. Ger-
mains.

° Dec. 10.

^p Dec. 16.

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was known to have uniformly opposed the power of that Prince, he was not deemed sincere in his professions and promises to his rival. His zeal, it is certain, had greatly abated, since the accession of Anne to the throne. He, however, kept upon fair terms with the court of St. Germain. He endeavoured to ascribe to the multiplicity of his affairs, that want of attention, which actually proceeded from a change in his own views. He had, throughout the preceding summer, expressed frequently a warm attachment to the cause of the pretended Prince of Wales; and, as a proof of his zeal, he granted passes to the agents of that Prince, when they wished to transport themselves into France to inform their master of the state of his affairs in England^a. But though he exposed himself to the laws of his country by this conduct, he had not the good fortune to satisfy those whom he affected to serve.

A motion for
resuming
King Wil-
liam's grants.

SHOULD a judgment be formed of the principles of the present house of commons, from their disposition to animadvert upon the conduct of the late King, they might be concluded to have been extremely averse from the change which that Prince had made in the succession to the crown. The commissioners for public accounts made strict inquiries into the application of the public money, in the last reign^b. Sir Edward Seymour, who had distinguished himself in the debate against Marlborough, moved for leave to bring in a bill, for resuming all grants made in King William's reign, and for applying them to the use of the public^c. This motion was carried by a very great majority^d. But another, made by Mr. Walpole, that all grants, made in the reign of King James, should be resumed, passed in the negative. The prevailing party, consisting chiefly of the landed interest, followed their victory with another important motion. They procured an order for bringing in a bill, to prevent all persons to be members of the house of commons, except such as should be found possessed of real estates.

^a Stuart-papers, 1702.^b Journals, Dec. 3.^c Dec. 23.^d 180 against 78.

These

These motions, however, seemed rather intended to shew the power of the party, than meant seriously to be carried into laws. The bill of resumption, in particular, was deemed so severe, that it was actually dropt afterwards, by those who had carried the motion for its being introduced, with so high a hand^t; and the bill, for members to possess real estates, was thrown out by the lords^u.

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WHILE the Tories carried every thing in the house of commons, their violence was considerably checked, by the predominancy of the opposite party in the house of peers. The act passed in the first year of William and Mary, in favour of protestant dissenters, had been always disliked by the high-church party. The influence of the court, joined to the zeal of the Whigs, had prevented any attempt to repeal this act, as long as William sat upon the throne. But the party who favoured the church, finding themselves so powerful in the house of commons, under a Queen who adhered to their principles, passed an order, on the fourth of November, for bringing in a bill to prevent occasional conformity. The bill was accordingly prepared and introduced, by Mr. Bromley and Mr. St. John, the latter, afterwards well known, under the title of Bolingbroke. On the ninth of December, the bill was, a third time, read, passed, and sent to the lords. Though the latter rejected not the bill, they made several amendments, to which the commons would not yield. A conference between the two houses, upon the subject, produced nothing but a more firm adherence, on both sides, to their respective opinions. The commons ordered, at length^w, their proceedings upon this whole affair to be printed. Their example was followed by the lords, and the bill was dropt.

A bill to prevent occasional conformity.

THE bill to prevent occasional conformity furnished not the only cause of dispute between the two houses. The commis-

1703.
A division between the houses.

^t Journals of the lords.

^u Feb. 25, 1703.

^w Feb. 5.

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1702.

An eventual
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sioners, appointed for the inspection of public accounts, proceeding with their inquiries, the commons resolved, that the Lord Halifax, auditor of the exchequer, had been guilty of a breach of trust and great mismanagements in his office. The lords having called for the accounts, came to a resolution diametrically opposite to that of the commons. They voted, that the lord Halifax had performed the duty of his office, as auditor of the exchequer, in transmitting the imprest rolls to the Queen's remembrancer. The commons, in a conference, denied the right of the lords to examine any accounts, as they could neither supply deficiencies, nor apply any surpluse, the grant of all aids being inherently vested in the commons. That even, in their judicial capacity, the lords could only proceed against mismanagements, upon the complaint of the commons; and that no information collected from the accounts themselves, could entitle the lords either to acquit or condemn. The lords, provoked at the representations of the lower house, resolved, that the peers had an undoubted right to take cognizance of the public accounts. That their proceedings, with regard to the Lord Halifax, were regular; and that the commons, in their conference, had thrown unbecoming reflections on the lords, and had used unparliamentary arguments.

Parliament
prorogued.

THE commons equally irritated, reduced the arguments advanced by their committee, into votes of their house. A second conference rather increased than diminished the heats on both sides. But a sudden prorogation put an end to the dispute and the session. The Queen came to the house of lords, on the twenty-seventh of February, and made a speech from the throne. She thanked the two houses for the dispatch they had given to the public business. She thanked the commons, in particular, for their great supplies; and for their readiness in making a provision for the Prince of Denmark. To gratify the Tories, and in ad-

* Feb. 17.

herence

herence to her own principles, she declared herself strongly in favour of the established church. She hoped, she said, that such of her subjects as had the misfortune to dissent from the church of England, should rest secure and satisfied in the act of toleration, which she was firmly resolved to maintain. That those, who had the advantage and happiness to be of the church, should consider, that she had been educated in its principles. That she had run great hazards for its preservation. That she would take particular care to maintain and encourage all its privileges and rights, and to transmit them securely to posterity. Having expressed her opinion, that further laws were necessary for restraining the scandalous licentiousness of the press; the lord keeper, by her command, prorogued the parliament to the twenty-second of April.

THE Queen and those who led her councils, had some reason to wish for new restrictions on the licence assumed by the writers of pamphlets and periodical papers. Though the Whigs, on the accession of Anne, turned their thoughts more to their own danger from their opponents, than the possession of power, their hopes of regaining the influence which they had lost, gradually arose. In the house of commons, their opposition had been hitherto languid and feeble. The prejudices of those without were, therefore, to be raised, to second efforts that might prove successful within. The press was employed, with great assiduity, by the adherents of the party; and a people naturally jealous of their rulers, began already to catch the flame. The new reign, however, was still too popular to be shaken, by aggravated complaints. The terrors of the nation for popery, had altogether subsided, in their knowledge of the Queen's firm adherence to the protestant religion. The war had been carried on with a vigour and a success unknown in the preceding reign; and the spirits of mankind

Conduct of
the Whigs.

7 Feb. 27.

K k 2

being

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Queen fa-
vours the
Tories.

being raised, by the flourishing aspect of affairs, public credit, that had languished long, was in a great measure restored.

THE low-church party, it ought to be confessed, had some reason to wish for a change, in the measures of the court, with regard to themselves. Their conduct towards the Princess of Denmark was neither forgot nor forgiven, by Queen Anne; and her resentment had joined with her principles, in throwing her completely into the hands of the high-church party. The Whigs were, in a manner, proscribed and debarred from office; and the power which they still retained in the house of lords, seemed to demand their being excluded from honours. On the ninth of March, they were furnished with a proof that the current of royal favour was set another way. To secure a majority in the upper-house, for the party whose interests were abetted by the Queen, four of the most vehement Tories were raised to the peerage. Finch, Gower, Granville, and Seymour were the persons dignified, upon this occasion, with honours. Others of the party, already in the house of lords, were gratified with higher titles. The Marquis of Normanby, in particular, was created duke of the same name. But the title of Duke of Buckinghamshire being afterwards added, he is better known by the latter name².

Secret views

THE conduct of the court, and the views of the prevailing party in the house of commons, was considered, by their opponents, as proceeding from a design of defeating, ultimately, the succession of the crown in the family of Brunswick-Lunenburgh. A coincidence of circumstances, it is certain, had thrown the church-party, in some degree, into the scale of the excluded branch of the house of Stuart. They concluded that the more violent Whigs were, from principle, attached to a republican system of government. They apprehended that those whom their own ambitious

² March 9.

views had joined to that party, would, either from interest or revenge, abet the religious opinions and civil prejudices of the dissenting protestants, upon the event of the accession of a foreign Prince to the throne. Besides, the attachment to the hereditary descent of the crown, when ingrafted on the first principles of the church of England, had weighed much with those who were most zealous for her doctrines. The dangers and the apprehensions arising from popery had vanished. The terrors, which had seized the nation, on that head, at the revolution, were ascribed to the arts and machinations of the republican party, in which all dissenters were erroneously comprehended, to furnish themselves with an opportunity of rearing their own favourite fabric of government, on the ruins of a disputed throne^a.

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MEN swayed by these opinions were easily induced to listen to the declared Jacobites, and to follow the instructions of the court of St. Germain. The latter deemed the church of England thoroughly in their interest. The bill to prevent occasional conformity, and that to grant a year longer to such as had neglected to take the oath of abjuration, were suggested and abetted by the determined adherents of the pretended Prince of Wales. The first of those bills had failed, through the prevalence of the Whig-party in the house of lords; and the latter, through an amendment of the peers, became a further security for the succession which it was intended to defeat. Two clauses were added, with such art to the bill, that the high-church party durst not oppose them, without endangering their influence with the nation, and declaring themselves too precipitately for a measure, which time only could gradually accomplish. To endeavour either directly or indirectly to defeat the succession, as now limited by law, was declared high-treason; and the oath of abjuration, a circumstance neglected in the first bill, was imposed on the whole Irish nation^b.

of the high-
church party.

^a Stuart-papers, 1703.

^b Journals of the lords.

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Applications
of the court
of St. Ger-
mains

THE court of St. Germans derived great hopes from the friendly disposition of the English house of commons. But they turned their eyes, with most attention, to the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin. The first, by possessing the command of the army, might have effectually served their cause, had his professions been sincere. The latter, though timid in his councils, was a man of abilities, and uniformly attached to the excluded branch of the royal family. Marlborough, whose great influence in the measures of the court was known, had made himself a party against the Whigs^c, by extending, in his own department, his animadversions to those members of the house of peers, who had distinguished themselves in opposing what was deemed detrimental to the eventual succession of the family of Hannover^d. He was, therefore, pressed by the pretended Prince of Wales, through his emissaries, to enter into an immediate treaty; the terms of which were, to leave Queen Anne in possession of the crown during her own life, provided she would secure the succession to her brother at her death^e. To effectuate this security, the act of occasional-conformity was not thought sufficient; though the church of England seemed to conclude, that her own safety was involved in the restoration of the hereditary descent of the crown into its former channel^f. He therefore proposed, that the act of settlement itself should be repealed; a thing, he thought, not impracticable in the present disposition of the parliament.

to Marlbo-
rough.

THE servants of the pretended Prince, at the same time, endeavoured, through Marlborough, to reconcile the Queen herself to their views, by applying to her feelings, and proposing various expedients. They insinuated that, considering the justice and piety of Anne, it was not to be supposed, that she would obstruct

^c Hannover-papers, 1703.^d The E. of Rivers to Bulau, April 9, 1703.^e Stuart-papers, 1703.^f Ibid.

the eventual succession of her brother; a measure which, they said, she owed to her own glory, the memory of her father, and her solemn engagements to that Prince. They affirmed, that it was not to be thought, she would contribute to exclude her own family, in favour of a stranger, the most distant relation she had in the world^g. To facilitate, therefore, the execution of the scheme, which they earnestly wished her to adopt, they insinuated, that the putting her brother in an immediate possession of the crown of Scotland, would be the most effectual means for securing to him the eventual succession of the crown of England; and that this decisive measure would be attended with little difficulty, considering, that the majority of parliament, in the two kingdoms, were apparently well affected to the hereditary succession of the throne^h.

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To this extraordinary, and perhaps, impracticable project, destined to be laid before the Queen, the agents of the court of St. Germain, shewed an inclination to confirm Marlborough in the cause of their master, by engaging his own ambition. His only son, the Marquis of Blandford, having died at Cambridge, on the twentieth of February, the Duke had no prospect of transmitting his name to posterity through the male line. Of four daughters, two were already married, the eldest to the son of the Lord Godolphin, and the second to the earl of Sunderland. Colonel Sackville, who had, during the late reign, carried on the correspondence between Marlborough and the court of St. Germain, and who had always free access to the Duke, proposed a marriage between his third daughter and the pretended Prince of Wales. How Marlborough received the proposal is uncertain. But the negociation seems not to have ended with the present year. The adherents of the family of Hannover, either apprised of this projected connexion, or willing to gain to their own

A marriage
proposed
with his
daughter.

^g Stuart-papers, 1703.

^h Ibid.

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Affairs of
Scotland.

party the great influence and weight of Marlborough, formed a scheme on their side, to marry this daughter to the electoral Prince^l. The high-flying Tories, and especially the Jacobite part of the ministry, were so much alarmed at this circumstance, that they even intended to solicit the Queen herself to propose the match between her brother and the Duke's daughter^k. These facts are more decisive, with regard to the great power of the Duke himself, than proofs of the prudence of those by whom the proposals were made.

DURING these secret transactions in England, projects for restoring the succession in the hereditary line, were carried forward with more openness in Scotland. The prejudices of the people in general, against the old parliament, were inflamed by the Jacobites and the abettors of prelacy, who hoped, upon a new election, to return a majority of their own party into the house. It was asserted, and even publicly argued, that the parliament then in being, had never been a regular assembly. That it had been called by the Prince of Orange, before he was invested with the regal title; and that, having continued fourteen years, a circumstance utterly inconsistent with the constitution of Scotland, its authority was usurped, and all its deliberations illegal. These reasons being propagated, and accommodated to the unsettled humour which prevailed in the kingdom, rendered the people in general loud in their demands for a new parliament. The disposition of the Court seemed to suit itself to the present prejudices of the nation. The old ministry, who had been considered in the light of Whigs, were removed from the active departments of the state. The Earls of Melvil, Marchmont, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford were laid aside. The Earl of Seafield, yielding to the temper of the times, was made president of the council. The Duke of Queensberry and the Viscount

^l George II.^k Stuart-papers, 1704.

Tarbat, men equally pliant in the disposition of their minds, received the seals as secretaries of state; and the Earl of Tullibardin, who, from favouring the Revolution, had become, through disgust, a Jacobite, was raised to the office of lord-privy-seal¹.

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A COMPLAISANCE to the humour of the times, and, as they supposed, to the disposition of the Court, rendered the new ministry suspected of an attachment to the exiled family. The Viscount Tarbat, in particular, who had been all things to all governments, ever since the death of Charles the First, endeavoured to gain the affections of the Jacobites, by procuring from the Queen a proclamation of indemnity^m. Before the members of the new administration were appointed, the old parliament was dissolved, and another summoned to meet at Edinburgh, on the sixth of May. The vehemence of the people, the influence and the weight of government, the activity of the leaders of the country party, and the zeal of the Jacobites, procured a return of more members, swayed by high principles for monarchy, than had been known in any parliament since the restoration of Charles the Second. But though the majority were enemies to the late Revolution, these came under two denominations to the house. The open and avowed Jacobites were the least dangerous, as they made no secret of their real designs. But the country-party, as they affected to call themselves, consisting of men of more prudence and more spirit, covered their designs, in favour of the exiled family, with the specious pretence of insisting upon the redress of the grievances under which the nation had laboured in the preceding reignⁿ. The first were led by the Earl of Home, who had rendered himself beloved by his party, from their opinion of his integrity, and his uniform attachment to the interest of the excluded family.

¹ Lockhart's Memoirs.

^m March 6.

ⁿ Lockhart's Memoirs.

C H A P.

V.

1703.
Character of
the Duke of
Hamilton.

THE Duke of Hamilton, the acknowledged head of the country-party, was a nobleman of solid, as well as popular talents. Unshaken in his personal courage, hitherto steady in his political conduct, clear in conception, judicious, and full of address. Though not possessed of a flowing eloquence of language when he spoke in public, his expressions were manly and his manner so graceful, that his words came with an irresistible force upon his audience. He was qualified by nature to gain mankind, and to combine together their various passions and views; and, thus united, to turn their whole force at once to one point. Attached to his party from principle, he adhered to their very prejudices, with a firmness that gained their affections and secured their unlimited confidence. In forming his projects he was cautious, to a degree of irresolution. But when he once adopted any scheme, he was not to be swayed from his purpose by obstructions, nor intimidated by dangers. Having served King Charles and King James, in various capacities, he retained his affection for their family, after the misfortunes of the latter; and, making no secret of his principles, declined to accept any office from King William, and even for many years to acknowledge his authority. When the resentment of the Scots had ascended to a degree of frenzy against the Crown, in the year 1698, he accepted, upon the resignation of his mother, of the title of Duke of Hamilton; and, having placed himself at the head of the opposition, directed, with great dexterity, their whole fury against the King.

His instructions from St. Germain.

THE correspondence between the late King James and the Duke of Hamilton, had languished ever since the treaty of Risc-wick had put an end to all the hopes of that unfortunate Prince. The adherents of his son, however, renewed their intrigues in Scotland as well as in England; and being no strangers to Hamilton's attachment to their cause, sent him secret instructions, which he followed implicitly in his public conduct. His secession, with

with eighty members, in the preceding year, had deprived the parliament of the opinions of the people; and had been the great cause of the dissolution which soon after followed. This circumstance had rendered still more important, a nobleman whose weight in his country had been great before. The pretended Prince of Wales neglected not, therefore, to point out to the Duke, in the month of January, the line which he wished to be pursued in the new parliament. The principal articles required of Hamilton were, to oppose, with all the force of his influence, abilities, and address, the bill of abjuration, the succession of the family of Hannover, and the union of the two kingdoms °.

THE Duke, in obedience to his instructions, and pursuing the bent of his own mind, had concerted, with his party, measures favourable to the excluded family. When the parliament met, on the sixth of May, he presented to the house, the draught of a bill for recognizing and asserting the authority of her Majesty, and her undoubted right and title to the crown of Scotland. The inclination of the English ministry, and even the distant views of the Queen herself, in favour of her brother, were no secret to the Duke; who had been, for more than ten years, privy to their intrigues and correspondence with the court of St. Germain. Without departing, therefore, from his purpose, he proposed this overture, which seemed levelled against his own principles, with regard to the hereditary descent of the crown. The act could not be opposed with any decency. But the old ministry, to screen themselves from the future animadversions of parliament, endeavoured to insert a clause, that it should be high-treason to impugn or quarrel, either the Queen's right to the crown, or her exercise of the regal function since she ascended the throne. Though Hamilton and his party perceived the drift of

A new parliament.

° Stuart-papers, 1703.

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this amendment, yet, to prevent the appearance of any obstruction to this complimentary act, they consented, under an express declaration, that the clause should not extend to justify the transactions in the late parliament, should they be questioned hereafter^p.

Proceedings

THE avowed friends of the excluded family, shewed the same inclination with those who called themselves the country-party, to please the Queen and to gratify the demands of the Crown. The Earl of Home, who was known to lead the Jacobites, presented the draught of an act, on the nineteenth of May, for granting a supply. Those who affected to adhere to the principles of the late Revolution, were unwilling that this compliment to government should come from the opposite side. The Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Marchmont professed themselves, and were allowed by the world, to be the leaders of that party. The Duke, though a man of abilities, and agreeable in his manners, was profligate in his private life, and regarded chiefly his own interest in his public conduct. Though he came over with the Prince of Orange at the Revolution, and affected to be a mortal enemy to the family of Stuart; he had listened to the proposals of King James, through the Earl of Arran, in the year 1691, when that Prince had a near prospect of being restored to his throne. Argyle had, then, together with the Earl of Home, with whom he was connected by marriage, agreed to accept of a commission as lieutenant-general from the exiled King^q. But the hopes of James being blasted by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, Argyle fell again into the measures of William, obtained from that Prince several sums of money; and in the year 1701, the title of a Duke, for his services in a refractory session of parliament^r.

^p Mem. of Scotland, 1703.^q Stuart-papers, 1692.^r Burnet, vol. iii. Lockhart's Memoirs.

ARGYLE, apprized of the Earl of Home's intention to move for a supply, had the address, not only to frustrate the overture, but even to detach the commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, from the country-party, in whose views he had actually embarked. He came to that nobleman and informed him, that he himself and his party had resolved to move for an act to ratify the late Revolution, and to confirm the Presbyterian system of church-government. This measure was so contrary to the principles of those who had proposed to grant an immediate supply, that the commissioner requested the Duke to forbear. The latter refused to comply; and dexterously insinuated into the mind of Queensberry, such a jealousy of the growing weight of the Duke of Hamilton, that he deserted, at once, his own professions and the interests of the country-party. The Marquis of Tweeddale, in the mean time, made an overture in the house, that prior to all other business, the parliament should proceed to form conditions of government, and regulations in the constitution of the kingdom, to take place after the demise of her Majesty.

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1703.
The commissioner de'ers the country-party.

The party who endeavoured to defeat the supply, opposed it with this overture, which was likely to command the whole attention of the house. On a debate touching the competition between Tweeddale's motion and the consideration of the supply, the party who supported the first prevailed. The Marquis of Athol, in consequence of the overture, offered an act for the security of the kingdom, in case of her Majesty's decease. This important business filled the greatest part of the session with violent debates. It was stipulated by the act, that, on the twentieth day after the Queen's decease, the estates of parliament should meet; and that, in the intermediate time, the executive government should devolve on such members of the house as should happen to come to Edinburgh. It was provided, that

Act of security.

May 28.

no

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1703.

no papists should be members. That no Englishman or foreigner, enjoying a title in Scotland, and not possessed of one thousand pound sterling of yearly rent in that kingdom, should be capable of either sitting or voting in the parliament to be convened in terms of the act.

Its condi-
tions.

WHEN the house proceeded to the limitations to be laid on the successor of the Queen in the throne, a violent debate arose. A member urging, that her Majesty's letter to the parliament, encouraged them to expect her concurrence, in any thing calculated to secure public freedom, was answered, with a censure, by the commissioner. The member replied, with great asperity; and concluded with affirming, that nothing could save Scotland from slavery, but withdrawing herself, after the decease of the Queen, from the dominion of an English Prince. In an additional clause to the act, it was provided, that the nomination of a successor was left, by the act, to the estates of parliament, who should assemble after the Queen's death. But it was enacted, that the successor to be named, should not be the successor to the crown of England: unless such conditions of government should be settled in this session of parliament, as should secure the honour of the kingdom, the independence of the crown, the freedom, frequency, and power of parliaments, and the religion, liberty, and trade of the Scottish nation, from English or foreign influence.

Act for the
house of
Hanover
fiercely re-
jected.

WHILE the house were employed in the act of security, several laws of considerable importance were passed, with less difficulty. On the seventh of June, the house proceeded to the consideration of an act offered by the Duke of Argyle, ratifying the parliament which had continued to sit during the whole of the preceding reign. Several laws with regard to commerce were passed; and one to encourage the African and India company. Toward the

* Printed act.

end

end of the session, the Earl of Marchmont presented an act to the house, for settling the succession on the family of Hannover, which was ordered to be read. When the clerk came to the paragraph, where the Princess Sophia was mentioned by name, the house flew at once into a flame. Some moved, that the overture should be publicly burnt. Others were for calling Marchmont to the bar. Many proposed to send that lord prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. The chancellor having procured silence, the clerk proceeded. But such a fierce opposition arose, that the overture was rejected without a vote. In defeating the motion, the house departed avowedly from their own rules. To place a mark of indignation, as they expressed themselves, on the act, it was carried, by a majority of fifty-seven voices, that the very memory of it should be expunged from the minutes of parliament^u.

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1703.

THE commissioner shewing no inclination to touch the act of security with the scepter, a motion was made, that the house should address the Queen to give the royal assent. But this intention was over-ruled, by a suggestion, that the commissioner himself should be first questioned, whether he had been instructed to pass the act. His Grace observing an obstinate silence, the house flew into a new flame. Several members proposed new bills of limitations. But the most insisted, that the old act should be carried into a law. The next day, however, the commissioner told the house, that he had received her Majesty's pleasure, and was now fully impowered to give the royal assent to every act, excepting only to that, called an act for the security of the kingdom. He scarce had ended his speech, when many members arose; and, in succession, inveighed, in the bitterest terms, against the servants of the crown; who were called, perhaps with justice, the slaves of the English ministry, and calumniators of the Scottish parliament. Some denied, that the right of a negative was inhe-

Royal assent
refused to the
act of secu-
rity.

^u Sept. 6.

C H A P.
V.

1703.

rent in the crown. They affirmed, that the third act of the first parliament of Charles the Second, the only act upon which the negative was founded, declared, indeed, that the royal assent was necessary to give the force of a law to a vote of the house. But that from thence it could not be inferred, that the assent could be refused to an act passed and solemnly offered by parliament^w.

Violent heats.

DURING these uncommon heats, no supply for the support of either the civil or military establishment, had been granted to the crown. When the lord-treasurer represented to the house the defenceless state of the kingdom, they reminded him of the security denied to the nation, by the refusal of the royal assent to an act calculated for that important and necessary purpose. No session of parliament ever met in Scotland, in which more abilities, more eloquence, and perhaps, more violence and animosity were displayed, than in the present. The whole nation were interested spectators of a contest, which they were taught to believe, was to determine their independence as a free people, or to subject them for ever to those foreign councils, to which they had, with some reason, ascribed the late misfortunes of the kingdom. The eagerness of the populace was transfused into parliament. When the commissioner proposed, that the supply should take place of all other business, the opposition stated the vote, "overture for subsidy, or overtures for liberty." The commissioner still insisting on his point, the Earl of Roxburgh arose and said, that if there was no other way of supporting the natural and undeniable privilege of parliament, the friends of their country were resolved to demand justice, with their swords in their hands. A general rage transported the house into a degree of fury. The commissioner became apprehensive of the safety of his own person. Having promised, that the overtures for liberty should be the first business of the next session, and having touched the bills that were ready

^w Mem. of Scotland.

with

with the scepter, he suddenly prorogued this refractory parliament^{*}.

C. H. A. P.
V.

1703.

Observations
on the state

THOUGH the zeal of the Jacobite members contributed to increase the flame in the house, many, not confined to such narrow principles, were great promoters of this vehement opposition in parliament. They were no strangers to the abject dependence into which their country had fallen, ever since their native sovereigns had added the weight of the crown of England, to their prerogative in Scotland. They perceived, that the distance of the Prince himself, from a government carried on in his name, subjected his councils to the imposition of the ignorant, or the art and malice of the designing. They saw, that the servants of the crown, by resorting to London, were either gained by the English ministry, to forward their own views; or awed by their influence, into a subserviency, which, when it degraded themselves, disgraced and even ruined their country. The sovereign himself was, even, likely, upon all occasions, to prefer the interests of his more powerful kingdom, to the prosperity of a country, which, from the nature of its soil and climate, as well as from the peculiar circumstances of its government, had hitherto contributed little either to support his grandeur or to increase his power.

THE situation of affairs in England had, accidentally, furnished Scotland with the only opportunity the latter ever possessed of emancipating herself, from the influence and oppression of the former, or of being received into an union of government, upon equal and even advantageous terms. The English legislature had settled the succession of the crown on the house of Hannover. King William, either careless of the interests of that family, or, what is more probable, indifferent concerning the fate of the crown, after his own death, had neglected to recommend to a

of Scotland
with regard
to England.

^{*} Sept. 16.

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V.

1703.

parliament, whom a long habit had rendered subservient to his views, the settlement of the crown of Scotland, in the protestant line. This circumstance actually left the fate of England in the disposal of the Scottish nation. Should the latter declare for the eventual succession of the Prince of Wales, a title then not illegal in Scotland, there can scarce any doubt be formed, but, considering the party which still adhered to the exiled family in England, he would have, with great facility, recovered the crown of that kingdom. Some men of abilities in the Scottish parliament, who were by no means attached to the hereditary line, perceived this advantage; and they seized it with an eagerness, proportionable to their zeal for their country.

Character of

THE most distinguished among these lovers of their country was Andrew Fletcher of Salton, whose warm but manly genius had been improved, by an extensive knowledge of books and of men. Possessed of a mind too daring and independent to bear, or even to permit, the haughtiness of superiors, he uniformly wished for that equality among mankind, which speculative patriots hope to find in a republican government. To that dignified disposition of soul, which abhors whatever is mean, he joined a steadiness of mind, that no advantage could sway, no solicitations move, no dangers shake. A strict observer of his word, devoted to the most rigid laws of honour, cautious of giving offence to others, as he was resolved to resent even the appearance of insult to himself, resolute to a degree of enthusiasm, in a manner fiercely brave. In his public conduct, he was the avowed enemy of all despotism. Vehement in his love for his country, determined to support her independence, as necessary to his own dignity. In his private life, he avoided vice on account of its meanness. He adhered, without deviation, to virtue, as essential to his own pride.

His

HIS peculiar opinions on the subject of government, suiting ill with the despotic maxims adopted in Scotland during the reign of Charles the Second, he opposed the ministry, and was persecuted in return. To avoid the malice of his enemies, he forsook his country. But being summoned, in his absence, before the privy-council, he was so much enraged at the injustice of those in power, that he embarked in the cause of the Duke of Monmouth, and accompanied that unfortunate nobleman, when he invaded England. Having been outlawed upon this occasion, he retired to Holland, and came over with the Prince of Orange, whose declarations were favourable to those political principles to which he had invariably adhered. He soon perceived, what he might have foreseen, that the possession of the crown of England was the chief object of the expedition. Fletcher, therefore, left King William, when that Prince seemed to desert the principles upon which he came; and he afterwards opposed him, with a vehemence suitable to that disappointment. Having been chosen a member of the new parliament, which met in the May of the present year, he found an opportunity for exerting his talents, and for exhibiting his principles. Though an enemy to monarchy, he entertained such an aversion to English influence and an union, that he adhered to the country-party, and would even have supported the succession of the exiled family, rather than yield to measures, which he deemed destructive to the honour and independence of his country.

CHAP.
V.

1703.
Fletcher of
Salton.

THE affairs of Ireland had, for several years, remained in that state of tranquillity and want of importance which attends dependent governments, when carried forward with any degree of attention and precision. The Earl of Rochester, whom King William had placed in the office of lord-lieutenant, resigned his commission through some disgust, soon after the accession of his

Affairs of
Ireland.

Lockhart's Mem.

M m 2

niece

C H A P.
V.

1703.

niece to the throne of England. He was succeeded in the government, by the Duke of Ormond, a name popular in Ireland, on account of his family. In a parliament, which met in the autumn of the present year, a great unanimity appeared in favour of the measures of the Queen. They granted a supply to her Majesty, to make up the deficiency of the revenue, and to support the necessary branches of the establishment for two years, ending at Michaelmas 1705. In examining the public accounts, the commons found, that more than one hundred thousand pounds had, by misrepresentation, been charged unjustly, as a debt on the nation; and they ordered a committee to examine into the cause of this intended fraud on the public.

Proceedings
of parliament.

IN a representation to the lord lieutenant, the commons complained, with reason, of the proceedings of the trustees appointed by the parliament of England, for managing and selling the forfeited estates in Ireland, that had been resumed for the use of the public. They averred, that the charges incurred by the subjects of that kingdom, in defending such just rights and titles as had been allowed by the trustees, had exceeded in value the current cash of Ireland. They complained, that the state of trade at home was so low, that many protestant families had been constrained to remove to other kingdoms, especially to Scotland; while foreign commerce and its returns were under such restrictions, as rendered them altogether unprofitable. They affirmed, that many civil officers were arrived at such a pitch of corruption, through the hopes of impunity, that vast estates were acquired by them, in a short time, in a poor country. That others, neglecting their personal attendance in the country, made sinecures of their employments, and drained the kingdom of its money, which they spent in other lands. Having insinuated that nothing but frequent parliaments could either prevent or reform those evils, they concluded, with the warmest and most affectionate wishes, for the hap-

happinefs of her Majefty, and the long continuance of her reign over Ireland. The lord-lieutenant having promifed to tranfmit to England the representation of the commons, they voted an ample fupply; and the parliament was adjourned, to the eleventh of January, in the fucceeding year.

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V.
1703.

DURING thefe tranfactions in Scotland and Ireland, the war was carried on with unabating vigour, between the allies and the houfe of Bourbon. The former had found means to detach, from the alliance of the latter, two Princes of confiderable name and power. The Duke of Savoy deferting the interefts of France and Spain, had concluded a treaty with the Emperor, on the fifth of January; and, on the fixteenth of May, Peter the Second, King of Portugal, joined himfelf to the grand alliance. To the defection of thofe two Princes, the French afcribed their fubfequent misfortunes in the war. They, however, made great preparations, for opening, with fpirit, the campaign on all fides. Winter itfelf had fcarce fufpended hoftilities, between the contending powers. Rhinberg was taken on the ninth of February by the allies. The fieve of Traerbach was raifed, on the twenty-fifth, by the Marefchal de Tallard. The French, under Villars, feized the towns of Offembourg and Raftadt, without refiftance. That commander forced the redoubts upon the Quinche, and took the fort of Kell, on the ninth of March. The Elector of Bavaria, the firm ally of France, carried on the war, with vigour, in the heart of Germany. He took Neubourg on the Danube, on the third of February. He defeated the enemy at Paffaw, on the eleventh of March; and having taken Burglenfield^z and Ratifbon^a, was joined, on the twelfth of April, at Dutlingen, by the Marefchal de Villars.

Campaign of
1703.

THE French and Bavarians owed their fuccefs, on the fide of Germany, more to the inactivity of the empire, than either to

Progreff of
the Elector
of Bavaria.

^z March 28.

^a April 8.

their

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their own force or their conduct. The instances of England and the States were lost on that unwieldy body. Each Prince deemed himself but little concerned, in what was the cause of all. The Elector of Bavaria, taking advantage of their supineness, resolved to enter Tyrol, at once to open the communication with the French army in Italy, and to stop the common passage of the Imperial reinforcements to their troops in that country. The Duke de Vendôme, who commanded the French forces in Italy, endeavoured, on his side, to enter Tyrol, to join the Elector. Had this project succeeded, it might have ruined the Emperor's affairs. But the valour of the peasants of Tyrol, the conduct of some Imperial detachments placed in that country, and the want of concert between the French and Bavarians, defeated the only measure, which seemed calculated to support the affairs of the house of Bourbon, on that side.

Operations in
Swabia and
Italy.

THE Duke de Vendôme, having despaired of joining the Bavarians, and being recalled to Italy, by the open defection of the Duke of Savoy, with unbridled fury laid waste the country, in his retreat. The Elector, on the other hand, found himself obliged to abandon Inspruck; and to retire to Swabia, to rejoin the Marschal de Villars. Disappointed in their views on Aufbourg, they crossed the Danube, at Donawaert, and totally defeated, at Hochstet, Count Styrum^b, who commanded a considerable army of the allies. In Italy the Imperial troops were commanded by Staremberg, Prince Eugene having not been employed for the present year. This general had contributed to prevent the junction of Vendôme and the Elector of Bavaria, but he performed no other service of importance during the campaign. Vendôme disarmed a part of the troops of the Duke of Savoy, on the twenty-ninth of September. He defeated the General Visconti, on the twenty-sixth of October. Nothing decisive, however, happened,

^b Sept. 20. N. S.

on the side of Italy; though the house of Bourbon might consider their disappointment in the intended junction of their armies in Tyrol, in the light of a partial defeat.

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1703.

THE Duke of Burgundy, having under him the Mareschals de Tallard and de Vauban, commanded the French army, on the side of Alface. A campaign, which, during the greatest part, remained unimportant, ended in an action of some consequence and renown. The Mareschal de Tallard, having formed the siege of Landau, that place began to be pressed, when an army of the allies passed the Rhine, at Spire, for its relief. Tallard, leaving a flight guard in the trenches, marched with the rest of the army to attack the enemy. The allies, consisting of English, Dutch, and Germans, were commanded by the Prince of Hesse, the same who mounted, afterwards, the throne of Sweden. The French general, who, from the badness of his sight, was obliged to depend upon the eyes of others, committed a mistake, which, by a singular piece of good fortune, gained the battle. Construing a motion made by the enemy, for an attack, to be a preparation for flight, he fell upon them unexpectedly, and obtained the victory. The Count de Frize, who had defended Landau, with vigour and good conduct, despairing of any further relief, surrendered that important fortress, the day after this unfortunate battle was lost by the allies.

On the
Rhine.

IN the Netherlands, the Duke of Marlborough, having concerted measures with the States of the United Provinces, was enabled to appear early in the field. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonn, a strong city in the circle of the Lower-Rhine, and the usual residence of the Elector of Cologne. That Prince had placed Bonn, with the rest of his dominions, in the hands of France, in the beginning of the war. The city was invested, on the twenty-fourth of April. The trenches were

Campaign in
Flanders.

Nov. 16.

opened

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opened on the third of May; and the Marquis d'Alegre, after a gallant resistance, was forced to surrender the place, after a siege of twelve days. The French army, under the Mareschals de Ville-roi and de Boufflers, having, in the mean time, advanced toward Maestrecht and taken Tongeren, the Duke of Marlborough re-joined the confederate army in Flanders, and advanced against the enemy. The French, declining battle, retired within their lines; which the Duke resolved to force. The Baron de Sparr performed this service, with spirit and success. But the Baron Opdam, who attempted to penetrate the lines at Antwerp, was driven from the field with great loss, and forced to retreat to Lillo, with an inconsiderable party of the army under his command. The General Schlangenburg retrieved, in some measure, the laurels which Opdam had lost^d. Both the French and the allies claimed the advantage, in an attack productive of no consequences. The French seem to have had the best title to the honour of victors, having kept possession of the field.

Several places
taken by the
allies.

THE French, unwilling to hazard the event of a general battle with the allies, who were superior in conduct as well as in force, the Duke of Marlborough sat down with little interruption, before some places of considerable strength, and, by their conquest, closed, with reputation, the campaign. Huy on the Maese fell into his hands, on the twenty-sixth of June. He took Limbourg, in September. In December, the city of Gueldres, after a bombardment and blockade of near fourteen months, surrendered to the allies^e. The number of fortified places, which the possession of Spanish Flanders had given to the French, had proved a considerable disadvantage to their affairs. The garrisons, in so many towns, had weakened their armies in the field. Besides, the places themselves were ill provided with the means of defence. Having most of them fallen, in the late wars, into the hands of

^d June 30.

^e Dec. 6.

the French, they had been returned, in a kind of dismantled state, to the Spaniards, whose poverty as well as negligence prevented them from being ever thoroughly restored to their former strength. They furnished, therefore, the allies with a succession of triumphs; and, by buoying up their minds with an appearance of success, encouraged them to continue the war with vigour.

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1703.

THE campaign of the year 1703 was, upon the whole, favourable to the house of Bourbon. The progress of the Elector of Bavaria, in the heart of Germany, had reduced the family of Austria into great straits; while, at the same time, an insurrection in Hungary distracted their councils, and spread devastation to the gates of Vienna. In Italy, the defection of the Duke of Savoy had not hitherto produced any fortunate change for the Emperor; and on the Upper Rhine, the arms of that Prince were attended with a degree of misfortune. Though the French had lost some towns in Flanders, the progress made by the allies was inconsiderable. They failed in their attempts on the strong lines formed by the enemy for the protection of Flanders; and in the only action of consequence which happened on that side, they had lost some trophies as well as the field. Though the bigotry of Lewis the Fourteenth had kindled the flames of war in the heart of his own dominions, by forcing, by severities, the Protestants in the Cevennes into an insurrection, no effectual advantage was taken of a circumstance, which the allies might have greatly improved in their own favour.

Campaign in
general fa-
vourable for
France.

NOTHING memorable happened at sea, during the summer of the present year. The combined fleet of England and Holland, under Sir Cloudsley Shovel, sailed^f into the Mediterranean, and returned without meeting an enemy to their own ports^g. In

Affairs at
sea.

^f July 1.

^g Oct. 22.

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some actions of little consequence and less name, the French seem to have had the advantage. The English were repulsed at Guadaloupe, in May^b. Rooke endeavoured, in vain, to make a descent on Belle-Isle, on the sixth of Juneⁱ. A Dutch convoy was attacked by the French, to the north of Scotland, on the tenth of August^k. The ships of war escorting the fleet were beaten, and some of the vessels themselves taken. An unaccountable languor seems to have prevailed in all the operations of the maritime powers. They formed no expedition to annoy the enemy on the coast of Spain, though naked and defenceless; and in neglecting to intercept the treasure brought by a French squadron from the Havanna, they furnished the enemy with additional resources for continuing with vigour the war.

Sept.
Arch-Duke
declared
King of
Spain.

THE partial and inconsiderable advantages obtained by France at sea, and the success of her arms, in conjunction with the Bavarians, in the heart of Germany, neither raised her own hopes, nor depressed her enemies. The defection of the Duke of Savoy, and, above all, the desertion of the King of Portugal, who could open through his country a passage into Spain, filled the house of Bourbon with great and well-grounded apprehensions. The gaining from the enemy such powerful allies, induced the Emperor to avow to the world, his design to recover to his family the possession of the crown of Spain. Having, therefore, together with his eldest son, the King of the Romans, renounced every personal title to the Catholic throne, his second son, the Arch-Duke Charles, was crowned at Vienna, the beginning of September. A few days^l after this ceremony was performed, the Arch-Duke, now called Charles the Third, King of Spain, left Vienna; and directing his journey through Holland, arrived at the Hague, on the third of November. Having been acknowledged in his new capacity, by all the allies, he was received

^b May 13.ⁱ June 6.^k Aug. 10. N. S.^l Sept. 19.

every

every where with marks of the highest respect and honour. The design of this Prince was to pass to Portugal with a considerable force, escorted by the combined fleets of the maritime powers; and, in conjunction with his new ally, Peter the Second, to invade the kingdom of Spain.

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THE operations of the English fleet in the West Indies, were attended neither with glory nor with success. Admiral Bembow, who commanded the ships stationed at Jamaica, and in the neighbouring seas, fell in with a French squadron near Carthagena, on the nineteenth of August 1702. In a running battle, which was renewed, at intervals, for several days, the admiral was repeatedly deserted by his captains, his ship disabled, and his own leg shot away. The enemy, though much inferior in number and strength, made, by these means, a safe retreat. Bembow, after this disgraceful, as well as unfortunate action, returned to Jamaica. On the sixth of October, he issued a commission for the trial of Captain Kirby and Captain Wade. They were found guilty of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; and, being sent to England under their sentence, they suffered death, at Plymouth, on the fourteenth of April, 1704. The admiral himself having languished for some time, under the wound received in the engagement, died at Jamaica; and the regret which he expressed in his last moments for the treachery of the condemned captains, seemed to have ensured their unhappy fate.

Disgrace in
the West In-
dies.

DURING these transactions between the confederates and the house of Bourbon, the war in Poland was carried on with redoubled ardour. The King of Sweden having quitted the neighbourhood of Cracow, descended with his army along the course of the Vistula. King Augustus employed himself in calling together fruitless diets. In an assembly of his adherents at Thorn, it was

War in Po-
land.

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1703.

resolved to acquaint the King of Sweden, that Poland had accepted the mediation of the Emperor; and that, should Charles still persist in refusing to enter into a negociation, the Republic should declare war against Sweden. But what one pretended diet established, was overturned by another; and Charles seemed to have more adherents in Poland, than Augustus himself. The first of these princes preferred action to negociation. Having suddenly marched out of his camp, he surprised the Saxons at Pultausk, and took their general with his own hand. He laid siege to Thorn, and forced that city, notwithstanding its numerous garrison, to surrender at discretion. King Augustus was obliged to find in strangers, the resources which his own kingdom denied. He applied for aid to the Czar; who listened the more readily to the solicitations of Augustus, that he hoped to fix the seat of the war in Poland; and to profit by the absence of Charles, by aggrandizing himself in Livonia^m.

Parliament
meets,
Nov. 9.

WHILE the new King of Spain remained at the Hague, concerting his future measures with the States, the parliament of England, after various prorogations, met at Westminsterⁿ. The Queen, in her speech, communicated to the two houses, her new treaties with Portugal and the Duke of Savoy; and she desired supplies to answer the demands of her present, as well as former engagements, in the war. She informed her parliament, that though no particular provision had been made, for the charge either of the expedition intended for Portugal, or the augmentation of the troops desired by the States, the funds granted had answered so well, and the produce of the prizes had proved so considerable, that no new debt had been incurred, on these accounts, by the nation. She recommended dispatch in their deliberations, as necessary for the success of the projected enterprises of the war. She expressed her most earnest desire of seeing all

^m Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.ⁿ Nov. 9.

her

her subjects in perfect peace and union among themselves; and she therefore entreated them all, to avoid any heats and divisions, that might disappoint her of the satisfaction she had promised herself from their unanimity, and give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state °.

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V.
1703.

A KIND of hereditary animosity against the French, together with an opinion imbibed by the people, that the house of Bourbon aimed at the empire of all Europe, had rendered the present war extremely popular in England. Though the last campaign in Flanders had produced no striking event, the advantages obtained by the allies were, with some reason, ascribed to the valour of the English troops, and especially to the skill and conduct of their leader. In such a situation of affairs, the quarrels between parties, were forced to give way to the current of the populace; and, however willing those excluded from office might have been to obstruct the measures of government, they prudently avoided opposition on the subject of the supply. Having unanimously addressed her Majesty upon her speech, the commons proceeded to make the necessary provision for the service of the succeeding year. The treaties concluded since the recess of parliament, and the estimates of the army and navy being laid before them, they voted, that forty thousand men, including five thousand marines, should be employed for the sea service of 1704^p; and that four pounds a man, each month, allowing thirteen for the year, should be granted for the support of that force^q.

The commons grant;

To prosecute the war with vigour by land, the house resolved, that eight hundred and eighty-four thousand pounds should be granted to her Majesty, for maintaining forty thousand men, to act on the continent in conjunction with the allies. They, at the same time, provided for the Queen's proportion^r of the sub-

unanimously,
ample supplies.

° Journals, Nov. 9.

^p Journals, Nov. 25.

^q Nov. 25.

^r 55,272 l.

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V.

1703.

sidies for part of that force^a; and gave her a further supply^t for maintaining the additional ten thousand men which her Majesty had raised at the requisition of the States^u. They provided^w also for eight thousand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of the crown of Portugal; and they resolved, that a sum, not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, should be granted, for defraying her Majesty's proportion of thirteen thousand men, to be maintained by the court of Lisbon. Three hundred and fifty-seven thousand pounds were granted for guards, garrisons, and invalids; near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for the land-service to be performed by the office of ordnance^x. The house presented an address to the Queen, assuring her Majesty, that they would make good all her engagements with the Duke of Savoy.

A dreadful
tempest.

DURING these transactions in parliament, an uncommon calamity fell upon the kingdom. In the night of the twenty-sixth of November, the most violent tempest ever known in England, suddenly arose. The wind blowing from the South-West with incredible force and noise, was accompanied with flashes of lightning and deluges of rain. Every thing seemed ready to be levelled before the storm. Chimneys, roofs of houses, even buildings and spires were blown down in the city of London. In the country whole forests were torn up by the roots. But the tempest fell with most fury and did the most harm at sea. Besides the loss sustained by private persons, sixteen ships of the royal navy were cast away. The damage done in London and Westminster alone, was estimated at a million sterling. But as the calamity was not universal, the country suffered not in the same proportion. The commons addressed her Majesty upon the occasion. They told her, that they could not see a diminution of her navy,

^a Nov. 27.^w 176,481 l.^t 178,180 l.^x Nov. 30.^u Nov. 18.

without

without making provision for repairing the same. They, therefore, desired the Queen to build such capital ships as she should think fit; and they promised, at their next meeting, to make good the expence.

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1703.

THE storm which had done such damage in England, was felt with the same severity in Holland. The dykes having been broken down in Friezeland, by the violence of the waves, one fourth part of that province was laid under water. A squadron of men of war, under Admiral Calemberg, destined for the expedition with the new King of Spain, to Portugal, was driven from the mouth of the Texel, to the coast of Norway. Of the English ships intended for that service, and lying in the Maese, some were stranded and others lost. The damage, however, was, in some measure, repaired, in the space of three weeks; and, on the twenty-third of December, Charles the Third embarked for England, escorted by the English and Dutch squadrons. That Prince arriving at Spithead, on the twenty-sixth of December, was conducted by the Duke of Somerset to Windsor, where her Majesty received him with great magnificence. Having remained at that place two days, he repaired again to Portsmouth, and sailed from Spithead, on the fifth of January, with a favourable wind. But a storm arising, in the Bay of Biscay, the fleet was dispersed and driven back to the channel. Sir George Rooke, the admiral, on board of whose ship was the King of Spain, returned to St. Helen's, on the twentieth of January. Great diligence and activity were used in refitting the ships. But it was the twelfth of February, before a favourable wind enabled the fleet to make the best of its way to Portugal.

New King of
Spain in
England.

THE unanimity in parliament, with regard to supplies for prosecuting the war, was disturbed, by the renewal of a former quarrel, between the Whigs and Tories. The latter, favouring the

1704.
Bill against
occasional
conformity.

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1704.

the church, introduced again into the house of commons, the bill against occasional conformity, which had been lost in the preceding session. This measure had been neither unforeseen nor unexpected by their opponents, and it threw the house into violent debates. The high-church party, however, prevailed. The bill soon passed the commons, and was sent to the lords. The Whigs still maintained in the upper-house a majority. They were, at least, more powerful there, through their superior activity and zeal. The Queen herself, notwithstanding her predilection for the church of England, was cold with regard to a bill, that seemed so highly favourable to the established religion. She had been terrified with reports, that the Jacobites connected their views in favour of her brother, with the success of this bill; and there certainly existed some reason for this apprehension. The ministry, during the dependence of the bill, were left to their own opinions. Marlborough and Godolphin, who were too prudent not to appear attached to the protestant succession, voted for the bill. Other lords in office gave their suffrages on the other side. The bishops themselves were almost equally divided upon the votes; and the bill was, at length, rejected, by a majority of thirteen voices^x.

A Scottish
plot.

THE bill against occasional conformity was not the only topic, upon which the Whigs endeavoured, in this session, to depress the Tories. During the warm debates on that subject, a circumstance arose, that greatly contributed to the victory which the former party obtained. The Queen acquainted the two houses, on the seventeenth of December^y, that she had received unquestionable informations of designs carried on against her government in Scotland, by the agents and emissaries of France. The two houses received differently this intelligence. The lords, led by some Whigs of ability and eagerness, grasped at every thing calculated to raise the jealousy of the nation against the Tories. The major-

^x Journals of the lords.

^y 1703.

city of the commons, being composed of the latter party, considered the whole as the stale contrivance of a sham-plot: an expedient, they affirmed, often used with success by their political antagonists. Writers infected with the partialities of the two parties, have given various and opposite accounts of an affair, too frivolous to command the attention of the public, had not the minds of mankind been previously inflamed, by the animosities subsisting between two powerful factions.

C H A P.
V.

1704.

THE principal actor in this political piece, and, perhaps, its author, was Captain Simon Frazer, afterwards well known to the world by the title of Lord Lovat. Born with insinuating talents, but rather forward than agreeable in his address, he exerted his whole force upon mankind, through the channel of their vanity. His flattery, though too obvious to escape even the observation of the weak, was too strong to be resisted entirely by men of sense. He seemed so eager in bestowing praise, that those who approved the least of his manner, ascribed his adulation to his want of judgment, with regard to others, more than to his own designs. Destitute of principle and despising veracity as useless, he accommodated all his actions to his immediate interest; and all his words to the purpose of deceiving the credulous into his views. Habituated, through time, to this abandoned conduct, he became, in a manner, incapable of deviating from it; and thus his profligacy, by being generally known, carried its own antidote in itself. In the execution of his own projects, though generally formed with little judgment, he was bold and fearless. He neither understood those laid by others, nor pursued them, either with spirit or with attention. Though unsteady in his disposition, and hourly varying his schemes, he never swerved from the great line of self-interest; and thus, notwithstanding his natural levity and inconstancy, he succeeded by perseverance.

Character of
Simon Frazer.

C H A P.
V.1704.
His crimes.

SOME actions, that brought upon Frazer the highest animadversion of the laws in Scotland, had made him famous in that kingdom before his intrigues attracted the notice of the parliament of England. Being descended, though at some distance, from the family of the Lord Lovat, chief of the clan of Frasers, in the county of Inverness, he had received in the year 1694, the commission of a lieutenant in the Earl of Tullibardin's regiment, by the recommendation of his relation, who was married to the sister of that nobleman. He, however, soon lost the preferment which he had obtained, through some seditious letters which he wrote, and had fallen into the hands of the earl. Retiring to the Highlands, he lived for some time with his father, at Beaufort, a farm which they had obtained, for a subsistence, from the Lord Lovat. That nobleman, dying in the year 1696, left four daughters. Thomas Frazer of Beaufort and his son Simon, collecting some disorderly persons, attempted to seize the estate, as nearest male heirs. Terrified, however, by a prosecution at law, they formally renounced their claims. But, in the month of September 1697, Simon Frazer entered, with an armed force, the house of the widow of the Lord Lovat, seized her person, ordered the marriage ceremony to be pronounced, in the midst of the sound of a bagpipe, with which he endeavoured to drown the lady's cries, and having stript her naked, by cutting off her stays with his dagger, forced her to bed, and consummated the pretended marriage, amidst the noise and riot of his desperate attendants.

He is pardoned by King William.

PURSUED with some troops, by the lady's father, the Marquis of Athol, Frazer was forced to abandon the kingdom. The council of Scotland and the court of justiciary, before whom he was prosecuted, declared him a rebel, fugitive, and out-law, offering a reward to any that should seize his person. He fled to France, and applied to the court of St. Germain, for subsistence. But the

y Trial of Frazer. Account of Scottish plot. Lockhart's Mem.

late

late King James, offended at his profligacy, and having heard of his crimes, would neither receive his advances, nor admit him into his presence^z. Despairing of success with the abdicated family, he resolved to assume the merit of betraying their councils to the reigning Prince. In consideration of present or promised services, he obtained, through the means of the noted Carstares, one of King William's chaplains, and a kind of favourite, a pardon for his rebellion and other public crimes. The rape upon the widow of the Lord Lovat, not being mentioned in the pardon, Frazer was prosecuted for that crime by the lady and her friends. He was forced again to retire to France, in the year 1702; but not, perhaps, without instructions for his conduct in that kingdom, from Mr. Carstares and men of great rank of the same party. The Duke of Argyle, in particular, was his patron and friend, from an hereditary feud between his family and that of Athol; which last, on account of the rape, were the enemies of Frazer.

CHAR.
V.
1704.

The Earl of Middleton, who then possessed the most credit at St. Germain, had adopted the bad opinion entertained by the late King James of the character of Frazer. The latter, therefore, applied to Queen Mary, through Sir John Maclean; and, as that unfortunate Princess grasped at every vain hope held forth to her son, she treated Frazer with kindness, and recommended him to the Pope's nuncio^a. Having gained the confidence of that prelate, by reconciling himself to the church of Rome, he was introduced by him to the Marquis de Torcy, as a person that promised to be serviceable to the views of the court of France. Lewis the Fourteenth himself is said to have had an interview with Frazer. But either distrusting his incredible promises, with regard to an insurrection in Scotland, or unwilling to hazard either his men or money without further security, he made him a present of five hundred Louis d'Ors, and desired him to return to his own country, to

Flies again
to France.

^z Lockhart's Mem. Stuart-papers.

^a Stuart papers.

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V.

1704.

bring credentials from those persons over whom he pretended to have so much power. But as the King could not altogether rely upon credentials procured by such an unknown adventurer, he first resolved to send along with him, a Frenchman. The sending of a Frenchman to Scotland, lying under insuperable objections, Lewis found himself obliged to apply to the court of St. Germain's, for a suitable person a native of that kingdom.

Returns and
is made use of
by Queens-
berry.

THE request of the French King were commands to the Earl of Middleton. He received Frazer with a degree of confidence; and gave him, as a credential to the friends of the exiled family, a commission as colonel from his young master^b. The indemnity granted in Scotland, by Queen Anne, in the March of 1703, rendered it safe for any of the adherents of the court of St. Germain's to return to that kingdom. An officer of the name of Murray, under the protection of the indemnity, was sent, as a check upon Frazer, and to bring back intelligence of the state of opinions and disposition of parties in Scotland. Frazer, attended by this gentleman, arrived in London. He directed his course to Scotland, and was met, on the borders of that kingdom, by the Duke of Argyle. He was from thence conducted, by that nobleman, to the Duke of Queensberry, who held, as commissioner, a parliament at Edinburgh. The commissioner having deserted the Jacobite faction in the house, to whom he had vowed fidelity, perceived, that by their joining with the country party, they possessed the power as well as the inclination of being revenged. He, therefore, grasped with eagerness at the informations, which Frazer, either from vanity or malice, gave against his enemies. He knew, that even to fix a suspicion of a correspondence with France, upon the leaders of opposition, would not only ruin their credit with government, but destroy their influence with the nation. To enable Frazer to execute his instructions with facility and freedom, he

^b Stuart-papers, 1703.

granted.

granted him a pass to secure him from being seized, in obedience to the letters of fire and sword, which had been issued against him on account of the rape^c.

C H A P.
V.

1704.

FRASER finding such a powerful support in Queensberry, resolved, in serving his patron, to gratify his own revenge. Having received, from the exiled Queen, a letter without an address, for the Duke of Gordon, he transmitted a copy of it to that nobleman, and retained the original in his own possession, as intended for his great enemy the Duke of Athol^d. The commissioner having conceived an aversion to the Lord Tarbat, lately created Earl of Cromarty, Fraser dexterously contrived to ascribe the declaration of indemnity, obtained in the preceding year from Queen Anne, to his lordship's correspondence with the court of St. Germain. The Duke of Hamilton's principles were already known. But no accusation of consequence could be carried home to him, on the present occasion. Fraser, in the mean time, was permitted to roam through the Highlands, to endeavour to extort promises from the chiefs, to rise in arms for the pretended Prince of Wales. His success was not equal either to his promises or the expectations of his patron. When the parliament of Scotland was adjourned, on the sixteenth of September, he repaired to London, and his allegations not amounting to a sufficient proof, he was provided with money and a pass, under a borrowed name, by the Duke of Queensberry, who applied for that purpose to the Earl of Nottingham, secretary of state. With the pass, he transported himself safely to Holland, and from thence found means to convey himself again to Paris. His design was to procure such letters to Queensberry's enemies and his own, as might hurt their reputation with the world, if not destroy their persons and ruin their fortunes^e.

Goes over to
France to
procure
proofs.

^c Lockhart's Mem.

^d Stuart-papers, 1704.

^e Lockhart's Mem. Journals of the lords. Stuart-papers.

HAVING

C H A P.
V.1704.
and is thrown
into the Bas-
tile,

HAVING arrived at Paris, in the beginning of January 1704, he presented a memorial to the exiled Queen, containing a long account of his own proceedings in Britain, in favour of the pretensions of her son^f. Though he connected his detail with those persons of rank of the opposite party with whom he had conversed, it bore fiction so apparently on its face, that Middleton, who always doubted the honesty of Frazer, was convinced of the imposture. He amused him, however, with cold but polite letters; while, at the same time, he wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, expressing his doubts concerning his fidelity; and signifying his wishes that he might be secured. Captain James Murray, who had been sent to Scotland to discover the truth of Frazer's interest and connexions in that kingdom, returned, in the mean time, to St. Germain. The accounts which he gave of the state of the country and operations of Frazer, were so diametrically opposite to that presented by the latter to the exiled Queen, that no doubts remained of his treachery. Repeated intelligence from England of the discoveries made by the parliament and privy-council, strengthened the proof to such a degree, that Frazer, after having amused Middleton with a series of letters, concerning his own importance, his influence in Scotland, and his loyalty to the excluded family, was thrown, at length, into the Bastile^g.

His plot discovered by
Ferguson.

The vanity of Frazer, his incontinence of language, and a desire of raising his own consequence with his nobler employer, the Duke of Queensberry, by spreading far and wide the bottom of his plot, had betrayed him into mistakes, which prevented the execution of his designs. Having, when he returned to London, opened his projects, in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales, to the famous Ferguson, a more experienced plotter, the latter perceiving his character, suspected his integrity. Under-

^f Stuart-papers, 1704.^g Ibid.

standing,

standing, at the same time, from Frazer himself, that he was often in conference with the ministry of Scotland; and having seen the pass which he had obtained from the Earl of Nottingham, through the influence of the Duke of Queensberry, he wrote his suspicions to the Duke of Athol, one of the noblemen accused. The Duke, conscious that he had never corresponded nor received either message or letter from the court of St. Germain^b, complained openly to the Queen of the conduct of Queensberry and his partisans, in protecting an outlaw, who was hatching the most pernicious designs. Queensberry, to vindicate himself, declared, that he had protected Frazer, in Scotland, upon his promising to make great discoveries; and that he had procured for him a pass, for transporting himself, to procure solid proofs of his own vague assertions. He insinuated, at the same time, that, had not the matter come so soon to light, he doubted not but he should meet with success; and to strengthen his opinion, he delivered to Queen Anne, as for the Duke of Athol, the letter, intended by the exiled Queen, for the Duke of Gordon.

THE Scottish plot had arrived at this state, when it fell under the cognizance of the house of lords. A committee was immediately appointed, by ballot, for the examination of papers and witnesses; and the choice fell on the leaders of the Whig-party. The house of commons, composed chiefly of Tories, found an opportunity of opposing their weight against the proceedings of the peers. Some suspected persons, and among others, Sir John Maclean, having been seized, upon their arrival from France, on the coast of England, the lords, by their own authority, ordered them to be brought before them to be examined. The commons addressed the Queen in favour of the prerogative of the Crown; and complained, that the lords, in violation of the

Proceedings
upon it in
parliament.

^b Stuart-papers, 1704.

known:

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known laws of the land, had wrested the prisoners out of her Majesty's hands; and in a most extraordinary manner, taken the examination, which belonged to the Queen and council, solely to themselves. The plot, from this moment, became obviously a topic of animosity and dispute between the Whigs and Tories. But the heats between the parties were not sufficient to keep long depending this matter, especially on an evidence which could carry home no well-grounded charge of treason to any particular person. The curiosity and fears of the nation were soon dissipated; and the whole affair sunk into the oblivion which it deservedⁱ.

Disputes between the houses occasion a prorogation.

THE difference between the houses concerning the examination of the plot, was heightened by a dispute of another kind. One Ashby had commenced an action against White, mayor of Ailesbury, for refusing to admit his vote in the election of members to serve for that borough in parliament. The cause was carried, by appeal, before the house of peers, where judgment was given in favour of Ashby. The interference of the lords in matters of election, threw the commons, already offended, into a violent flame. They asserted their exclusive right to the sole cognizance of all matters concerning elections; and their votes were answered by counter resolutions of the lords. To put an end to disputes, which seemed daily to increase, through the inveterate animosity between the parties, the Queen closed the session, on the third of April, with a speech from the throne. Having thanked the commons for their large supplies, she recommended that unanimity between the houses which had been lost in their disputes, as nothing could so much contribute to the success of the nation abroad, and their safety and happiness at home^k.

ⁱ Journals of both houses.

^k Journals, April 3, 1704.

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State of parties.—Tories dismissed.—Campaign of 1704.—Attack at Donawert.—Battle of Blenheim.—Its great consequences.—Campaign in Flanders and Portugal, and in Italy.—Gibraltar taken.—Battle of Malaga.—Affairs of the North.—Secret intrigues of Marlborough.—Affairs of Scotland.—Intrigues of parties.—Act of security.—Reflections.—Secret negociations.—Parliament of England meets.—State of parties.—Bill of occasional conformity.—Proceedings.—Marlborough's intrigues with the court of St. Germans.—Quarrel between the houses.—Affairs of Ireland.—Godolphin intimidated, joins the Whigs.—Parliament dissolved.—Campaign of 1705.—Death and character of the Emperor.—Campaign in Flanders, Germany, Italy, and Portugal.—Success in Spain.—Affairs of the North.—Affairs of Scotland.—Intrigues of the Jacobites.—Act for treating about an union.—A new parliament in England.—Proceedings.—Inconsistency of the Tories.—Motion for inviting the Princess Sophia.—Bill of regency.—Proceedings with regard to Scotland.—Parliament prorogued.—Secret conduct of Godolphin.—Campaign of 1706.—Battle of Ramillies.—Conquest of Flanders.—Battle of Turin.—Success of the allies in Spain.—Campaign in Germany.—Naval transactions.—Affairs of the North.—Articles of union settled.—Scottish affairs.—Intrigues of the Jacobites.—Tumults and debates.—Arguments against the union.—The articles approved.—Reflections.—Peace offered by France.—Parliament of England ratifies the Union.—Distress and preparations of France.—Campaign of 1707.—Battle of Almanza.—Siege of Toulon.—Inactive campaign in Flanders.

THE differences which had happened between the two houses of parliament, being considered as a quarrel of parties, had raised a ferment among their adherents, throughout the

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the kingdom. The Whigs, having prevailed in the house of lords, had carried the highest praises of that assembly to the press, mixed with the grossest invectives on the commons, who favoured the principles of their political opponents. The contest for the possession of power, which had ever been the principal motive for the violences of both sides, was managed, as usual, upon topics calculated to engage the minds of the people. The Whigs averred, that religion was in danger, from a fixed design of the Tories to defeat the protestant succession. The Tories, on their part, affirmed, that the Whigs extended their views to the subversion of monarchy itself, and the ruin of the church of England. A credulous multitude were thus tossed between the vicissitudes of hopes and fears, in proportion as either party found means to accommodate their own allegations to the principles or prejudices of the vulgar.

The Earl of
Nottingham

SOME changes made in the ministry after the prorogation of parliament, rendered the high-church party dissatisfied, without gaining the confidence of the Whigs. The Earl of Nottingham, a man of vehement principles, with regard to the high prerogatives of the crown and an implicit faith in the church, was removed from the office of secretary of state. Nottingham had owed to his strict adherence to his party, an importance to which he was not entitled by his abilities. Though not destitute of talents for business, his extreme loquacity^a raised suspicions concerning the solidity of his understanding; and he was so much wedded to his political opinions, that he could hardly live in common charity with men of moderate principles, either in church or state^b. His attachment to the church had rendered him averse from the measures of King James, while that Prince sat upon the throne; but his zeal for the indefeasible rights of monarchy induced him, afterwards, to favour the views of his family. He opposed the abjuration of the Prince of Wales with such vehemence, that he

^a MS. Notes, by Dean Swift.^b Mackay's character.

is said to have shed tears when the bill passed. But he was too prudent, or, perhaps, too timid, to risk, like many others pos-
sessed of the same principles, any direct correspondence with the
excluded family^c.

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THE resignation of Nottingham was attended by the removal
of other adherents of the high-church, from some departments of
importance. The Earl of Jersey, a man who, with a very ordi-
nary understanding, had passed through several of the greatest
offices in the kingdom, was deprived of the staff of lord-chamber-
lain; which the Earl of Kent was said to have purchased with
money, from the influence of the Dutchess of Marlborough with
the Queen^d. Sir Edward Seymour, who through the course of a
long life had, in a manner, avowed his attachment to the ex-
cluded family, but had complied with the times, was dismissed
from the office of comptroller of the Queen's household. Blaith-
waite, who had enjoyed, for many years, the place of secretary at
war, was removed, more, perhaps, from the conveniency of hav-
ing his office to bestow upon another, than for any exceptions
against either his own principles or conduct. Men who judged
superficially of things, looked upon these changes as the conse-
quences of an alteration of system in the cabinet; and ascribed to
their own mistaken opinion concerning the principles of the lord-
treasurer, what had actually proceeded from his prudence.

and several
Tories dis-
missed.

NOTWITHSTANDING the chearfulness with which the com-
mons granted the supplies for the war, and their firm adherence
to Tory principles, the lord-treasurer and the Duke of Marlbo-
rough perceived, from the complexion of the house of lords in the
last session of parliament, that a powerful opposition to govern-
ment was to be apprehended from the Whigs. They persuaded,
therefore, the Queen, that it was necessary either to sway or

Harley and
others ad-
vanced.

^c Stuart-papers.

^d Publications of the times.

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break the party, by bringing into office some of its reputed members^e. Harley, then speaker of the house of commons, though he had uniformly opposed the measures of King William, was deemed, in principles, a Whig, from his being bred a Dissenter. He, however, was supposed too prudent to sacrifice his own interest to the views of party; and as his talents for managing business in the house of commons were known and acknowledged, he became a great object of acquisition to the Lord Godolphin. Harley, therefore, was first sworn in at the council-board; and soon after appointed secretary of state, in the room of the Earl of Nottingham. The office of comptroller-general was bestowed on Mr. Mansel, his friend; and his recommendation placed^f, at the same time, Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, in the place of secretary at war, vacant by the removal of Mr. Blaithwaite.

Campaign of
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THIS expedient, however, would have been found insufficient against the intended opposition of the Whigs^g, had not the singular success of the campaign imposed silence upon those who had prepared themselves for blaming the treasurer and for accusing the Duke of Marlborough. The latter having, in the beginning of the year, visited Holland, and concerted the operations of the campaign with the States, had returned to England before the prorogation of parliament. To carry into execution the plan which he had formed and weighed, he embarked at Harwich, on the nineteenth of April. The success of the two last campaigns, having rendered the allies masters of the Maese and Spanish Guelderland, such a strong barrier had been formed on the side of Flanders, that a small number of forces were deemed sufficient to protect the frontiers of the States, against the efforts of the enemy. Marlborough having found means to convince the Dutch of their security, in that quarter, proposed to march into the heart of

^e Hannover-papers, 1704.^f Ibid.^g Ibid.

Germany,

Germany, to protect the Emperor, now almost threatened with the siege of his capital, by the joint force of the French and Bavarians.

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THE threatened march of the Elector, at the head of the combined army, into the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, was not, however, the only thing that alarmed the Emperor and continued his fears. The insurgents in Hungary, encouraged by France, had possessed themselves of several important places, and offered their aid to the enemy. Leopold, unable to repress their insolence, was forced to shut his eyes on their rebellion^b. He applied, as his last resort, to the Queen of England, through Count Wratislaw, his envoy-extraordinary at the court of London. This minister presented, on the second of April, a memorial to Queen Anne, containing an affecting state of the distressed condition of his master's affairs. The resolution for relieving the Emperor, by carrying the war into Bavaria, which had been previously taken, was hastened by this requisition. The Duke of Marlborough, having settled affairs with the States, left the Hague on the fifth of May, under the pretence of a design to carry the war to the banks of the Moselle, and, by that river, to penetrate into France, while every thing had been prepared for the real expedition to Bavaria and the Danube.

Marlborough's
marches.

HAVING passed through Utrecht to Ruremond, and from the latter place to Maestricht, Marlborough, as he advanced, ordered the British and other troops to join and march towards Coblenz, at the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle. D' Auverquerque, destined to command the army left for the defence of the Dutch frontiers, met the Duke at Maestricht; and his Grace advancing through Juliers, arrived in the camp near Coblenz, on the twenty-fifth of May. Crossing the Rhine at that place, and successively the

into Ger-
many.

^b Hist. de l'Empire d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

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Maine and the Neckar, he was met at Mondelsheim by Prince Eugene of Savoy. To join the army under the duke to the Imperial troops, led by the Prince of Baden, was the result of a consultation between these distinguished commanders. Prince Eugene having hastened to Philipsburg, to take upon himself the command of the army on the Upper-Rhine, the duke advanced toward the Danube, and joined the Imperialists, at Westerstetten; and having arrived on the river Brentz, on the twenty-eighth of June, he placed his camp within two leagues of the Elector of Bavaria's army. The troops of the allies consisted of ninety-six battalions of foot, and two hundred and two squadrons of horse and dragoons, provided with forty-four pieces of field cannon, four howitzers, and twenty-four pontons. The force of the enemy was inferior in point of numbers, consisting only of eighty-eight battalions of foot, and one hundred and sixty squadrons of horse. But they had ninety pieces of cannon, forty mortars and howitzers, and thirty pontons¹.

Attack at
Donawert.

THE generals of the allies having, in a council of war, resolved to attack Donawert, on the Danube, forced the enemy's intrenchments before the place, with the loss of five thousand men, on each side. This action happened on the second of July; and, the next day, Donawert was deserted by the Bavarians; and thus the allies obtained by their victory a bridge over the river, while they separated from one another the troops of the enemy stationed on the Upper and Lower Danube. The position gained by the allies was not, however, sufficient to enable them to penetrate into Bavaria^k, without removing themselves too far from Nuremberg and Nortlingen, from whence they drew their supplies. To avoid a battle, in the situation of the Elector of Bavaria and the French, was ultimately to force the allies to retire back to the Maine. But the Elector having been reinforced with a fresh army

¹ Returns of the armies.^k Hist. de France, tom. iii.

under

under the command of the Mareschal de Tallard, resolved, after a short negociation into which he had entered to amuse the allies, to abandon his own fate and that of his country, to the event of a battle. The opposing armies, after the junction of Tallard with the Bavarians, were equal in number, consisting each of eighty thousand combatants¹.

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THOUGH the allies had passed, without resistance, the Danube, they were incapable, for want of magazines, either to continue long on the banks of that river, or to penetrate into Bavaria. They wished, therefore, with the utmost eagerness, to give battle; and they watched for that purpose every motion of the enemy that might furnish them with the advantage which they so much desired. The evil destiny of France, the ignorance and haughtiness of her generals, the Mareschals Tallard and Marfin, together with the vehemence of the Elector himself, offered, at length, the opportunity which the enemy sought after in vain. Prince Eugene, having marched with twenty thousand men, from the Rhine, to observe Tallard on his march through the black forest, had now joined the Duke of Marlborough. Having prevailed with the Prince of Baden to besiege Ingoldstadt, they rid themselves of the councils of that general, and resolved to give immediate battle to the enemy, which the latter, relying upon the strength of their position, shewed no inclination to decline.

Situation of
the armies.

THE French and Bavarians lay encamped with the Danube on their right. The village of Blenheim, on the bank of that river, stood a little advanced in the front of the right wing of their line. Their left was covered with an extensive thick wood, from which ran a rivulet along their front, into the Danube. This rivulet, as it passed through the plain, formed an almost continued morass, which would have been very difficult to

Battle of
Blenheim,
August 13.

¹ Mem. du Marq. de Feuquieres, p. 251.

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pass, had not the French and Bavarians, by a negligence fatal to themselves, formed their line at a considerable distance behind. When the Elector and the marshals perceived that the enemy, who were encamped with their left to the Danube and their right extending to the wood, were resolved to give them battle, they threw twenty-eight battalions and eight squadrons of dragoons, into the village of Blenheim. Eight battalions were, at the same time, placed in another village, toward the center, with a design, in conjunction with those at Blenheim, to fall upon the rear of the enemy when they should pass the brook; and so place them between two fires. Such was the situation of the French on the morning of the thirteenth of August. Their wretched disposition insured the loss of the battle. Their line, consisting chiefly of cavalry, formed at the head of their camp, was weakened by these large detachments, whilst the enemy were permitted to pass the morasses, formed by the rivulet, without any resistance^m.

The French
and Bava-
rians routed.

THE Duke of Marlborough, who commanded the left of the allies, having formed his line, after passing the brook, ordered the two villages to be attacked by the infantry, while he himself led his cavalry against those of Tallard. After several charges, with various success, the courage of the French horse began, at length, to abate. They retired behind the fire of ten battalions, that had advanced while the cavalry were engaged. These sustained the charge for a considerable time, against the English foot. But the duke, in the mean time, having charged home with his horse the French cavalry, already wavering, drove them in their flight, into the Danube, and most of those who had escaped the sword, were drowned in that river. The ten battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the same time, charged on all sides and cut to pieces. Prince Eugene, who commanded on the right, had attacked the Elector of Bavaria and the Marshal de Marfin. The Prince,

^m Mem. du Marq. de Feuquieres. Kane's campaigns.

however,

however, could make no impression on their line. But when they perceived that Tallard was defeated, they threw themselves into three columns, and quitted the field with great dexterity and expedition. Had they now fallen on the flank of Marlborough, whose troops were employed in pillaging the camp of Tallard, the victory might have been recovered; or, at least, the troops stationed in the two villages, might have been saved. Those at Aberclaw found means to escape, in the confusion. But the twenty-eight battalions of foot and twelve squadrons of horse, in Blenheim, surrendered at discretion, to the allies.

THE battle of Blenheim, which seemed to decide the fate of Germany, turned the whole scale of the war against the house of Bourbon. The loss of the French and Bavarians in killed, drowned, wounded, deserters, and prisoners, amounted to near one half of their army. The Mareschal de Tallard himself was among the prisoners. The camp, equipage, baggage, and artillery of the enemy, fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with every other trophy attending on a complete victory. The battle, however, was not unbloody on the side of the allies. Fourteen thousand men were either killed and wounded, and among the slain several officers of high merit and rank. The troops, under Prince Eugene, meeting with the greatest resistance, suffered the most. The Elector and the Mareschal de Marfin, though they scarce could be said to have been routed, retired, with every mark of a defeat, under the cover of night, to Ulm. They remained in that city only one day; and, having directed their rout through the black forest, joined the Mareschal de Villeroi, on the Rhine.

Consequences
of the battle

No modern victory was ever more complete than that obtained by the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim, and none could have more sudden or more important consequences. The conquests and dominions of the Elector of Bavaria fell, at once, into the

of Blenheim.

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hands of the Emperor, who revenged severely, upon that Prince's subjects, the excesses which had been committed by the enemy on his own. An extent of seventy leagues of country, which had fallen into the hands of the victors, felt all the miseries and ravages attending upon conquest. The French, ruined, broken, and dispersed, left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates, from the Danube to the Rhine. The remains of an army that, at the beginning of the year, extended terror to the gates of Vienna, were now forced to take shelter within the limits of France. The victors crossed the Rhine. They entered Alsace, and the important fortresses of Landau and Trearbach fell into their hands, before the end of the campaignⁿ.

Campaign in
Flanders and
Portugal.

THE campaign in Flanders being merely defensive, on both sides, produced no event either brilliant or important. Auverquerque, who commanded the allies, on the frontiers of the States, bombarded Namur, without effect, in the month of July. The same good fortune which had attended the arms of the confederates on the Danube, was not general on every side of the war. The Archduke Charles, who had taken the title of King of Spain, had landed at Lisbon, on the ninth of March, with eight thousand English and Dutch forces. Philip the Fifth, strengthened with an army of twenty thousand French, carried the war into Portugal, early in the spring. Several places, and particularly Portalegre, fell into his hands; and in various slight rencounters in the field, he defeated the Portuguese. Disputes between the King of Portugal and the Duke of Schomberg, who commanded the English and Dutch auxiliaries, forced the Queen to recall that nobleman; who was succeeded by the Earl of Galway, through the intrigues of Mr. Methuen, the English ambassador at the court of Lisbon. The King of Portugal and the Archduke, having in vain attempted to cross the river Angueda, and invade Castile, were forced to retreat

ⁿ Hist. de France, tom. iii. Siecle de Lewis XIV.

from the presence of the Duke of Berwick, into the heart of Portugal, where they distributed their troops in winter quarters °.

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ON the side of Italy, the Duke of Modena having espoused the cause of the Emperor, was deprived of his whole dominions, by the French, under the command of Vendôme. The Duke of Mirandola, who joined himself to the interests of France, experienced the like misfortune from the arms of the Imperialists. The Duke of Mantua, perceiving that his dominions were become the theatre of war, endeavoured, by marriage, to gain the favour of France. The campaign in Italy proved, upon the whole, favourable for the house of Bourbon. The castle of ^P Suza and the city of Pignerol were taken in June. Vercelli surrendered in July ⁹. The city, the citadel, and the castle of Yvrea fell into the hands of Vendôme, in the month of September. No action of any note happened in the field. The Emperor having employed his chief force in the defence of his hereditary dominions in Germany, found himself in no capacity to reinforce his troops in the dutchy of Mantua. The French, therefore, took place after place, with little resistance; and closed the campaign by the taking of Sensano, on the twenty-fifth of November.

Campaign in
Italy.

THE taking of Gibraltar by the English, and an undecisive battle between the French and the confederates near Malaga, rendered distinguished the naval operations of the present year. The combined fleet that had carried the Archduke to Lisbon, having quitted that port, presented themselves before Barcelona; where a party had entered into a secret agreement with the allies to place that city in their hands. The plot was discovered and disappointed by the viceroy of the province; but he durst neither seize nor punish the conspirators. The fleet quitting the coast of

Gibraltar
taken.

° Hist. de Portugal, tom. ii.

^P June 12.

⁹ July 20.

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Undecisive
fight off
Malaga.

Catalonia, appeared before Cadiz, which city had been placed in a posture of defence by the vigilance of the governor. Fortune conducted the allies thence to Gibraltar, which was ill provided and feebly defended. The inhabitants, terrified at the vivacity and courage of the English sailors, surrendered the place on the first attack; and Sir George Rooke, who commanded in the expedition, fortified Gibraltar, in the name, and under the dominion of the Queen of England^{*}.

THE taking of this important fortress had, at once, an effect on the war in Spain, and introduced another important event. Part of the army employed in Portugal being withdrawn from that kingdom, for the purpose of retaking Gibraltar, stopt the progress of Philip the Fifth. The French fleet, to the number of fifty-two ships, coming to the aid of the besiegers, under the conduct of the Comte de Tholouse, was met, on the twenty-fourth of August, about twelve leagues from Malaga, by Sir George Rooke and the Dutch admiral Calemberg, with an equal force. An obstinate battle ensued, to which the night put, at length, an end. Both sides claimed the victory, and both deserved it, had success depended on valour. Though no ships were sunk or lost, the fleets were so much disabled, that neither shewed any inclination to renew the fight the succeeding day. Willing to get clear of each other, they gradually made their retreat. The French, unable to give aid to the Spaniards before Gibraltar, made the most use of the wind to carry them to their ports; while the fleet of the allies, having left a squadron on the coast of Spain, directed their course to England^{*}.

Affairs in the
Cevennes and
Hungary.

THE want of success, on the side of Savoy, prevented the allies, from sending, as they intended, succours to the insurgents in the Cevennes. The court of France, sensible of the disadvan-

^{*} Naval Hist. Hist. d'Espagne, 11.^{*} Naval Hist.

tage of domestic disturbances, while they were pressed by a powerful and victorious enemy on their frontiers, resolved, with lenity, to overcome men whose obstinacy had, hitherto, defeated all the efforts of their arms. The Mareschal de Villars was, accordingly, sent to treat with the leaders of the insurgents. He agreed, in the name of the King, to grant them the free liberty of their own worship¹. But the fire was rather covered than extinguished². The impolitic conduct of the court of Vienna still continued the troubles in Hungary. The expulsion of the Elector of Bavaria, and the reduction of his dominions, had so much depressed the malecontents, that they were ready to submit upon any reasonable terms. But the fierce and severe policy of the house of Austria, rejected all accommodation, except a total submission, with men whom they accounted the worst of rebels. The insurgents, collecting spirit from despair, and privately encouraged by France, spread their ravages far and wide; and though they were defeated in various skirmishes, Hungary was likely to continue, for some time, a scene of misfortunes and blood³.

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THIS year, remarkable for great events, produced a Revolution in Poland: The cardinal-primate, long in the interest of the King of Sweden, assembled a diet at Warsaw; and the throne was declared vacant, on the fourteenth of February. King Augustus, having issued manifestoes in vain, resolved to support himself with the sword. He assembled his adherents in Poland. He called his allies the Russians to his aid. The King of Sweden, in the mean time, pressed the Poles to elect a new Sovereign. Stanislaus Leczinski, Palatine of Posnania, was accordingly raised to the throne, on the twelfth of July. The war was continued with vigour. The Saxons were defeated, on the sixth of August. They were again routed, on the nineteenth. But, notwithstand-

Affairs of
Poland.

¹ Hist. de France, tom. iii.

² Burnet, vol. iv.

³ Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

ing.

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ing these misfortunes, King Augustus found means to surprise Warsaw, on the fifth of September; and either to disperse or seize the adherents of his rival. He, however, was driven again from that capital, in the end of October; and forced to take refuge in his hereditary dominions; which he almost ruined, by immense preparations for renewing, with vigour, the war for the recovery of the kingdom he had lost^{*}.

A general
joy.

THE great victory obtained by the allies at Blenheim, being chiefly, and very justly ascribed to the valour of the British troops and the conduct and address of their leader the Duke of Marlborough, a general joy was diffused over the nation on account of that splendid event. The Queen appointed a day of thanksgiving for this signal advantage; and with a pomp, not unsuitable to the pardonable vanity of her sex, went in procession to St. Paul's^y. The Duke himself, besides the great reputation which he had obtained abroad, from his success, derived from it a solid advantage at home. On the success of his expedition, his political importance was known to depend. The party excluded from office had, in a manner, openly declared, that they would attack him in parliament; and, it must be confessed, that notwithstanding his great actions, he was not free from faults which his enemies might have seized with advantage. The torrent of his glory, however, came with such rapidity and strength on their designs, that they were levelled, and in a moment ruined. While foreign princes vied with one another to honour him abroad, he became, at home, the darling of a people fond of military fame.

Secret in-
trigues of
Marlborough.

THE Whigs despairing of any success from an opposition to Marlborough, seem, at this time, to have formed designs of inducing him to embark in their own cause. They had long

^{*} Hist. de Pologne, tom. ii.

^y Sept. 7.

observed

observed that neither the Duke nor the lord-treasurer had ever yet, even in appearance, renounced the pretensions of the Prince of Wales. Their object, therefore, was to gain the Duke to the Protestant succession, by a marriage between his daughter and the electoral Prince. But this, with other schemes of the like kind, were dropt as difficult and uncertain^z. The truth is, that though Marlborough and Godolphin had not lately appeared warm in the cause of the excluded family, they still maintained a secret connexion, and encouraged private interviews with the agents of the court of St. Germain^a. The Duke, though, perhaps, not so sincere in his professions as the treasurer, was less guarded in his conduct. In the month of April, when he was preparing to break the power of the French in Germany, he regretted the absence of his nephew, the Duke of Berwick, in Portugal; as he ought to be nearer Britain, to take advantage of such events as might arise in favour of the exiled Prince. He gave, at the same time, the most solemn assurances of his unalterable fidelity and attachment to the excluded family; and directed their agents to apply to the Lord Godolphin, upon any emergency that might arise during his own absence in the campaign^b.

DURING the important operations of the campaign abroad, some transactions in Scotland engaged a part of the attention of the nation at home. The country-party, inflamed at what they deemed an indignity, the interference of the English house of lords, with a plot-supposed to have existed in Scotland, joined themselves more closely with that party whose almost avowed intentions were to serve the interests of the excluded family. The Queen, in compliance with her promise to the house of peers, made no secret of her design to propose to the parlia-

Affairs of
Scotland.

^z Sir Rowland Gwynne's letters.

^a Stuart-papers, 1704.

^b Stuart-papers, April 22, 1704.

ment

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Intrigues of
parties.

ment of Scotland, the settlement of the crown of that kingdom on the house of Hannover. To pave the way for this important business, some changes were made in the administration. The Duke of Queensberry, who had rendered himself obnoxious, by his patronage of Frazer and the plot, was dismissed, to soften the popular party, from his place of secretary of state; and the Marquis of Tweeddale, a man of more honesty than abilities, succeeded him in the office of lord-high-commissioner to the parliament.

PRIOR to the meeting of that assembly, the different factions used every art to strengthen themselves by gaining their opponents. The Duke of Hamilton, considered as the head of the Jacobites, associated himself with the country-party, and sent a deputation of their number to London, to oppose the designs and influence of his mortal enemy the Duke of Queensberry. The persons chosen for this kind of embassy were the Earls of Rothes and Roxburgh, together with Baillie of Jerviswood, men less attached to the principles of their party, than to their own private interest. Having arrived at London, and joined their efforts with the Duke of Athol, they accomplished the dismissal of Queensberry. But, contrary to the intention of their confederates the Jacobites, they promised, in return, to the English ministry, to support in parliament the succession of the house of Hannover. The Duke of Hamilton, and his party, though not ignorant of the designs of their agents, resolved to pursue, with undeviating perseverance, their own. They affected to appear ignorant of the agreement made between the members of the deputation and the court of England; while, at the same time, they gained the adherents of the Duke of Queensberry to a resolution of opposing the succession, by agreeing that no examination of the plot should be made in parliament.

* Lockhart's Memoirs.

IN

In this state of affairs the parliament met at Edinburgh, on the sixth of July. The Queen recommended, in her letter, unanimity of councils, and the settlement of the succession in the Protestant line; and demanded an immediate supply for maintaining the civil and military establishments of the kingdom. The commissioner, the chancellor, and the Earl of Cromarty, now sole secretary of state, supported as usual, the demands of the Queen in a succession of formal speeches. Their eloquence produced so little effect on the house, that they scarce had finished when a motion was made, "that the house, without naming a successor, should stand by and defend her Majesty's person and government. But that the house should agree on such conditions and limitations, to take effect after the Queen's death, as should effectually defend Scotland against all English influence." The house adjourning without debate on the motion, the Duke of Hamilton made an overture, on the thirteenth of July, that the parliament should not proceed to name a successor to the crown, until the Scots should conclude a treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other important concerns. When a motion was made for resuming the consideration of the overture^c, Mr. Fletcher of Salton laid, in a pathetic manner, before the house, the miseries and hardships which the Scots had suffered since the union of the two crowns, and the impossibility of mending their condition without preventing the continuance of the same misfortune^d.

THE eagerness with which these motions were received, convinced the court-party, that the project for settling the succession was ill-timed. To allay the ferment which had prevailed in the nation ever since the Queen refused her assent to the act of security, her English ministers had advised her to gratify the Scots upon that subject. Besides, the opposition had resolved, that till

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VI.1704.
Proceedings
of Parlia-
ment.Act of secu-
rity receives
the royal as-
sent.^c July 17.^d Memoirs of Scotland.

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the act of security should receive the royal assent, no supply should be granted. An act, in substance the same with that which had passed the house the preceding year, was read, for the first time, on the twenty-fifth of July; and, on the fifth of August, it was touched with the sceptre. Though the Duke of Hamilton was in close correspondence with the court of St. Germans, some of the adherents of the excluded family had formed a suspicion of his having views of his own on the crown. The act of security, they said, chiefly carried by his zeal and industry, contained a clause which pointed out the Duke himself for the throne of Scotland. A provision was made, that the successor should be a Protestant, and of the royal line of Scotland; but that the person appointed should not be, at the same time, successor to the crown of England. Next the family of Hannover, who were, in a manner, excluded by the clause, the Duke of Hamilton himself was the nearest Protestant of the royal line; being lineally descended, by a daughter, from the first branch of the house of Stuart, who reigned in Scotland.

Parliament
prorogued.

THOUGH the adherents of the excluded family had gained to their own cause the votes of the adherents of the Duke of Queensberry, with a promise, that the plot which had made so much noise in England in the preceding year, should not be discussed in parliament, it was brought into debate by the Lord Belhaven*. In a digression from the subject of his speech, his Lordship gave a full account of the proceedings in the English house of peers concerning that supposed conspiracy. This circumstance induced Mr. Fletcher of Salton to present a resolve to the house, which he desired might be read and voted. The purport of this overture was, that the English house of lords, by their examination of the plot, and by addressing the Queen, in relation to a successor to the crown of Scotland, had unduely interfered with the con-

* August 9.

cerns of Scotsmen, and had encroached upon the honour, sovereignty and independency of the nation. This motion was opposed with great warmth by the court party, and even by many who had hitherto been considered as members of the country party. The thing itself was, however, too popular not to pass. The carrying of this resolution, and another for addressing the Queen, for laying before the house the evidence and papers relating to the plot, finished the business of the session, which was closed by a prorogation, on the twenty-seventh of August^r.

THE refractory disposition of the parliament of Scotland alarmed the favourers of the Protestant succession in England. Though the minister, the Lord Godolphin, was by no means of that number, the natural timidity of his disposition rendered him, in some measure, averse from a conduct which he secretly approved. He perceived, that things could not long remain in their present unsettled condition; and to prevent a crisis of affairs, which he had not courage to encounter, he deserted his principles. There is no reason to believe that he privately encouraged the malecontents in Scotland, to reject the proposal for settling the crown in the house of Hannover. But he had not yet opened that scene of corruption, which, afterwards, quieted the turbulence of the Scots; and which was, perhaps, necessary for the peace and safety of the two kingdoms. The Duke of Hamilton, who knew the principles of Godolphin, expressed his own fears of his want of courage^s. He supposed, before the parliament of Scotland met, that many of the members were to be gained with money, by the lord-treasurer of England; and to meet him, in the line of corruption, he demanded a large sum^h from France, for the purpose of purchasing votesⁱ.

Reflections.

^r Proceedings of the Scot. parl.

^s 25,000 l.

^h Stuart-papers, 1704.

ⁱ Stuart-papers, 1704.

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Secret nego-
ciations and

THOUGH the Duke of Hamilton was unjustly accused in Fraser's plot, as being privy to a descent from France in the preceding summer, he had, in the present year, seriously advised that measure, should matters come to a rupture between the parliament of Scotland and the English ministry. He sent a message to the court of St. Germain, recommending that a force should be held ready on the coast for an emergency. He assured the exiled family, that their party in Scotland, in conjunction with those who adhered to the independence of their country, were resolved, rather than submit to the succession of the house of Hannover, to throw every thing into confusion, and leave the decision of the contest to the sword. He gave it, as his opinion, that five thousand men would be sufficient to re-establish the excluded line, on the throne of Scotland; and eventually to raise them to the sovereignty of England. But before any descent should be attempted he desired to be informed concerning the views and promises of the adherents of the excluded Prince in the latter kingdom; as the force necessary for a successful invasion, ought to be greater or smaller in proportion to the quality and number of his English friends. The Marquis of Montrose, the Earls of Errol, Marshal, Breadalbin, and Panmure, the Viscount Stormont, the Lord Balmorino, the deprived bishops, and many of the chiefs of the highland clans, expressed the same inclinations and adhered to the same sentiments, with the Duke of Hamilton^k.

Intrigues of
the exiled
family.

THE victory obtained in parliament over the proposals of the English ministry, and the condescension of the Queen, in giving the royal assent to the act of security, prevented that rupture for which Hamilton signified his inclination to be prepared. The ministers of the excluded Prince were, however, either incapable or unwilling to obtain, from the court of France, an armament for the invasion of Scotland; and they made, therefore, their ap-

^k Stuart papers, 1704.

plication:

plication for a descent in England. On the twenty-second of June, a memorial for that purpose was presented to the Marquisses de Torcy and de Chamillart. They signified to those ministers, that an attempt on England would be less impracticable and more decisive, than to carry the war into Scotland, though the majority in that kingdom were in the interest of the exiled family. They averred, with reason, that the possession of England would insure the submission of Ireland and Scotland; and that the former was now destitute of troops, or only left under the protection of a few guards and some new levies, dispersed over the face of the country. They represented, that the month of March was the most proper time for a descent, before the supplies were levied or the fleet armed. They concluded with affirming, that nothing then should remain to oppose their master, but a weak Princess, a timid minister, and a mercenary general; who would make a merit of fulfilling their former promises, to insure their own interest and safety¹.

DURING the ideal projects, formed between the court of St. Germain and their adherents in Scotland, the parliament of England met at Westminster, on the twenty-fourth of October. The Queen, having expatiated on the great and remarkable success of the campaign, informed her parliament, that she assured herself they were all disposed to provide for every thing necessary to prosecute, with vigour and effect, the war. She insinuated, that nothing was more obvious, than that a timely improvement of the present advantages, would enable them to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, and a firm support for the liberty of Europe. To accomplish these desirable ends, she demanded a supply from the commons. She told them, that she believed they would find some charges necessary, in the succeeding year, which were not mentioned in the last; and that some extraordinary expences had been incurred, for which no provision

Parliament
of England
meets.

¹ Stuart-papers, 1704.

had.

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They grant
liberal sup-
plies.

had been made. Having assured the two houses of her confidence in their affection, and her own unalterable love for her people, she earnestly recommended such unanimity, temper, and prudence in their proceedings, as might contribute to render her kingdom flourishing and herself happy ^m.

THE commons, as far as the Queen and the public service were concerned, were sufficiently unanimous, expeditious, and zealous. The demanded supplies were granted, without hesitation ⁿ. They provided amply for the sea ^o and land services ^p. They supplied former deficiencies ^q. They guarded against them for the future. They granted to her Majesty, beside forty thousand pounds as a subsidy to the Duke of Savoy ^r, three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, as her proportion of the subsidies payable to her other allies, for the year 1705 ^s. They were as expeditious in finding the ways and means, as they were liberal in furnishing the supplies. The whole business was carried forward with such harmony, cheerfulness, and facility, that, on the ninth of December, all the money-bills received the royal assent. The general joy, which had diffused itself through their constituents, seemed to have communicated itself to the commons. But the spirit of dissension was rather suspended than extinguished.

State of
parties.]

THE lord-treasurer, though a Tory himself and even a Jacobite, had permitted a caution, which his enemies called timidity, to supersede his principles, in the arrangement made in the departments of government, at the close of the last session of parliament. To trim between the two great parties, who divided between them the nation, he had placed moderate Whigs in places possessed by violent Tories. He had the misfortune to lose the latter, and not to gain the former. The possession of power, under the specious name of a difference in opinion, had long been the motive of con-

^m Journals, Oct. 24.ⁿ Nov. 9.^o Nov. 1.^p Nov. 11.^q Nov. 7.^r Nov. 11.^s Nov. 11.

test between these factions; and their mutual animosities had ascended to a height that disdained a divided authority in the kingdom. The trimming Whigs, admitted by Godolphin into office, had promised to manage both parties, by playing their prejudices against one another. This conduct, to make it succeed, required the utmost dexterity and address. Though the parties were so poised, that the weight of government could give to either side, at pleasure, the victory, their contests, especially in their present inflamed state, were certain of embarrassing, if not capable of entirely obstructing the public business.

DESERTED friends become frequently, through pride, the fiercest enemies. The Tories, though as much offended with Marlborough as with Godolphin, resolved to attack only the latter, as the high reputation obtained by the former had rendered him an object too great to be assailed. The bill against occasional conformity, which had been twice lost before in the house of lords, was again introduced by the church party, into the house of commons. To embarrass the ministry and to distress the Whigs, who abetted the Dissenters, a motion was made for tacking the bill to the land-tax bill. The house of lords having no power to alter any money-bill, but either to pass it entire or to reject the whole, that assembly would either have been obliged to agree to the bill, or to put an end to the war, which depended on the supplies. The ministry, especially secretary Harley, himself a Dissenter, procured by his own address and the weight of government, a majority in the lower house, against the motion. The bill, however, was passed by the commons, without being tacked. But, again it was thrown out by the lords. This new disappointment increased the animosity of the Tories against the Lord Godolphin; as they

Bill against
occasional
conformity.

Nov. 23.

Nov. 28.

ascribed.

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Conduct of
parties.

ascribed their defeat, in a favourite project, to the weight which he had thrown into the hands of the opposite party.

The two parties, during the remainder of this session of parliament, seemed to have made an exchange of principles, could a judgment of their private views be formed from their public conduct. When the act of security which had been passed in Scotland, in the preceding summer, came to be debated in the parliament of England, the Whigs and Tories, complained against it with equal warmth. The first endeavoured to derive advantage from a circumstance so favourable to their avowed principles. The latter pretended, from the like motives, to guard against its consequences. The Tories, in their arguments in the house of commons, urged that the passing the act of security tended to defeat the succession in the house of Hannover. But when this proposition was reduced into a motion, it was rejected by the Whigs, though they had professed themselves the only friends of the descent of the crown in the protestant line. The two parties, however, agreed that some vigorous efforts must be taken in England, to obviate the dangers arising from the proceedings in Scotland. The violent, on both sides, were, however, well-pleased at bottom with measures which seemed equally calculated to promote their respective views. The republican part of the Whigs looked upon the act of security as highly favourable to their own principles; and the warm Jacobites among the Tories considered the exclusion of the house of Hannover, as a great step towards the restoration of the excluded branch of the family of Stuart.

Proceedings
of parlia-
ment.

THE house of lords were the first who entered into debate, on the means of obviating the inconveniences which were likely to arise, from the acts passed in the preceding summer, in Scotland. They resolved, on the seventh of December, that no Scotsmen, not residing in England and Ireland, should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, until an union should be made, or the succession

succession settled, as in England. That the bringing in of cattle from Scotland should be prevented. That her Majesty's ships should be ordered to seize such Scottish ships as they should find trading with France; and that the exportation of English wool into Scotland should be carefully hindered". The house having approved of these resolutions, ordered the judges to reduce them into bills. An act for appointing commissioners for treating with the Scots, concerning an entire union, was read a third time, on the twentieth of December, and sent down to the commons for their concurrence. The lords, a few days before, had addressed her Majesty, to put the town of Newcastle in a state of defence, to secure the port of Tinmouth, and to repair Carlisle and Hull. They also requested the Queen to order the militia of the four northern counties to be disciplined and armed; and that a competent number of regular troops should be stationed on the borders towards Scotland, and in the northern parts of Ireland *.

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THE bill formed by the lords, upon their own resolutions, was rejected by the commons, under the pretence of its being a money-bill, on account of the fines appointed to be levied on offenders. They, however, framed a bill to the same purpose, and, having passed it, on the third of February 1705, sent it to the lords, who returned it, four days after, without any amendment. Though the commons found themselves under a kind of necessity to pass a bill expressive of their jealousy of the Scottish act of security, they proceeded, with manifest coldness, in the whole business^r. The more violent Whigs and the most zealous Tories joined, as has been already observed, in opinion, that the unsettled state of the succession in Scotland, might favour their respective views in England. Upon this footing, the bill sent down from the lords, was rejected, in hopes of provoking the upper-house into a resentment, which might defeat the whole affair. The lords, aware of the design of

concerning
the Scottish
act of security.

^w Journals of the lords.

^x Ibid. Dec. 9.

^r Burnet, vol. iv.

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Arrival of the
Duke of
Marlborough.

the commons, disappointed them by passing the bill without amendments, and even almost without debate.

THE unanimity between the two houses, which was apparently forced, on the subject of the Scottish act of security, assumed an appearance of being sincere in their acknowledgment of the important services of the Duke of Marlborough. That general having, in the beginning of November, ordered the English troops to embark on the Rhine for Holland, directed his own course to Berlin, the residence of the King of Prussia. Having, in the space of four days, concluded a treaty with that Prince, by which he engaged to send eight thousand men to the aid of the Duke of Savoy; the Duke quitted Berlin, and arrived at the court of Hannover, on the twentieth of November. On the second of December, he arrived at the Hague. Having concerted the operations of the next campaign, with the States, he embarked in the Maese, and, accompanied by the Marechal de Tallard and twenty-six other prisoners of note, arrived in the Thames, on the fourteenth of December. He was, the same day, received at St. James's, by the Queen, with every mark of favour, cordiality, and respect^z.

He is thanked
and reward-
ed.

1705.

THE duke, having next day come to the house of peers, was congratulated upon his great services, in the name of the lords, by the lord keeper, Sir Nathan Wright. The commons, at the same time, ordered a committee of their body to wait upon him, with their thanks, for the success of his late negotiations in the cabinet, as well as for his victories in the field^a. They followed these expressions of respect with more solid marks of their favour. Having appointed a day for considering the services of the Duke of Marlborough, they addressed her Majesty to find means to perpetuate their memory^b. The Queen, accordingly, acquainted the commons, by a message, that she intended to grant to the duke and

^z Life of Marlborough.^a Dec. 15.^b Jan 11, 1705.

his heirs, the interest of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock and hundred of Wooton; and she desired the assistance of the house, in clearing from incumbrance the lieutenancy and rangerhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manor and hundreds, which had been already given away for two lives. A bill was immediately brought in, in consequence of her Majesty's message; and, notwithstanding the number of the Duke's enemies in both houses, it passed into a law without opposition.

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January.

WHILE the Duke of Marlborough was thus publicly gratified by the two parties, and favoured by the Whigs, he continued to make secret professions and protestations of zeal for the interests of the excluded family. A few days after his arrival from Holland, he invited himself to supper with the Dutchess of Tyrconnel, who happened to be then in London. Her attachment to the court of St. Germain, and her knowledge of the Duke's connexions with the servants of the Prince of Wales, encouraged her to remind him of his former promises, and to suggest her expectations from his future services. He answered her in general terms. But when she urged him to agree on particulars, he solemnly assured her, that without descending to circumstances or fixing the time, he would do every thing which honour and justice demanded at his hands^c. The Lord Godolphin himself, though proscribed by the Tories, as affecting the principles and views of the Whigs, notwithstanding his natural caution, had, it seems, at the same time, given a proof of the continuance of his zeal for the excluded family, by insinuating to their agents, that he would search for an opportunity to pay a part, at least, of the arrears of the jointure due to the exiled Queen^d.

His intrigues
with the court
of St. Ger-
main.

NOTWITHSTANDING this appearance of their favouring secretly the views of the excluded family, Marlborough and Godolphin,

Yet favours
the Whigs.

^c Stuart-papers, Jan. 4, 1705.

^d Ibid.

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1705.

in their public conduct, seemed willing to break with the Tories, who were deemed the enemies of the succession in the protestant line. Though Sir George Rooke had acquired so much reputation by the taking of Gibraltar and in the battle near Malaga, he was dismissed from the command of the fleet, in the beginning of this year^d, on account of his own high-church principles, and the support which his party gave to his actions, in opposition to those of the Duke of Marlborough, in the preceding campaign. Sir Cloudsley Shovel, a man of mean birth, but a good seaman and attached to the Whigs, was raised into the place vacated by the dismissal of Rooke. This circumstance, together with other mortifications arising from the obvious partiality shewn by the minister to the Whigs, raised the resentment of the Tories, who formed a majority of the commons; and contributed to a renewal of the former differences, which subsisted between the two houses of parliament.

Feb.
Case of the
men of Ayles-
bury.

AN object of division presented itself to the commons in a matter in which their own privileges, as they maintained, were very essentially concerned. Five inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury brought their actions against William White, the mayor of that corporation, for having refused to receive their votes, in the election of members to serve in parliament. The commons ordered these men to be committed to Newgate, for a breach of privilege. But the prisoners brought their *habeas corpus* into the court of Queen's Bench; and provided themselves with council, who pleaded, upon various grounds, that they ought to be discharged. The lord chief-justice Holt, who presided on the bench, was of the same opinion, declaring that neither house of parliament, nor both jointly, without the concurrence of the sovereign, have any power or right to dispose of the liberty or the property of the subject. He affirmed, admitting that the com-

^d Jan. 5.

mons

mons possessed a right of punishing persons, with imprisonment, for a breach of privilege, that commencing of a suit was no breach of that kind; that a just cause of action, grounded on the common law, could not be construed into a contempt, without subjecting the rights of the people and the common course of justice between man and man, to the caprice of a body who might chuse to substitute the resolutions of one branch of the legislature, in the place of regulations formed by the united consent of the whole.

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THE three other judges on the bench differing from the chief-justice in opinion, the prisoners were remanded to Newgate. Two of these, however, refusing to acquiesce in the judgment, petitioned for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the lords. The commons, having addressed the Queen not to grant the writ, voted, that all those that were either concerned in managing the writs of *habeas corpus*, or in procuring the writ of error, were disturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the privileges of the commons of England. They ordered the four counsellors who had pleaded for the men of Aylesbury at the bar of the Queen's Bench, to be taken into custody. They sent their serjeant at arms, at midnight, with every circumstance of severity and terror, to remove the prisoners from Newgate. The house of lords proceeding, in the mean time, on the petition for the writs of error, came to several important resolutions. They voted, that neither house of parliament had any power to create new privileges, inconsistent with the known laws and customs of parliament. That every subject of England, who thinks himself injured, has a right to seek redress by an action at law; and that the house of commons, in committing the men of Aylesbury, had intrenched on the constitution of the kingdom, by pretending to give to their own declaration the force of an established law.

Resolutions
of the lords.

Printed Case.

To

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VI.1705.
March.
Counter-re-
solutions of
the com-
mons.

To these resolutions against the commons, the lords added others declaratory of the general rights of the people. They resolved, that every Englishman who is imprisoned by any authority whatsoever, has a right to apply for and obtain his *habeas corpus*; and that the commons, in encroaching, by their animadversions, on that undoubted right, had made a breach on the statutes provided for the liberty of the subject. The lords followed these resolutions with two writs of *habeas corpus*, returnable before the lord-keeper, in behalf of two of the council for the men of Aylesbury, who had been taken into custody by the serjeant at arms, by express orders from the commons. The lower house having voted counter-resolutions against those of the peers, commanded the serjeant at arms, under a promise of being supported and protected, to make no return nor yield any obedience to the writs; and they, at the same time, acquainted the lord-keeper, that the writs themselves should be superseded as contrary to law, and the privilege of the commons of England^e. The flame increasing on both sides, with great fury, the Queen was advised to put an end to a session that promised nothing but turbulence, altercation, and noise. She accordingly came to the house of lords, on the fourteenth of March, and by an immediate prorogation, put an effectual end to the dispute.

A session of
parliament in
Ireland.

DURING these contests in England, the parliament of Ireland met at Dublin^h. The affairs of that kingdom having suffered no material change since the preceding year, the session furnished no transaction of great importance. On the fifth of March, the commons, in a committee of the whole house, voted a supply of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to her Majesty, for the support of the establishment for two years, commencing at Michaelmas 1705, and ending at the same term in the year 1707. A bill, introduced for the improvement of the hempen

^e Journals, March 8.^h Feb. 10.

and

and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom, raised a flame, which a prorogation only could extinguish. A clause in the bill having ascertained the tithes of flax and hemp, the lower house of convocation of the clergy of Ireland presented a memorial, signed by the prolocutor, requesting the commons, that a clause so detrimental to their interest should not pass, till their reasons against it should be heard. The commons ordered the person who brought the memorial to be committed for a breach of privilege. They voted, that the convocation, by pretending to have any care of the civil rights of the clergy, were guilty of a contempt of the house. They, at the same time, signified their expectation, that the convocation should make submission and acknowledge their error. That assembly adhering to their memorial, the commons ordered that all matters concerning it should be erased from the journals and books of the convocation; upon which, the lord-lieutenant, to put an end to the dispute, sent a message to both houses, commanding them to adjourn¹ to the first of May.

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THE parliament of England was scarce prorogued, when a material change happened in the higher departments of the state. The natural timidity of the Lord Godolphin, at perpetual variance with his inclinations in favour of the excluded branch of the royal family, produced contradictions and inconsistencies in his conduct, that were unaccountable, at the time, as his motives were unknown. The Duke of Marlborough, in his conferences with the agents of the court of St. Germans, had insinuated in the name of the treasurer as well as in his own, that effectual measures should be taken in the preceding summer, to prevent the settlement of the crown upon the house of Hannover from passing into a law in Scotland^k. When, therefore, the Queen recommended to the Scottish parliament to settle the succession in the Protestant line, it was suspected, with reason, that her

The treasurer intimidated,

¹ March 21.

^k Stuart-papers, April 1705.

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joins the
Whigs.

REVEALED WILL, as the Earl of Cromarty expressed himself in his speech in the house, was very different from the SECRET INCLINATIONS of her English minister. This circumstance induced many who were in the service of the Crown, to join the country-party in the vote which rejected the proposal of settling the succession on the family of Hannover¹.

THE active leaders of the Whig-party in England, having turned their whole attention toward the means of possessing themselves of power, kept a watchful eye on Godolphin. They were no strangers to his character, and they were resolved to work upon his fears. The Lord Wharton, in particular, knowing that nothing calculated to intimidate, would be lost on Godolphin, said, upon passing the act of security in Scotland, that he "had now the treasurer's head in a bag." The expression was coarse, but it had all its weight with the minister. The Lord Haversham represented to him his danger in a set speech in the house of lords. To save himself from their resentment, he made great advances to the party during the session; and when it was closed, in the middle of March, he performed his engagements, by admitting some into office, and opening to others a prospect of preferment. The Duke of Newcastle, though during the late reign secretly in the interest of the excluded family, and in correspondence with the court of St. Germain^m, was considered by the nation as one of the principal leaders of the Whigs; and as such he was raisedⁿ to the office of lord-privy-seal, vacant by the dismissal of the Duke of Buckingham, who was known to adhere to the principles of the Tories. Some other changes of less importance convinced the latter, that the current of preferment ran in a channel very different from their own.

Parliament
dissolved.

THE Whigs, now favoured by the Court, were soon after furnished with an opportunity of securing to themselves, effec-

¹ Proceedings of the Parl.^m Stuart-papers, 1694.ⁿ March 27.

tually,

tually, the advantage which they had extorted from Godolphin's fears. The present parliament, in consequence of the triennial act being near expiring, the Queen, to preserve the ancient prerogatives of the Crown, chose to dissolve it by proclamation, on the fifth of April. The tumult, clamour, and confusion that commonly attend general elections, were now raised to an unusual height, by the contests and animosities between parties. The Whigs, more active than their antagonists, applied themselves to the prejudices of the vulgar. They had the art to render the Tories odious where the returns depended on the humours of the populace; and having the countenance of Government, together with the moneyed interest on their side, they were enabled to awe the timid and to gain the venal. Besides, the principles which they held forth to the public, were better qualified than those of their opponents to gain the independent part of mankind, as they flattered their pride. The result of the whole was, that the elections in general went in favour of the Whigs, especially in boroughs; and thus the Tories found themselves at once divested of a power, which they had neither the courage to exert with spirit, nor the prudence to use with moderation.

DURING these domestic transactions, the war was carried on abroad with a degree of ardour. The Duke of Marlborough arrived in Holland in the beginning of April; and having concerted the operations of the campaign with the States, took the field in the first week in May. His great object was to improve the victories of the preceding campaign, by carrying the war by the Moselle into the heart of France. With the same number of troops as in the last year, he marched through the country of Limbourg; and being joined near Treves by the Prince of Hesse, he crossed the Moselle and the Saar, marched to the defile of Taveren, and advanced to Elft. The French apprized of the de-

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signs of Marlborough, had assembled an army of seventy thousand men on that side, under the command of the Marechal de Villars, who, occupying a strong camp at Sirk, resolved to remain on the defensive. The prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialists, either from a personal dislike to Marlborough, or unprovided with the means of taking the field, disappointed him in his promise of joining the allies with the German troops; and thus the Duke remained inactive in his camp, for the space of a month, in daily hopes of a reinforcement that never arrived^a.

Death of the
Emperor.

THE death of the Emperor Leopold, which happened on the sixth of May, changed, in nothing, the face of affairs. That Prince born with a degree of virtue, was destitute of talents. The apparent line of ambition which passed through his whole conduct, was rather the disposition of his court than any passion of his own. His son, who had been, several years before, created King of the Romans, succeeded him in the Imperial dignity. That Prince inherited his father's ministers as well as his dominions; and the same counsels continued to act under the name of Joseph, that had uniformly prevailed in the reign of Leopold. The succession to the Spanish throne, the increase of the Imperial power, on the ruins of the authority of the German princes, and the reduction of the insurgents in Hungary, were the principal objects of the present as well as of the late Emperor. But Joseph was better calculated than his father to succeed in these views. His mind was active and full of fire, his disposition vehement, his character enterprising; and to an industry, which ran violently from one scheme to another, he added a firmness of soul, that disdained to yield either to accident or misfortune.

Slow mea-
sures of the
Germans.

THE new Emperor, however, was incapable of infusing his own fire into the sluggish Germanic body, already languishing

^a Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

for repose. Destitute of resources at home, he could not even animate into action his hereditary troops; or furnish his part of the strength employed, by the allies, against the common enemy. This inability in the court of Vienna, combining with the envious and obstinate disposition of the Prince of Baden, forced Marlborough to abandon his designs of carrying the war into France, by the course of the Moselle. During the time that general remained at Delft, the French, under the Elector of Bavaria and the Marechal de Villeroi, had taken Hui^r, and were on their march to Liege. The States, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, requested the duke to quit the Moselle, and to hasten back to their aid, on the side of Flanders. Having decamped, in the night, he repassed the dangerous defile of Tavaren without being molested; and, directing his march toward Liege, joined the Dutch under Auverquerque, which induced the enemy to retire beyond their lines. Hui was retaken, on the twelfth of July; and the duke resolved to retrieve, with some enterprize of consequence, the glory lost by the prior inactivity of the campaign^{*}.

To accomplish his purpose, he formed a scheme of forcing the French lines, and encamped within a league of the enemy. The Elector and the Marechal de Villeroi, perceiving the design of the allies, drew their armies together, leaving only small detachments to defend the lines, on either side. The Mehaigne ran about half a league on their right; on the left they had two barriers, for the convenience of the people of the country, at the distance of three leagues. On the seventeenth of July[†] the duke commanded the Dutch to march toward the Mehaigne, by way of a feint; while, at the same time, he ordered ten thousand men to form on his right, and to lie down there, on their arms. When it grew dark, this body marched toward the barriers. They were followed close by the army under Marlborough, and the Dutch, facing about, hastened

Marlborough
forces the
French lines.

^{*} June.

[†] Life of Marlborough.

[‡] N. S.

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Operations
on the side of
Germany
and in Italy.

the same way. The Elector of Bavaria, at length apprized of the Duke's design, ordered the left wing of his cavalry to march to prevent the allies from passing the barriers. He himself followed with the infantry. But the enemy had already formed within the lines. After a fierce shock between the Duke and the Bavarian infantry, the latter were obliged to give way. But ten battalions throwing themselves into a hollow square, marched off in spite of the cavalry of the allies, and protected, as they retreated, their flying friends". The French and Bavarians having, after the action, retired behind the Dyle, the rest of the campaign produced neither movement nor action of importance.

THOUGH the Marechal de Villars had detached a great portion of his army to Alsace and Flanders^w, he found himself superior to the allies, when the Duke of Marlborough retired from the Moselle toward Flanders. The French forced the lines of Wissembourg, on the third of July. Hombourg surrendered, on the twenty-sixth of the same month, to the Marquis de Conflans. But the Marechal, enfeebled by detachments, was, however, unable to defend the lines of Haguenau, against the Prince of Baden; who, though he could not, on account of the advanced season, recover Hombourg, found means to extend his quarters into the enemy's country. On the side of Germany, the campaign could not be said to have been unfavourable for France. In Italy, their arms were, in general, attended with success. Villa Franca fell into their hands in March^x. The town and port of Nice was taken, on the ninth of April. The conquest of this place became important, as it cut off from the Duke of Savoy, every prospect of relief by sea. The Duke de Vendôme, after an obstinate siege of six months, became master of Verue^y. He had the good fortune to repulse, in an obstinate action, the allies under Prince Eugene,

^w Hist. de France. Kane's Mem.^w Hist. de France, tom. iii.^x March 7.^y April 10.

who

who attempted to force the passage of the Adda, at the bridge of Cassano^z. The Duke of Savoy found himself obliged to shut himself up in Turin, without any prospect of relief^a.

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IN Spain, the Marechal de Tessé, was forced to raise the siege of Gibraltar, on the twenty-third of April. He had the mortification, a few days before, to be an eye-witness of the defeat of De Pointis, whose ships, consisting of five men of war, were surprised in the bay, and all taken or destroyed, by an English squadron, under Sir John Leake. The campaign, on the confines of Spain and Portugal, opened favourably, for the archduke and the allies. The siege of Gibraltar having forced the French and Spaniards to draw the best part of their forces to that side, the confederates were encouraged to enter the enemy's country, on the frontiers of Beira and Alentejo. The Portugueze reduced the principal places in the province of Estramadura. Salvatierra, Valencia, d'Alcantara^b, and Albuquerque^c, fell into their hands. The progress of the spring campaign was, however, stopt by a body of French and Spaniards, who forced the Marquis das Minas, who commanded the Portugueze, to retire within the limits of his own country. In the end of autumn, the Portugueze and the other allies who had quarrelled about the projected operations, opened, at length, the campaign, with the siege of Badajox. But the Marechal de Tessé, having thrown a reinforcement of a thousand men into the place, the enemy were forced to relinquish their enterprise, and to retire again into Portugal^d.

Affairs of
Portugal.

DURING these operations in Portugal, affairs of much greater consequence happened in Spain. Five thousand troops, under the joint command of the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudsley Shovel, having, under the escort of a squadron of men of war, sailed from St. Helen's, in the end of May, arrived in the port of

Success of the
allies in
Spain.

^z Aug. 16.

^a Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii.

^b May 8.

^c May 22.

^d Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii.

Lisbon:

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Lisbon about the middle of June. Being joined in that place, by a squadron of Dutch under Admiral Allemonde, and reinforced with some horse, from the Earl of Galway's army in Portugal, they took the Archduke Charles on board, sailed to Gibraltar, and directed from thence their course to the coast of Catalonia. The arrival of such a great force spread terror and confusion through all Spain. The fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were delivered into the hands of the Archduke, without a blow. Barcelona was forced to capitulate; and almost the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia, submitted themselves to the new King. The fleet of the confederates, having retired from the coast of Spain, upon the approach of winter, the land forces of the allies took up their quarters in the heart of that kingdom^e. Though this campaign, upon the whole, was much less unfavourable than the preceding, to the house of Bourbon, it is apparent, that they owed more to the languor of some of their enemies, than either to their own force or their conduct.

Affairs of
Poland.

THE war in Poland, produced some events of importance during the present campaign. The good fortune which had hitherto attended his enterprises, ceased not to favour the active spirit of the King of Sweden. But neither the success of his arms, nor his own abilities and perseverance, were capable of restoring to peace and order that distracted kingdom. The cardinal primate having issued the universalia, a diet was held, in the month of July, at Warsaw, under the protection of a body of Swedes. The Saxons, in endeavouring to disturb the deliberations of that assembly, were defeated by the enemy, and forced to retire with considerable loss; while, in the same month, the Russians were routed by the Swedes, in Courland, with the loss of six thousand slain. But, notwithstanding these advantages, the King of Sweden found it impossible to decide the fate of the war. The Czar, after the defeat of one army, poured a still greater force into Cour-

^e The Earl of Peterborough's conduct.

land,

land, and reduced the victorious Swedes to the necessity of retiring under the cannon of Riga. Mittau itself fell into his hands. The Czar besieged Riga. But, despairing to take the place, directed his march towards Warsaw. Augustus was, in the mean time, a kind of fugitive in his own dominions; while Stanislaus exercised some feeble acts of royalty, under the protection of his maker, the King of Sweden ^f.

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DURING these transactions abroad, the parliament of Scotland met at Edinburgh ^g. The late obstinate and determined conduct of that assembly had involved the English minister in difficulties, from which he could only extricate himself, by gaining, through motives of advantage to themselves, the most active and vindictive of his political enemies. To prevent the return of dangers which he had just escaped, he resolved to use all the power and influence that his office had placed in his hands, to promote the protestant succession, and the union of the kingdoms: measures which both he himself and the Duke of Marlborough had secretly opposed ^h, in the preceding year. To effectuate his purpose, the Lord Godolphin, through the dictates of his own caution and the advice of his friends, came to a resolution of placing the management of the affairs of Scotland in other hands. The Duke of Queensberry, raised to the place of lord privy-seal, was considered as the acting minister; and the Duke of Argyle, an active, forward, and spirited young man, succeeded the Marquis of Tweeddale as commissioner to the parliament. A general change, in the inferior departments, was made; and all the privy-counsellors, laid aside by the preceding ministry, were restored, except Lockhart of Carnwath and Sir James Foulis of Collington ⁱ.

Affairs of
Scotland.

THE removal of the late ministry formed a new party in parliament, which, from throwing its weight alternately in the scale

A session of
parliament.

^f Hist. du Nord.

^g June 28.

^h Stuart-papers, 1705.

ⁱ Mem. of Scotl.

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of the Jacobites and in that of the favourers of the Revolution, acquired the cant name of the flying squadron. These, without any fixed principle on either side, endeavoured, by balancing the two other parties, to seize again the reins which had been struck from their hands. The views of each being fixed on their respective objects, the public business was opened, with reading the Queen's letter to the house. She recommended, with great earnestness, the settling the succession in the protestant line, and an union between the two kingdoms. To induce them to apply heartily to the first, she promised to give her assent to such provisions and restrictions as should appear necessary in such a case; and she signified her desire, that the means of promoting the latter might be followed through the same line, with that marked by the parliament in England^k. The lord commissioner and the Earl of Seaford, who had been appointed chancellor, enforced, in their speeches to the house, the important matters recommended in the letter from the Queen.

Proceedings.

The first motion made in parliament^l, proposed that, prior to all other business, the house should proceed to the consideration of such limitations and conditions of government, as should be deemed necessary to circumscribe the royal authority, under the next successor in the protestant line. This overture, however, was superseded, by a motion for entering, prior to any other matter, upon the trade of the nation. To supply the kingdom with money, two proposals for establishing paper-currency were laid before the house. These were, upon a debate, rejected. But some other overtures regarding commerce, were passed into a law. A council of trade was, at the same time, appointed, to put the laws of commerce in execution; and to bring the exports and imports of the nation into a balance, to be laid before the next session of parliament. During the dependence of this bill, the Duke of

^k Queen's letter.^l July 17.

Hamilton presented^m a resolve, that the nomination of a successor should be postponed, till a treaty with England could be obtained, with regard to the commerce and other concerns of the Scottish nation. Though the flying squadron, if a cant name may be used, joined their votes to those of the adherents of the court, this motion was carried by a great majority.

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THOUGH the cavaliers, in conjunction with the country party, were successful in this important question, the first had formed no great hopes of succeeding to their wishes in parliament. They had, some time before the meeting of that assembly, solicited the court of St. Germainⁿ, for twelve thousand French, as a more powerful argument in favour of their cause than idle resolutions, which, they knew, were destined to be defeated, by the great weight which the ministry of England had thrown into the opposite scale. The pressure of the allies, on every side of the dominions of the house of Bourbon, had rendered such an expedition impossible in the eyes of the court of Versailles; and, therefore, the Jacobites were left to their own address and influence in the Scottish parliament. Encouraged by the success of his last overture, the Duke of Hamilton moved, on the thirty-first of July, that in preference to an act for treating with England, the house should proceed to the consideration of limitations, with regard to the successor to the crown. Overtures for various acts to that purpose, were accordingly introduced; and several were passed, that, in a manner, annihilated the power of the sovereign. Among other securities provided for the subject, an act for triennial parliaments was agreed to by the house. But notwithstanding the solemn promises of the ministry, that it should be touched with the sceptre, when they obtained the act for a treaty with England, the royal assent was refused to the triennial bill.

Intrigues of
the Jacobites,
act of limita-
tion.

^m July 17.

ⁿ Stuart-papers, 1705.

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Act for treat-
ing with
England
passed.

THERE is, however, reason to believe, that the ministry, through the aid of their friends in England were now enabled to convince the parliament, with arguments more solid than vague promises, of procuring the royal assent to the triennial bill. The temper of the house suffered suddenly such a manifest change, that the secret distribution of English money was much suspected, by those persons who remained firm to their former views. The Jacobites and country party perceiving an alteration in the sentiments of many members, when the bill for treating concerning an union with England was brought under debate, endeavoured to defeat, by conditional clauses, a measure, which it was now vain to oppose. The Duke of Hamilton moved a clause importing, that the proposed union, "should no ways derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scottish nation." This overture was so popular, that, but for the negligence of the duke's own party, seven or eight of whom happened to be absent, it must have certainly been carried; and when it even came to the vote, it was lost only by two voices. The other attempts made by the cavaliers to clog the act, were impotent and ill-supported. The act for treating with England was passed, without any considerable amendments; and the parliament having finished this important business, and granted the demanded supplies, were adjourned, on the twenty-first of September.

October.
New parlia-
ment of Eng-
land meets.

ON the twenty-fifth of October, the new parliament of England, after various prorogations, met at Westminster. The great success of the Whigs, in the late elections, appeared in the choice of a speaker, for the house of commons. The high-church party having proposed Mr. Bromley, who had distinguished himself in the debates on the bill against occasional conformity, as a zealous adherent of Toryism, the Whigs opposed him, with the nomination of Mr. Smith. Upon a division, Smith carried the office of speaker,

speaker, by a great majority^o; and on the twenty-seventh of October, he was approved by her Majesty, according to the usual form. The Queen addressed to the two houses a speech, penned by Cowper, the new lord keeper, which, though suitable to the times, shewed that the measures of the court were no longer guided by Tory principles. She urged, with earnestness, the necessity of prosecuting the war, to restore the balance of power, which, she said, the possession of Spain by the house of Bourbon, had destroyed. She demanded the necessary supplies, for supporting the operations of the allies, as well as for exerting the force of her own kingdoms. She informed them of the act passed in Scotland, for treating concerning an union; and she concluded, with taking an obvious part with the Whigs, by declaring that the church was in no danger; a circumstance urged with vehemence by the Tories, to arm the prejudices of the populace to favour their own designs.

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THIS speech was so suitable to the sentiments of the prevailing party, and the subject in general so popular, that an address of thanks was voted by the commons, without either debate or one dissenting voice^p. The supplies, for the next year, amounting, besides the ordinary revenue appropriated to the civil list, and the payment of interest for debts, to more than five millions, were voted, with the same unanimity and seeming zeal^q. The war was not the topic upon which the contending parties resolved to try their force. Public pretences were invariably used throughout this reign, by the leaders of the two parties, to cover their own private designs upon office and the possession of power. The leaders of the Tories, on the one hand, expressed the utmost solicitude for the church of England. Those of the Whigs discovered a wonderful zeal for the succession of the crown in the protestant line. They both assailed the weakness of their less in-

November.
A supply.
Pretences of
parties.

^o 248 against 205.

^p Nov. 1.

^q Nov. 10.

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telligent followers, through these channels; and, arming themselves with the prejudices of the populace, endeavoured alternately to take the cabinet by storm. The Tories, having been deserted by the ministry, applied themselves to the people. Papers, publications, and pamphlets, were written with zeal and propagated with ardour; and the nation were perpetually alarmed with insinuations of secret conspiracies, and open attacks made by the ministry and Whigs, upon the doctrines and even against the very being of the church of England.

Inconsistency
of the Tories.

THOUGH the Whigs yielded not to the Tories, in bespeaking the favour of the populace against their opponents, the latter were guilty of inconsistencies, which threw discredit on their party. To harass their sovereign, to embarrass their political enemies, perhaps to gain some popularity for themselves, and, above all, to vent their resentment against the minister, they had, long before the meeting of parliament, resolved to propose, either by bill or address, to demand from the Queen, that the Princess Sophia should be invited into the kingdom, as the next heir of the crown. A proposal of the same kind, when urged by the Whigs, had been rejected by the Tories themselves, when possessed of power. But neither the inconsistency of the measure, nor its contrariety to their own private opinions, could prevail with them to forego a motion, from which they hoped to derive less advantage to their own views, than a kind of malignant pleasure in disconcerting their enemies. On the fifteenth of November, the Lord Haversham, chosen upon the occasion to be the mouth of the party, after having, in a set speech, inveighed against the conduct of the allies, in the last campaign, and, by implication, blamed the Duke of Marlborough, concluded with a motion, that her Majesty should be addressed to invite the presumptive heir, according to the act of settlement, into England.

* Stuart-papers, 1705.

* Haversham's Speech, Nov. 15, 1705.

HAVERSHAM was supported in his motion, with great warmth, by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester. The resentment of these noblemen against the government and the party now in power, induced them to contradict, not only their own secret principles, but even those which they had uniformly avowed to the world. They urged, that as they had sworn to maintain the protestant succession, they were obliged to adhere to the motion, as the best means to ensure the possession of the crown to the heir established by law. They affirmed, that it appeared, throughout the annals of former times, that the Prince, who first came to England, had always carried the crown of that kingdom. They insinuated, that the pretending successor might be in London in three days, while three weeks would, at least, be necessary for bringing the declared successor to that city. To these arguments, they added others of little weight, as they themselves were deemed insincere. The Whigs, by a strange reverse, were forced to oppose the motion, to preserve their own influence with the Queen. They alleged, that it was neither safe for the crown nor secure for the nation, that the presumptive heir should not be in an entire dependence on the reigning sovereign; and they urged, with propriety, that the rivalry between the two courts, would inevitably involve the kingdom in all the distractions incident to the animosities of counteracting parties and interests.

THE weight of the party in power contributed, however, more to the rejecting of the motion than the force of argument. But if the Tories were not sincere in their professions in favour of the house of Hannover, they were, at least, the means of strengthening the security of the succession of the crown in that family. The Lord Wharton having, with a happy irony, congratulated the house, on the manifest miracle, that had so sud-

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1705.
Their motion
for inviting
the protestant
heir rejected.

A vote that
the church is
not in dan-

Bill of re-
gency.

¹ Stuart-papers, passim.

² Burnet, vol. iv.

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1705.

denly changed the principles of the Tories, an order was made, that the judges should prepare and present to the lords a bill, for the further security of the protestant succession. This bill, by forming an eventual regency, of the first officers of state, upon the death of the Queen, effectually secured the kingdom, by providing a continuation of legal government, till the successor should arrive and assert his own authority. But those who seemed most to urge the invitation to the presumptive heir, were least inclined to the bill of regency. The Tories opposed it in every clause, and proposed additions apparently more designed to gain the populace, than either necessary or even useful in themselves. One of their amendments was manifestly calculated to defeat the intention of the bill, by rendering it ridiculous. It was offered, as a limitation on the regency, that they should possess no power of repealing the very act of settlement*, for the security of which, they themselves were to be invested with that authority.

A vote that
the church is
not in dan-
ger.

THE vehement and inconsiderate measures, into which their own resentment had betrayed the Tories, furnished their opponents with another opportunity of mortifying their pride. A cry that the church was in danger, had been propagated with such industry, without doors, that the Whigs resolved to check the panic which had spread among the people, by a declaratory vote in parliament. The Lord Halifax, having moved for a day to examine into the pretended danger of the church, a debate ensued, more expressive of the violence of the parties, than suitable to the subject. The act of security in Scotland, the loss of the bill of occasional conformity in England, the absence of the next successor to the crown, beyond seas, the increase of presbyterian academies, and the licentiousness of the press, were produced by the Tories, as proofs of the danger of the church. The Whigs argued, on the other side, that the Scottish act of security regarded

* Burnet, vol. iv.

only temporal concerns. That the absence of the successor was supplied by the act of regency. That the bill of occasional conformity having been considered and rejected by the house, the question was now determined; and that the Presbyterian academies were scarce more numerous than those taught by Non-jurors. They agreed with the Tories, that the licentiousness of the press had been carried to extremities; but by none further, than by the pretended friends of the church of England. A vote was passed, with which the commons concurred, that the church was in a safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever should suggest that the established religion was in danger, was an enemy to the Queen, the church, and the kingdom^u.

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1705.

DURING these disputes between the parties with regard to the internal affairs of England, the two houses proceeded almost without debate, in the business of the union with Scotland. The parliament of the latter kingdom had addressed the Queen, against any progress in that important treaty, till the English act which conditionally declared the Scots aliens should be repealed^w. The Whigs having first moved for that compulsory law, the Tories imagined that they would still adhere to their own work. They resolved, therefore, to press them on that ground, by promoting an immediate repeal^x. But their opponents yielding prudently the point, without opposition, they were disappointed in their views. The act declaring the Scots aliens by a certain day, was not only reversed; the Whigs went still further, and moved that the act relating to the manufacture and trade of Scotland should be also repealed. These measures, by opening a way for an immediate treaty, were as popular as they were necessary. Though a majority of the parliament of Scotland were already gained by private means, the body of the people were still inflamed to a degree of fury, with regard to their independence as

Progress towards an union.

^u Dec. 6, 1705.

^w Journals, Nov. 23.

^x Burnet, vol. iv.

a nation.

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Unanimity
with regard
to the war.

a nation. Any backwardness in the parliament of England, on the subject of the compulsory laws, would have brought matters to extremities; and, considering the party in favour of the lineal succession among the English, a war could scarce terminate in any event short of a subversion of the settlement of the crown in the Protestant line.

THE same unanimity which was observed with regard to Scotland, was pursued without deviation in whatever concerned the effectual prosecution of the war. Though the campaign in Flanders was neither splendid nor followed with striking consequences, the reduction of a considerable portion of Spain, through the sole efforts of the English nation, had raised among the people an eagerness for continuing hostilities, which imparted itself to their representatives in parliament. The Duke of Marlborough, having visited Vienna, where he was raised to the dignity of Prince of Mindelheim, by the Emperor, arrived in London on the thirtieth of December. Though he received the thanks of the house of commons, for his services in the last campaign, some attacks, but indirectly, were made in the house of lords on his conduct by the excluded party. The disappointments on the Moselle, were by an implication laid to his charge; and though the blame of the inactive campaign in Brabant was placed to the account of the Dutch, it was apparent, that the Tories, had circumstances become more favourable, intended to pass a censure on the Duke of Marlborough.

1706.
January.March.
Proceedings
of the two
houses.

THOUGH the remaining part of the session was distinguished with no business of importance, the animosities between the two parties filled every debate with altercation and noise. The people without doors were not disinterested spectators of the transactions within. They were roused with libels and pamphlets which

January 7, 1706.

zealots,

zealots, on both sides, poured daily from the press; and they suffered themselves, as usual, to be deceived by the designing, or inflamed by the violent and weak. Among the publications concerning the proposed invitation of the presumptive heir of the crown to England, one commanded the attention and incurred the censure of parliament. Sir Rowland Gwyne, a busy, selfish, forward, and intriguing man; violent in his principles, suspicious through weakness, deceiving others, and, perhaps, deceived himself, by seeing objects, through the muddy medium of a clouded understanding, had repaired to the court of Hannover to gain the favour of the electoral family, by alarming their fears concerning the succession of the British crowns. Upon the subject of the invitation to the Princess Sophia, Gwyne wrote a letter to the Earl of Stamford which found its way to the press. This ill-worded, unmeaning, and confused performance, though it seemed to approve of the principles of the Whigs, severely censured that party for refusing their consent to the proposed invitation of the Princess Sophia into England. The commons, on the eighth of March, voted Gwyne's letter a scandalous, false, and malicious libel. The lords concurred with them in an address, upon this occasion, to the Queen; who replied, that being fully sensible of the pernicious tendency of the paper which they had censured, she would comply with their request, and give orders to prosecute the printer and author^z.

THE great business of the nation being finished, the parliament was prorogued, on the nineteenth of March. The contest between parties, contrary to former experience, had been productive, in this session, of measures considered highly favourable to the prosperity and repose of the kingdom. The Tories, in endeavouring to take the ground of the Whigs, and to appropriate

Parliament
prorogued.

^z March 8.

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to themselves their popularity, produced the act of regency, which gave the first great security to the descent of the crown in the Protestant line. Though the laws had fixed the succession on the house of Hannover, five years before, the supposed attachment of the Queen to her own family, the numerous party known to be well-affected to the pretended Prince of Wales, the prejudices of the people against foreigners, and the memory of the inconvenience of connexions abroad in the last reign, had rendered the success of the act of settlement extremely doubtful. During this state of uncertainty, little court was paid by the subjects of England to the electoral family. Few visited the court of Hannover; and those who made their appearance there, either through zeal or weakness, like Gwyne, hurt the cause which they meant to serve^a.

Act of regency, &c.
sent to Hannover.

THE Princess Sophia herself, either suspecting the sincerity of Queen Anne and her ministers, or misled by the representations of the few English who resorted to the court of Hannover, entertained little hopes that her family should ever mount the throne. She even seems to have placed no value on the acts of regency and naturalization which passed in the present session^b. She probably soon after changed her sentiments. On the fourth of April, her grandson, the electoral prince, was made a knight-companion of the garter. The Lord Halifax, accompanied by Clarencieux king at arms, was sent to Hannover to carry the ensigns of the order to the prince, and to present the act of naturalization to his family. The current began to run with vehemence in that channel. The lords who could claim any merit in promoting the acts in favour of the house of Hannover, made their court with letters full of expressions of attachment and zeal. The Whigs adopted chiefly this mode of removing the unfavourable impressions

^a Hannover-papers.

^b Ibid.

made

made on the minds of the electoral family, by the inconsiderate insinuations of Sir Rowland Gwyne, and other zealots of the same kind.

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The strife between the Whigs and Tories, in shewing an appearance of zeal for the family of Hannover, proceeded more from the selfish views of their respective leaders, than from motives of public good. To secure the good opinion of the people, in countries possessed of liberty, is the shortest way of gaining, and the surest means of retaining power. In the political farces too frequently exhibited by parties, the populace are the spectators; and those who suit their antick gestures best to their prejudices, carry the most applause. Two principles had long been predominant in the minds of the English nation: a fixed aversion to France; and a zeal, which bordered on enthusiasm, for the Protestant religion. The manly spirit which undeviatingly looks forward to public freedom, independent of common prejudices, fell only to the share of a few. The pretence to that spirit, though a stale imposture, seldom failed to impose on the world. The Whigs, when they affected to give the great security to the Protestant succession, paid their court to the populace, in a manner inconsistent with the avowed principles of their party. They repealed, in the bill of regency, the limitations which the Tories had imposed on the successor in the act of settlement; and, with a frankness scarce consistent with common prudence, boasted openly, that they restored to the crown all its former prerogatives. The spirit of party, however, had been carried to such a pitch, that every measure calculated to annoy their adversaries, was deemed, not only justifiable, but even laudable, by both sides.

Observations.

THOUGH the happy timidity of the Lord Godolphin had much contributed to give the great security to the Protestant succession,

Secret conduct of Godolphin.

^c Hannover-papers.

X x 2

he

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he was too much attached to the excluded family to take any merit to himself with their rivals. His actions were even at variance with his principles in his public conduct. In his private capacity, with an odd inconsistent species of sincerity, he avoided to make professions where he wished not to be of service. When he promoted, in the face of the world, the succession of the house of Hannover, he continued his intercourse with the family of Stuart, through their agents^a. His fears of impeachment, however, prevailed over his affection for the excluded race. Though the Duke of Marlborough had promised^a, in his name, to the agents of the court of St. Germain, that no money should be given to gain votes for the union, in the parliament of Scotland, the terrors of Godolphin returned, and he opened the treasury to the avarice of the venal and the necessities of the needy. The secret spring which moved the great measures of his administration, lay in a defect of his mind; and, by a singular piece of good fortune, to his character, his country ascribed to his distinguished parts, a line of conduct which sprung from his political cowardice.

Campaign of
1706.

DURING these important transactions at home, preparations were made abroad for opening, with vigour, the campaign, on every side. The Duke of Marlborough having left the Hague, on the ninth of May, joined, on the twentieth of the month, the united armies of England and the States, between Borchloen and Grofzwaren. France, in an evil hour for herself, had resolved to act offensively in Flanders. The Marechal de Villeroi, issuing from the lines which he had formed behind the Deule, advanced to Tirlemont; and, without waiting for the arrival of the Elector of Bavaria, with whom he was joined in the command, pushed forward precipitately to Ramillies. When his front had advanced to the heights where rises the little Geette, he per-

^a Stuart-papers, 1706.^a Ibid.

ceived

ceived the allies, on full march, appearing in fight. He immediately formed his army in order of battle. The Geete, and an impassable morass running along its banks, covered his left wing; and prevented it alike from being attacked itself and from charging the enemy. The village of Ramillies, situated in a plain near the source of the Geete, was advanced before his centre, which consisted entirely of infantry. The village of Tavieres, on the banks of the Mehaigne, covered his right wing; and an open and level space, between Tavieres and Ramillies, about a mile and a half in length, was filled with one hundred squadrons of horse. In this narrow aperture the battle of Ramillies was fought, on the twenty-third of May^f.

On a rising ground, opposed to the left of the enemy, along the swampy side of the Geete, the Duke of Marlborough formed his right. His line extended through the plain to the left, which was covered by the river Mehaigne. Having, by a feigned attack on the right of the French, which was in fact impracticable, deceived the Marechal de Villeroi, he obtained his purpose of obliging the enemy to thin their left, which introduced a confusion, while it weakened their line in the only place where they could be attempted with advantage. The Duke, in the mean time, ordered Auverquerque, with the Dutch infantry, to begin the battle on the left, while he himself, covering his motions with the rising ground, fell at once on the centre of the enemy, with all the foot that formed his own. The French making a gallant resistance, Marlborough ordered all his cavalry to make a home charge. But, in the hurry, he himself, being a bad horseman, falling to the ground, was in danger of being trampled to death by his own squadrons. Being remounted, he pursued his plan of attack, while, at the same time, the Danish horse, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, fell on their flank, and completing

Battle of

Conte-
quences of
that import-
ant action.

^f N. S. Mem. du Marq. de Feuquieres.

the

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Ramillies.

the disorder which Marlborough had begun, the whole center of the enemy, on which the stress of the battle lay, were routed and put to flight^f. The horse having abandoned the foot with which they were interlined, the latter were cut to pieces.

THE Elector of Bavaria and the Mareschal de Villeroi, shewed more courage in endeavouring to retrieve the battle, than they shewed of conduct in forming their line. They made repeated, but vain, efforts to bring back the cavalry to the charge. The household troops rallied, renewed the battle, and were again forced to fly. To complete the misfortunes of the French, the remarkable circumstance, which happened at the village of Blenheim two years before, was a second time exhibited, at that of Ramillies. Eight battalions, which De Villeroi had placed in that village in his front, maintained their post, till they perceived their main body driven from the field. In endeavouring to retreat, toward their left, which had not been at all engaged, they were attacked by the cavalry of the allies, before they could form themselves in the field. Confusion, slaughter, and flight prevailed. Many were cut to pieces, the rest were dispersed. The right wing, in the mean time, gave way before the Dutch, and directed their flight toward Charleroy. A complete victory remained to the allies. The remains of the enemy, having attempted, in vain, to stand behind the Deule, were forced to retreat from thence, and to take shelter under the cannon of Lille^g.

Conse-
quences of
that import-
ant action.

THOUGH no victory could be more complete than that obtained at Ramillies, the action may rather be called a rout than a battle. The allies, through the wretched disposition of Villeroi, beat in less than a quarter of an hour, an army of eighty thousand men, who left no more than three thousand dead in the field^h, took one hundred pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of bag-

^f Mem. de Feuquiere.^g Ibid. Kane's Mem.^h Mem. du Marq. de Feuquiere.

gage,

gage, together with all the various trophies of war¹. The consequences of this rout were as important in themselves, as they were striking and extraordinary. The fugitives were not to be rallied, till they had carried themselves, not only beyond the pursuit, but even the very report of the enemy. Their first stand was made about eighty miles from the field of battle. Nor durst they even remain at Courtray, where first they formed the appearance of an army. Some were placed in the frontier garrisons of France. The boldest formed themselves into two inconsiderable flying armies, more calculated to amuse, than to oppose a victorious enemy. The total conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate consequence of the victory. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Alorst, Ghent, and Oudenarde, surrendered without firing a gun; and the first stop was put to the progress of the allies, by Dendermonde and Ostende. The latter, however, was forced to capitulate, after the trenches were open eight days. Menin surrendered after an obstinate resistance; and the sieges of Dendermonde and Ath, which were taken successively, concluded, in Flanders, the operations of this important campaign.

THE Marechal de Villeroi being recalled, he was succeeded in his command, by the Duke de Vendôme. The removal of the last from Italy, contributed to fresh misfortunes, which lost to the house of Bourbon, Savoy, Piedmont, and the whole Milanese. The beginning of the campaign in Italy, was favourable for France and Spain. The Duke of Berwick took the castle of Nice, on the fourth of January. Vendôme having defeated the Germans at Calcinato, on the nineteenth of April, ordered Turin itself to be invested, on the third of May. The trenches were opened by the French, on the night of the second of June; and the fate of the war in Italy, seemed to

Campaign in
Italy.

¹ Hist. de France, tom. iii.

depend

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Turin.

depend on the taking of that important place. The Duke of Savoy, avoiding to shut himself up in his capital, and having sent his family to Genoa, retired, with a few troops, to the vallies of Lucerne, among his protestant subjects, the Vaudois. The strength of the town, the bravery of the garrison, together with the languor, and even unskilfulness of the enemy, who were nominally under the command of the Duke of Orleans, protracted the siege to the beginning of September, when a great event put an end, in Italy, to all the hopes and efforts of the house of Bourbon.

PRINCE Eugene, who commanded the German army, on the frontiers of the dominions of Venice, after a long and painful march, and having passed several rivers and many defiles, without being opposed, arrived in the neighbourhood of Turin, in the first week of September, joined the Duke of Savoy, and resolved to attack the enemy. The Duke of Orleans and the Marechal de Marfin, who commanded the French army, had strongly fortified themselves with intrenchments, which extended all the way between the Doria and Stura, at the junction of which is situated the city of Turin. Though the enemy had made little impression on the works, the garrison began to be in great danger, through the want of ammunition. No time was, therefore, to be lost. The Prince, having made his dispositions for the attack, fell suddenly on the intrenchments of the enemy; and, after an obstinate contest, for two hours, entered their camp, drove them from the field, took all their cannon, mortars, heavy baggage, ammunition, and implements employed in the siege. The Duke of Orleans himself was wounded. The Marechal de Marfin was killed. The fugitives, instead of retiring to Casal, which would have maintained the Milanese, directed their retreat to Pignerol. In the space of four hours, the Modenese, the Mantuan, the Milanese, Piedmont, and ultimately the kingdom of Naples, were lost to the house of Bourbon. A complete victory obtained by the Count de Medavi,
over

over a small army of Imperialists, under the command of the Prince of Hesse, two days after the battle before Turin, served only to aggravate the misfortunes of that action^k.

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The house of Bourbon were persecuted in Spain, with misfortunes similar to those which they suffered in Flanders and in Italy. Except the taking of Villareal, which was forced, on the eighth of January, by the Conde de Las-Torres, the whole of the campaign formed one continued train of disgraces and losses. The Archduke Charles having, by the aid of the English, established himself in the winter in Spain, Philip the Fifth, and the Mareschal de Tessé advanced, with twenty thousand men, and shut him up at Barcelona, while the Comte de Toulouse blocked up the place by sea, with a French fleet. When a practicable breach was made, a fortunate accident preserved the place, and, with it, the footing which the allies had established in Spain. A superior fleet appearing, under Sir John Leake, on the coast, the Comte de Toulouse precipitately retired in the night. A reinforcement of troops was thrown into Barcelona. Philip and the Mareschal de Tessé raised the siege in the utmost confusion. An almost total eclipse of the sun, which happened on the twelfth of May, and covered the country with a sudden darkness, completed the consternation of the superstitious Spaniards. They abandoned their camp, their provisions, their cannon, their implements of war; and were pursued, with slaughter, by the enemy, through the uncommon darkness which had excited so much their fear. Philip having taken a circuit, with his broken and ruined army, through a part of the dominions of France, returned in disgrace to Madrid^l.

Progress of
the war.

On the side of Portugal, the English and Portuguese took the field, with forty thousand men, under the command of the Earl of

and success of
the allies in
Spain.

^k German accounts. Hist. de France. Mem. du Marq. de Feuquieres.
^l Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii.

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Galway and the Marquis de Las-Minas. They entered Estramadura, they took Alcantara, they forced Ciudad-Rodrigo, Salamanca, and the post of Espinar. They directed their march, and penetrated, without resistance, to Madrid. Philip the Fifth, having abandoned his capital, removed the Queen and the court to Burgos. The English and the Portugeze entered the city in triumph; and to complete the misfortunes of the King of Spain, he received intelligence, that the count de Sancta-Cruz had delivered Carthagená and the galleys to the enemy. The unaccountable errors of the English and Portugeze prevented the Spanish crown, from being for ever transferred from the house of Bourbon. They loitered in the midst of disease, debauchery, and sloth, at Madrid, till they were roused by the approach of Philip, with a superior force. Galway and Las-Minas were forced to retire from Madrid. Having joined the Archduke, they passed into the kingdom of Valencia; and disposed their quarters in such a manner, as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, and maintain a free entrance into Castile. The Duke of Berwick hung close on their retreat; and, before the end of the campaign, retook Carthagená. But that loss was balanced, by the reduction of the islands of Majorca and Ivica, which the English fleet, under Sir John Leake, subjected to the dominion of the Archduke^m.

Operations
on the side of
Germany.

ON the side of Germany, the French enjoyed a gleam of that good fortune which had formerly attended their arms. The Marechal de Villars, with a well-appointed army, was opposed to the Prince of Baden, who was himself in a declining state of health, while, at the same time, he was ill supported by the court of Vienna. The French forced the Imperialists to raise the blockade of Fort-Louis. They seized the retrenchments of Drusenheimⁿ, which the Prince of Baden had abandoned. They recovered all they had lost, in the preceding campaign; and such was their superior-

^m Hist. d'Espagne. Naval Hist. &c.

ⁿ May 2.

rity and the languor of the Germans, that had not the misfortunes in Flanders and Italy disconcerted the court of Versailles, and weakened, by the necessary detachments, the army of the Marechal de Villars, that commander might have penetrated, with success, into the heart of Germany. But oppressed with the misfortunes which attended the arms of France in every other quarter, Villars discovered a kind of melancholy consolation, in having found himself capable of avoiding disasters, without endeavouring to retrieve, in Germany, the laurels which his country had lost on every other side°.

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THE operations of the fleet, in the Mediterranean, contributed much to the success of the allies, on the side of Spain. But no naval transaction of any importance happened, in the ocean. A Frenchman, who assumed the title and character of the Marquis de Guiscard, had, with a kind of vivacity, which passed upon the world for parts, insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of the English ministry, and formed the plan of an expedition to the coast of France. In compliance with the intelligence communicated by this adventurer, land forces, to the number of ten thousand men, were sent on board of transports, under the protection of the confederate fleets, commanded in chief by Sir Cloudsley Shovel. The Earl of Rivers, a man of a profligate character^p, and venal principles, but personally brave, was placed at the head of the forces destined for the expedition. But the plan was so indefinite and ill-projected, that a contrary wind, which drove back the fleet, and confined the ships of war and transports to the channel, till the season for action was past, might be considered as a singular interposition of good fortune. The avowed scheme of the Marquis de Guiscard was to restore liberty to France. But he behaved himself with such tyranny and folly, in a command in which he had been placed by the indulgence of

Naval transactions.

° Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

^p Swift's Notes on Macky, MS.

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Affairs of the
North.

the English government, that he was recalled from the fleet, at the special request of the admiral.

DURING these important transactions in the south and west of Europe, the affairs of the north and east suffered a material change. The death of Augustus Frederic, Bishop of Lubec, had threatened, in the end of the preceding year, to involve the north in new troubles. Prince Charles of Denmark, and the Duke Administrator of Holstein-Gottorp, had their respective pretensions on the vacant bishopric. The latter took possession in virtue of an election made of himself, in the quality of coadjutor. Prince Charles, supported by his brother, the King of Denmark, made himself master, by force, of the castle of Eutin; while the King of Sweden and the Elector of Hannover, declared themselves on the other side. While the forces of the two last Princes were ready to march against the Danes, the Queen of England and the States of the United Provinces interposed their good offices, in quenching the flame which was ready to involve the whole north in a fresh war. The troops of Denmark retired from the castle of Eutin; and the place was delivered, in sequestration, to the residents of England and Holland. The residents, however, restored the possession of Eutin and its dependencies to the Prince Administrator of Holstein-Gottorp, without prejudice to the rights of Prince Charles of Denmark^a.

Affairs of
Poland.

IN Poland, the invincible courage of the King of Sweden, triumphed over all the schemes of his active and obstinate enemies, the Russians and the Saxons. That indefatigable Prince profited by the winter, and flew to fresh victories along the ice, with which the rigour of the season had covered the rivers and marshes. Renschild, his general, having, by a feint, inveigled the enemy from their strong posts in the woods, defeated the combined

^a Hist. du Nord, tom. i.

armies, with great slaughter, on the thirteenth of February. In this decisive battle, in which no quarter was granted to the Russians, seven thousand men were killed on the spot. Eight thousand prisoners, with the baggage, cannon, colours, and provisions of the enemy, fell afterwards, into the hands of the victors. To put an end to the troubles of Poland, by carrying the war into the hereditary dominions of King Augustus, Charles the Twelfth, with twenty-four thousand men, directing his march toward Silesia, passed the Oder, entered Saxony, and placed his camp at Alt-Ranstadt, near the plains of Lutzen, famous for the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. King Augustus, unable to cope with a powerful and victorious enemy, in the heart of his country, had no resource but in a treaty of peace; which he could only obtain on the most humiliating terms. He was forced to renounce all pretensions to the crown of Poland, and to acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful sovereign of that kingdom.

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His march into the heart of Germany, his victories in the course of the war, the humiliating terms of peace, to which he had reduced King Augustus, the state of the contending powers in general, and the kind of balance which was still preserved, notwithstanding the victories of the allies over the armies of the house of Bourbon, had raised the King of Sweden into the eminent situation of being the umpire of the fate of Europe. Mankind turned their attention to that monarch, in a degree equal to their hopes from his spirit, or their fears from his power. France courted his friendship, with a vehemence proportionable to the distressed condition of her affairs. The emperor dreaded that the presence of Charles in Germany might kindle disturbances, which, by employing the force of the empire at home, might disappoint the views of his own family on the Spanish throne. The diet of Ratisbon shewed a disposition of declaring the King of

King of Sweden feared and courted by all.

* Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

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 1706. Sweden an enemy to the empire. But the Emperor himself found means to soften any resentment that might arise in the breast of that enterprising Prince, by flattering his pride. Besides, the mind of Charles was too much engaged, with the design of reducing the Czar of Muscovy, into the same abject condition with the Elector of Saxony, to permit him to entertain thoughts of any other kind. He, therefore, listened, without being moved, to the instances of France; and yielded to the desire of the Emperor, without any attachment to his cause*.

Articles of
union settled.

WHILE the present year was rendered remarkable abroad, with military transactions of great importance and renown, it was distinguished at home, by an event equally memorable in the civil line. The Queen, in consequence of powers vested in her person, by the parliaments of England and Scotland, had appointed commissioners of both nations to meet, and treat concerning an Union of the two kingdoms. They met accordingly, for the first time, at the Cockpit, on the sixteenth of April; and, having continued their fittings, at intervals, to the twenty-third of July, they presented the articles, upon which they had agreed, to her Majesty. The most material of these were the following: That the two kingdoms should be united into one, by the name of Great Britain. That the succession of the united kingdom should remain to the Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants. That the whole people of Britain should be represented by one parliament, in which sixteen peers and forty-five commons chosen for Scotland, should sit and vote. That the subjects of the united kingdom should enjoy a full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation; and a reciprocal communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging to the subjects of either kingdom.

* Historia Polona, p. 324.

BUT

BUT though the commissioners had settled, without much difficulty, the articles of union, there was reason to apprehend, that the treaty would meet with great opposition, in the parliament of Scotland. The body of the people, either swayed by the adherents of the excluded family, or yielding to the dictates of their pride, were utterly averse to a measure which annihilated them, in a manner, as a nation. The hopes of the court of St. Germain rose in proportion, to the violence which prevailed among the Scots. Relying, in some degree, on the promises of the Duke of Marlborough, that no money should be sent from the treasury of England, to gain votes in Scotland, they hoped that the treaty would be rejected by a majority in parliament; and they extended their views to an immediate advantage to their own cause, from a certainty of the disturbances that were to ensue. Their party in Scotland, endeavoured, in the mean time, to be provided against the worst events. Conscious of the venality of many of their own number, they could not trust the fate of the measure to their avowed principles. They, therefore, demanded succours from France; and resolved to appeal from parliament to the decision of the sword. Having long foreseen what afterwards happened, they had opened a communication with Lewis the Fourteenth, whose interest, they knew, especially in the untoward state of his affairs, was intimately connected with their cause.

THE eagerness, with which the Whigs in England, pressed the ministry of that kingdom to accomplish an union with Scotland, had greatly increased the number of the friends of the excluded family. In the two preceding years, the Jacobites had made frequent proposals to the French King, to which he paid little attention, as long as the misfortunes of the war had left him the power of giving effectual aid. To satisfy himself, however, concerning the solidity of the assurances transmitted repeatedly from

secret in-
trigues

* Stuart-papers.

Scotland,

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Scotland, he sent one Hooke, an English Catholic, and a colonel in his service, with letters from himself and the pretended Prince of Wales, to the leaders of the malecontents in that kingdom. Hooke arriving in the month of August 1705, executed his commission, in a manner calculated to defeat his own views. Attaching himself to a particular set of the cavaliers, he offended the rest; while his extreme vanity and arrogance disgusted some, and rendered all unwilling to trust themselves in his hands. They, however, made general assurances of their fidelity, and promised their utmost exertions in favour of the excluded family, should the French King land the pretender in Scotland, with a force sufficient to protect his person, till his friends should assemble in arms^u.

of the Ja-
cobites.

HOOKE, having received these general assurances, returned to France; and the Jacobites unanimously made choice of one Captain Stratton, as their agent, to inquire into the real disposition of the court of Versailles. They had previously sounded the Tories in England, particularly the Duke of Leeds and the Lord Granville. But they found them more cautious than themselves; and unwilling to agree to any attempt in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales, during the life and reign of his sister Queen Anne. The Scots, however, were not discouraged. Urged by their violent principles, and beyond measure averse to the union, they resolved to hazard every thing to accomplish their views. Stratton was well received by the court of Versailles. But the battles of Ramillies and Turin had disconcerted all their measures. Lewis declared, that he could spare neither men nor money, in the present untoward state of his affairs. That, however, he would search for a more favourable conjuncture, and effectually support the cause of the excluded family. With these assurances, and with letters from the Pretender to the leaders of his party, Stratton returned; and the Jacobites found themselves obliged to abandon

^u Stuart-papers. Lockhart's Memoirs.

the fate of the union to their efforts, in conjunction with the country-party, in the approaching session of parliament.

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THEY, however, entertained no hopes of success, nor had they reason to expect it in a legal way. They were strangers neither to the venality of the members, nor to the effectual measures taken by the court of England to gain a majority, through the channels of ambition and avarice. The repeated promises of the Duke of Marlborough^w, to the court of St. Germain, that no money should be sent to Scotland were little regarded by Godolphin. His fears for himself had overcome his attachment to the excluded family: and, though he seemed, from the wretched pittance he bestowed, in some measure unwilling to ensure success, no sum was too little for purchasing the votes of the Scottish members. A great majority being thus procured, the parliament, to which Queensberry was appointed commissioner, was suffered to meet, on the third of October. The treaty of Union being read, was ordered to be printed, and the house adjourned for seven days. The people, who had been hitherto soothed with favourable reports of the articles, became outrageous, finding themselves, as they thought, deceived. The interval of the adjournment was filled with tumults, clamour, and confusion, without doors. But, within, a determined resolution was formed to adhere to the articles of the treaty^x.

October 3.
Parliament
meets.

THE members in opposition endeavouring to protract measures which they could not prevent, moved for a day of fasting and prayer, to procure the direction of the Almighty in the important affair of the Union. The motion being over-ruled, together with another for a delay of eight days, the house proceeded to the consideration of the treaty, article by article. On every vote, a majority of more than two to one appeared for the

A great majority for the Union.

^w Stuart-papers, 1703, 1706.

^x Lockhart's Memoirs.

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Union. The peers, who gained the least by the treaty, were the most eager for its being approved. Many of that order, in particular the Earl of Roxburgh, sacrificed their former zeal against an union, to promises of being advanced to higher honours. Others yielded to their necessities, or listened to their avarice. Some, who perceived the violence of the Jacobites, abetted, through principle, a treaty, which was likely to put an end to the romantic schemes of that restless party. A few, tired of the unmeaning factions which had so long distracted the kingdom, favoured the Union from a view of repose. All seemed to be flattered with the hopes of extending, in time, over Great Britain, those privileges and honours which were now confined to a narrow corner of the island. These motives combining with that subserviency to the views of the reigning prince, which peers derive from the crown with their patents, threw the weight of the nobility of Scotland on the side of a treaty, that seemed calculated to render their order insignificant, if not contemptible.

Tumults in
Scotland.

THE whole month of October^y was spent in reading and debating, article by article, the treaty of Union. Though no decisive vote was yet proposed, the people perceived from the complexion of the house, that the whole would be approved by the parliament. During the debates the mob rose at Edinburgh, and committed every species of outrage and extravagance. The members who favoured the Union, the servants of government, and the commissioner himself, were menaced and insulted. Those who opposed the treaty were received with the acclamations of the populace every where, and denominated the friends, patrons, and even favourites of their native land. But when, in the beginning of November, the parliament proceeded to approve of the articles, addresses against the Union were poured in from every side. The populace, roused to a degree of fury, throughout the kingdom,

^y Proceedings of Scot. parl.

threatened

threatened to come in a body to Edinburgh, to dissolve a parliament, which, they said, was ready to betray their country. In Glasgow in particular, the inhabitants took arms, drove their magistrates out of the city, insulted such as favoured the Union, and hung, in effigy, the commissioners who had agreed to that treaty. The uncommon rigour of the season could only save the parliament from the vengeance of the people; who, had they not been prevented by the inclemency of the weather, were determined to pour from every quarter to Edinburgh, to tear to pieces the obnoxious part of their representatives^z.

WHILE the populace exhibited such symptoms of fury without doors, the country-party endeavoured to rouse the spirit of the members within. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, the Lord Belhaven, and particularly the Duke of Hamilton, used, upon the occasion, all the force of their pathetic eloquence. On the subject of the unequal representation of Scotland, the latter expressed himself in terms full of animation and force. "Shall we then, in an hour," he said, "yield with a vote, what our fathers maintained, for so many ages, with the sword? Am I now heard by none of the descendants of those illustrious patriots, who aided Bruce to restore the constitution, to revenge the treachery of England, to overturn the mean usurpation of Baliol? Where are the Douglasses? Where the Campbells? Where are the peers, and where the barons, once the bulwark of our nation? Have they left no posterity either to improve on their glory, or to defend the rights which they have transmitted from ancient times? The children of those who aided them in the pursuit of honour, are more faithful to the reputation of their ancestors. The people have neither forgot nor contemned the freedom which their fathers preserved with their blood. But the nobles, a degenerate race, are ready to stain the honours, though they bear the titles of their ancestors. Shall we then tamely give up the independence and sovereignty of our

Debates in
the house.

^z Mem. of Scotland.

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country, when we are entreated and even commanded to preserve them, by those whom we represent? Shall we yield to our fears, or if possible, to meaner motives, when we are assured of the support of a whole nation, roused to rage by indignity and shame?"

Arguments

To these declamatory apostrophes, the Duke and other members added arguments of a more solid kind^u. They averred, that all the advantages from a participation of government with England, and the repose that might be expected from an union with a powerful kingdom, were but mean considerations for the spirit which the people must lose with their independence as a nation. They argued, that though individuals might profit by the change, the country in general must suffer decay from the removal of the seat of government, which, like the heart in the human frame, threw life and vigour from the center to the extremities of the kingdom. They affirmed, that instead of bringing a part of the commerce of England into Scotland, the Union would ruin that of the latter kingdom, by carrying away from their native country, to which they would probably never return, the most enterprising and the most industrious of its inhabitants. They said, that imposts already laid on the trade of England, would more than counterbalance the present disadvantages of that of the Scots, whose imports and exports were less burdened; and they affirmed, that though some change for the better might happen, with regard to commerce in some particular places, that circumstance ought rather to be ascribed to an increase of industry in a few individuals, than to the general prosperity of the country.

against the
Union.

THEY descended from these more obvious arguments, to speculative observations. They affirmed, that Scotland, as an independent kingdom, ought to have met England on equal

^u Mem. of Scotland.

ground.

ground. They said, that an union which deprived any subject of the rights which he already possessed, looked more like terms obtained from the indulgence of conquerors, than a treaty voluntarily concluded between free nations for mutual advantage. They averred, that the Scottish peers, by relinquishing the right of their order to sit and vote in parliament, had betrayed the honour of their country, and actually altered its constitution; and that the small number of the representatives of the people, had effectually thrown the nation under the dominion of strangers, while it deprived many individuals of the honour and advantage of having a share in framing laws by which they were to be governed. They derived an argument against the Union, from the dangers in which it might involve even the freedom of England, and consequently that of Scotland, as united with that kingdom, in its misfortunes, rather than in its advantages. The representatives of the Scots, they said, would inevitably become a poor and despicable race, depending on the purse, and consequently on the will of the Crown; and having shewn so little concern for the support of their own constitution, it was not to be expected they would pay any regard to that of another nation.

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ON the other side it was urged with vehemence, that the Union, in the present state of affairs, was necessary, and that no better terms could be obtained from the English nation. To this the Duke of Hamilton fiercely replied; that "he thought the Scots, being on the same continent with the English, might furnish their own commissioners with a very decisive argument on that subject." A profound silence followed these words^b. None offered to make any reply to an observation which was, in fact, unanswerable. Though Scotland had been long torn to pieces with violent factions and obstinate parties, the Union had become much more necessary for England than for that kingdom.

The articles
approved.

^b Oct. 29.

Had,

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Had, therefore, the parliament of Scotland regarded their own future interest more than a trivial advantage at present, there is scarce any doubt but they could have commanded terms more consonant to the independence which they claimed in the name of their country. But though the Jacobites ascribed the passing of the act of Union to the venality of the members, they might with equal justice accuse their own want of spirit and folly. The Duke of Hamilton himself, who shewed so much vehemence in speaking, yielded, when matters demanded action, to a happy timidity, more decisive, with regard to the Union, than all the purchased votes of his opponents^c. Having settled with all those who opposed the treaty, to quit, under a protest, the house in a body, he shrunk unexpectedly from his own scheme. The country-party, and most of the Jacobites, in disgust or despair, left the town, in the beginning of January, and such articles as had not been hitherto approved, were carried with little opposition^d.

The Presbyterians resolve to dissolve the parliament.

The prudence, timidity, or, according to the Jacobites, the treachery and private views of the Duke of Hamilton, by disconcerting the opposition, were the chief springs on which the success of the Union turned^e. The lower sort of people throughout the kingdom were inflamed to a degree of madness, at the thoughts of being subjected, as they construed the consequences of the Union, to the government and tyranny of the English nation. The act of security, by placing arms in their hands two years before, had rendered them fit for war. The nobility and chiefs of clans, under the sanction of law, had, for two successive summers, called their vassals to the field, formed encampments, and established a degree of discipline. The Presbyterians of the West, who had suffered much under the government of the house of Stuart, were now the most violent to forward their

^c Mem. of Scot. Anna's of Q. Anne.

^e Hooke's Negotiations.

^d Mem. of Scot.

cause

cause, by defeating the Union, and consequently the succession in the family of Hannover. They sent to inform the Duke of Hamilton, that they were preparing to march to Edinburgh to disperse, to use their own expressions, a wretched parliament, who by suffering themselves to be purchased to the betraying of the honour, prosperity, and independence of their country, had forfeited their right to determine for their constituents, and had become an assembly of lawless and abandoned robbers^f. The Duke of Hamilton opposed neither the justness of their opinions nor the propriety of their designs. But he prevented the execution of the latter, by shewing them that it was not yet the proper time. The Earl of Strathmore and the Viscount Stormont made the same violent offers for the counties of Perth and Angus, but they were also disappointed by the Duke of Hamilton.

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THIS mysterious conduct of Hamilton requires to be explained. He was in his principles a violent Jacobite, from the Revolution to the end of the second year of Queen Anne. His undeviating adherence to the interest of James the Second, his industry and negociations in that Prince's favour in England, till the affair of Darien had rendered Scotland a more promising field for intrigue, had gained to the Duke an unbounded confidence from the court of St. Germans. He conducted himself according to their instructions, and THEY paid the utmost deference to his advice. When the country-party, in conjunction with the Jacobites, had carried repeated resolutions in parliament, that the successor to the crown of England should NOT mount the throne of Scotland, a gleam of royalty seems to have opened on the Duke of Hamilton's mind. This cooled his zeal for the family of Stuart and disconcerted his own measures, by being an object too great and too difficult for his limited capacity. Though after the posterity of James the First of England, the Duke was the next

They are
prevented by
the Duke of
Hamilton.

^f Letter of the Laird of Kerland, MS.

Protestant

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Protestant heir to the crown of Scotland, he was, by no means, qualified to gratify his ambition. His estate was not great, and he was overwhelmed with debt. He had few vassals and scarce any followers, except such as looked up to him as the head placed over them by the court of St. Germain. When he hesitated to join in their violent schemes against the Union, he lost their confidence. His most intimate friends deserted a man, who was believed to have betrayed his party. He was openly accused of treachery and venality; and the reflections of others, combining, perhaps, with his own regret, for having abandoned what fortune had placed in his hands, threw him into a violent illness, which threatened his dissolution¹.

Reflections.

THOUGH the terms of the Union were by no means calculated to flatter the pride of the Scots, as an independent people, no expedient could be deemed unfortunate that put an end to their own government, as it then stood. There were radical defects in the constitution of the kingdom, which in the best times and in the ablest hands, could not fail to be productive of perpetual evils to the nation. The estates of parliament, by meeting in one house and voting promiscuously, in all debates, created a confusion and promoted a jarring of interests, more likely to embarrass than to transact the business of the public, with regularity and precision. The number of the peers, the poverty of that order, and their consequent dependence on the crown, by carrying every vote in parliament, left the body of the people, in a manner, without a representative. The weight, which the possession of England threw into the scale of the sovereign, had improved his authority, before the Revolution, into an almost uncontrollable tyranny. The crown was absolute, though government was permitted to retain its ancient form. The blow, which the royal prerogative received in Scotland, in the memorable year 1688, established

¹ Lockhart's Mem. Hooke's Negotiations. Stuart-papers, 1707.

licentiousness rather than freedom, in that kingdom. The parliament were placed in a situation to make the most for themselves, at the hands of the King, while the people felt nothing from the alteration in government, but a change of tyrants.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this untoward picture of the affairs of Scotland, the period of time between the Revolution and the passing of the act of union, produced men of eminent talents in that kingdom. The freedom of debate, which was introduced by the Revolution into parliament, furnished many with the means of discovering their own parts; and animated them with an eagerness, which mankind mistook for public spirit. In an evil hour, for the nation, they were divided into many and irreconcilable factions; a circumstance hurtful in any country, but particularly ruinous, where the field of contest is too small. While they watched the motions of one another, the golden opportunity of mending their own constitution at home, or of incorporating themselves, upon honourable and advantageous terms, with England, was for ever lost. The peculiar situation of the latter kingdom had placed the fate of her monarchy, in some measure, in the hands of the Scots; and the latter could scarce be called unreasonable, should they insist upon meeting their more powerful neighbours upon a footing of greater equality. But in the animosity of parties, all regard for the public was lost; and a kind of mean selfishness, which scarce deserved to be dignified with the name of avarice, took possession of every breast, and marked the age with indelible infamy.

WHILE the great event of the union between the British kingdoms, was ready to secure the tranquillity of England at home, she preposterously rejected proposals for restoring, upon the most honourable terms for herself, the general peace of Europe. The French King, broken with the misfortunes of the campaign, on every

Peace offered
by France.

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side, began seriously to think of putting an end to a war, which had already fallen so heavy on his subjects, and even threatened the monarchy of France with danger, if not with dissolution. Having privately made some ineffectual applications of this kind to the States of the United Provinces, he resolved publicly to signify his earnest desire of peace; and he, for that purpose, ordered the Elector of Bavaria to write letters to the Duke of Marlborough and the field-deputies of the States, to propose the opening of a general congress^k. As a proof of his sincerity, he mentioned at once the terms. He offered the dominions of Spain in Italy to the Archduke Charles, a barrier in the Netherlands to the States, and a compensation to the Duke of Savoy, for the waste made by the war in his territories. In return, he expected, that the territories of Bavaria should be restored to their native Prince; and that his grandson Philip the Fifth, should sit on the throne of Spain and the Indies^l.

Wantonly
rejected by
the allies.

THOUGH these terms were better than those afterwards obtained, considering the expence of treasure and blood, they were not likely to prove agreeable to those who led the counsels of the allies. The Duke of Marlborough was fond of the emoluments as well as of the glory of war. Prince Eugene, besides being actuated by similar motives, carried an irreconcilable aversion to France, into all his views; and the pensionary Heinsius, who had the address to lead the counsels of the States, in acting in suberviency to the two generals, yielded to his own interest. These three distinguished persons, were the great springs that now moved the grand alliance. Besides, the people of England animated with the success of the war, were unwilling to put an end, by a peace, to the amusement arising from further victories. The Emperor, having the good fortune to have his war supported by the benevolence and generosity of strangers, had relaxed his exertions to a degree

^k Oct. 21.

^l Burnet, vol. iv. Life of Marlborough.

that

that suited his convenience; and he was indifferent how long a contest, in which he might gain much and could lose nothing, might continue. The King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy were so little considered, that they were not consulted; and, from all these various causes, Europe was destined to remain, for several years more, a scene of carnage, distress, and confusion. The Whigs, who were now possessed of the whole power of government in England, insulted common sense, in the reason which they gave for rejecting the proposed peace. They said, the terms offered by France were too good to be the foundation of a lasting tranquillity^m; and therefore, that they ought not to be admitted.

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IN the attention paid by the people and ministry, to affairs beyond the limits of the kingdom, nothing memorable could have happened at home. The parliament having met at Westminster, on the third of December, the commons proceeded, with such unanimity, to grant the supplies, that an ample provision was made, in the space of eighteen days, for the service of the succeeding year. Though the excluded party had neither forgotten their own misfortunes, nor forgiven those in office, the splendour of victories abroad, and the reputation of their measures at home, had placed the ministry beyond the power of any successful attack. The church-party, therefore, prudently fell down with a stream which they could no longer oppose. The two houses, in congratulating the Queen on the successes of the war, neglected not the Duke of Marlborough. They thanked him for his important services. As a more solid, and to the Duke, a no less grateful mark of their esteem, they passed a bill to perpetuate his titles to his posterity, in the female as well as in the male line; and they continued to his family for ever, the five thousand pounds a year, which the Queen had granted during her own lifeⁿ.

Dec. 3.
Parliament
meets.

^m Hannover-papers, 1707.

ⁿ Journals of both houses.

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Union ap-
proved by
both houses.

WITH the same unanimity and zeal, the commons made provision for an extraordinary debt, to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds, contracted by the ministry, in fitting out an expedition, which, having failed, as to the design on the coast of France, was directed afterwards to Portugal. They provided, with the same alacrity, for the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds, as an equivalent to Scotland, for paying, henceforth, the customs and excises, in the same proportion with England^o. This sum, though perhaps ill applied, was intended for the recoinage of the money of Scotland, to discharge the public debt, and to repay to the African company, all their losses with interest. As the misfortunes of that wretched body of adventurers, were the source of the disturbances which subsisted among the Scots, for the last ten years, so the prospect of repayment was a great inducement to their reconciliation to the measure which annihilated their government. When the act of the Scottish parliament, confirming the treaty of union, was laid before the English commons, they passed it without opposition. In the house of lords, it furnished a subject for debate. But the minority was so insignificant, that the arguments against the treaty deserve not to be recorded^p.

Parliament
prorogued.

THE parliament having finished, with great temper, the important business of the session, were prorogued, on the twenty-fourth of April; and, five days after, the Queen signified by proclamation, that the first parliament of Great Britain should meet on the twenty-third of the next October. The union of the kingdoms being to commence on the first of May, that day was appointed for a public thanksgiving; and the Queen went, in state, to St. Paul's, a ceremony of which, to judge by its frequency, she seemed to be extremely fond. But though the union of the kingdoms had now commenced in the eye of the law, it could

^o March 13.^p Journals, passim.

scarce be considered as an entire and incorporating union. The privy-council of the kingdom, the officers of state, and the whole ministry were still maintained in Scotland. The servants of the crown, to retain their own authority, as well as to preserve their emoluments, persuaded the Queen that there was a necessity to preserve a show of greatness and a form of government at Edinburgh, to gratify the vanity of the vulgar, and to awe the Jacobites^a. This doctrine continued to be inculcated on the government of England; and the Scots, instead of enjoying the benefit of a general government, continued under the tyranny of a faction of their own countrymen.

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THE proposals of peace offered by France, having been rejected, with marks of disdain, by the allies, Lewis the Fourteenth found himself obliged to make all possible preparations for continuing, with some vigour, the war. The uncommon misfortunes of the last campaign, had embarrassed his counsels, and thrown his kingdom into the utmost distress and consternation. The only circumstance in which he could not blame his fortune, was, that a very favourable season had provided his people with plenty of grain^b. But he was in great want of money to pay his troops, as well as to provide his armies, with those implements of war, which he had lost, on every side, to the enemy, in the preceding summer. To obtain a kind of remedy to this evil, he fell upon an expedient, which distressed the nation while it ruined the credit of government. In imitation of the exchequer-bills circulated by the government of England, he issued bills upon the mint, to the amount of seventy millions of livres^c. But, in refusing to take these bills in payment of the revenue, he threw them into such discredit, that after all expedients to raise their value had been tried, they remained at the discount of near sixty per cent.

Distress of
France.

^a Burnet, vol. iv.

^b Political annals, 1707.

^c Ibid.

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Her prepara-
tions.

NOTWITHSTANDING this domestic distress, Lewis contrived to make considerable preparations against the efforts of the enemy. He extended a line of militia along the coast of the ocean, and the shore of the Mediterranean. He formed an army in Flanders, under the Duke de Vendôme. Another was assembled, by the Mareschal de Villars, in the neighbourhood of Strasbourg. A body of men was ordered to rendezvous in Navarre, another in Rouffillon; and reinforcements were sent to the army commanded by the Duke of Berwick in Spain. The year began, with one instance of success on the part of France. Majorca was retaken by the Count de Villars, on the fifth of January. But this transitory gleam of good fortune was soon obscured, by fresh disasters in Italy. The French and Spanish troops were forced to evacuate Lombardy, by a capitulation signed on the thirteenth of March. Modena¹ and Milan surrendered themselves successively to the allies. The whole kingdom of Naples was reduced, either by the treachery of the inhabitants or the force of the enemy; and the few places in the dominions of Savoy and in the Milanese, that were still held by garrisons of French or Spaniards, fell, one by one, before the end of the campaign².

Battle of
Almanza.

THE victory obtained at Almanza by the Duke of Berwick, on the twenty-fifth of April, changed the whole face of affairs in Spain. The English and Portuguese being possessed, in the name of Charles the Third, of the kingdoms of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, resolved under their generals, the Earl of Galway and the Marquis Las-Minas, to penetrate into New-Castile. Having, for that purpose, passed the river Xucar, they advanced to Almanza. The Duke of Berwick, who had just arrived at the place, hesitated not a moment to give them battle. The action extended from wing to wing. The English infantry penetrated the center of the enemy. But the Portuguese foot giving way, and

¹ Feb. 10.² Hist. de France, tom. iii.

Berwick's

Berwick's cavalry having, at the same time, thrown the horse of the allies in disorder, the battle was soon decided in favour of the French. Never victory was more complete. Six thousand of the allies either lay dead on the field of battle, or were slain in the pursuit. Five general officers, seven brigadiers, twenty-five colonels, above eight hundred other officers, and nine thousand soldiers, were either taken prisoners, or, being surrounded in the mountains, were forced to surrender. All the cannon, standards, colours, equipage, and baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of the enemy. Las-Minas made his escape, with some cavalry to Xativa. The Earl of Galway, with a party of horse, taking the route towards Catalonia, stopt not his flight till he arrived at Tortosa, near the mouth of the Ebro. The Duke of Orleans, taking the command of the French army, the day after the battle, pursued the victory with great vigour. He took the city of Valencia, on the eighth of May; and the whole kingdom followed the fate of the capital. The victors directed their march to Arragon. Sarragossa^w, and in general all Arragon, were again reduced under the dominion of Philip the Fifth; while his rival either loitered in Catalonia, or made an ineffectual progress toward the frontiers of Roussillon^x.

ON the side of Germany, the affairs of the confederates wore the same gloomy aspect. The usual sluggishness and backwardness of the Princes, almost subjected the empire to the same misfortunes from which it had been relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The continuance of the rebellion in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, had rendered the efforts of the house of Austria extremely languid, on the Upper Rhine. The Margrave of Bareith, who succeeded to the command of the Imperialists, upon the death of the Prince of Baden, led an army, inconsiderable in point of numbers, and ill-

Campaign
in Germany.

^w May 25.

^x Hist. d'Espagne.

provided

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provided with necessaries for the field. The French army, under the Marechal de Villars, having passed the Rhine at Strasbourg, forced the lines at Stolhoffen, laid the dutchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, entered Swabia, and penetrated to the Danube. But when Villars was meditating measures which might change the whole face of the war, he was forced to weaken his army by great detachments into France itself, which was now attacked within its limits, by the allies. Towards the end of the campaign, the Elector of Hannover took the command of the army of the empire; and Count Mercy having surpris'd the Marquis de Vivant at Offembourg, the Marechal de Villars was forced to abandon all his great schemes and to repass the Rhine^y.

Dictatorial
behaviour of
the King of
Sweden.

THE invasion of the French was not the only evil which the Emperor and empire had now to fear. The King of Sweden, having remained, during the winter, in Saxony, found very plausible pretences for a quarrel with the court of Vienna. He complained of an insult committed by Count Zobor, chamberlain to his Imperial Majesty, on the Baron Strahlenheim, the Swedish envoy. Though all reasonable satisfaction was given by the Emperor, the King of Sweden, with an obstinacy suitable to his character, increased his complaints and multiplied his demands. He peremptorily required, that five hundred Russians, to whom the court of Vienna had given refuge in the Austrian dominions, should be delivered into his hands. He insisted, that the Emperor should immediately decide the affair of the election of Lubec, in favour of the Administrator of Holstein. That the Protestants of Silesia should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion, according to the treaty of Westphalia. That his Imperial Majesty should relinquish all pretensions to the quota, which the King of Sweden had neglected to furnish, according to the tenure by which he held his dominions in Germany; and that the whole

^y Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii. Hist. de France, tom. iii.

Swedish army, in their return through Silesia and Poland, should be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna^z.

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THE court of Vienna was, by no means, in a condition to refuse these dictatorial terms. But the Queen of England and the States were alarmed, lest the pride of the Emperor Joseph should overcome his attention to the interest of the allies. Queen Anne, therefore, had determined early in the season, to order the Duke of Marlborough to repair to Saxony, to soothe the King of Sweden, and to gain the ministers of that Prince. The Duke, no stranger himself to the power of money over mankind, consulted the Elector of Hannover^a, about the sums to be given, as annual pensions, to the Counts Piper and Hermelin, who conducted the counsels of Charles the Twelfth. The Elector advised, that two thousand pounds sterling should be secured for the first, and one thousand for the latter; and that one year's pension should be paid in advance^b. The Duke, arriving at Alt-Ranstadt, where the King of Sweden held his head-quarters, was received with a degree of politeness, considering the harsh and uncomplying character of that Prince. Whether Marlborough gained Piper and Hermelin, through the channel of their venality, is uncertain, as well as unimportant. His negotiations, by the event, seem to have been crowned with the desired effect; though it is more likely, that the King of Sweden yielded more to his own resentment against the Czar, than to the influence of corrupted ministers. England and Holland having guaranteed the promises of the Emperor to the demands of Charles, that Prince, after having, for more than a year, kept the allies in suspense, and actually held the balance of Europe, threw the whole, at once, from his hands, and, repassing the Oder, entered Poland, in pursuit of fruitless victories^c.

He throws
wantonly
the balance
of Europe
from his
hands.

^z Hist. de Suede, 1707.
du Nord, tom. ii.

^a Hannover-papers, 1707.

^b Ibid.

^c Hist.

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Siege of
Toulon.

THE most memorable event of the year was the siege of Toulon, and the miscarriage of the allies before that important place. The reduction of the Spanish dominions in Italy, and the capitulation signed at Milan in March, by which the French army abandoned that country, left the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene at freedom, to carry the war into the enemy's country. In concert with England and Holland a project was formed, either to destroy or take Toulon and Marseilles; an enterprize, if crowned with success, which could not fail to be highly beneficial to the maritime powers, as well as of great importance to the confederates in general. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, having, for some time, amused the French with marches and countermarches, turned suddenly toward the shore of the Mediterranean, forced the passage of the river Var, advanced along the coast of Provence, and, after a long march, through a hot, rugged, and inhospitable country, arrived before Toulon, on the twenty-sixth of July. Sir Cloudsley Shovel, with a strong squadron of men of war, attended the motions of the allies, supplied the army with necessaries, and blocked up the town by sea^d.

Deserted by
the allies.

THEIR want of intelligence, and the necessary delays in their march, disappointed the views of the allies upon the town. Two hours before Prince Eugene arrived, with the van, the French found means to throw eight thousand men into the place. The fortifications were repaired with incredible expedition. Troops were advantageously posted, on the hills adjacent to the walls. The allies having taken the heights of St. Catherine, were driven from thence, on the fourteenth of August, with great slaughter. The number of troops in Toulon and its neighbourhood, the bad condition of the confederate army, and the intelligence received of the motions of the French, on every side, induced the generals to desist from their attempt. The Duke of Burgundy, with a

^d Naval Hist. MS. Anecdotes.

consider-

considerable force, was on his march to cut off their retreat from Nice. Of twelve thousand horse, scarce four thousand were fit for service, in that rocky country, the iron for shoes expected from Genoa, having been detained by contrary winds. Had the confederates, therefore, remained ten days longer before Toulon, they would, in all likelihood, have been obliged to surrender prisoners of war, such was their own weak condition and the activity used by the French to disappoint the design*. Having bombarded the place, the fleet and army retired, in the night between the twenty-first and the twenty-second of August.

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IN Flanders nothing of importance happened during the campaign. The French, under the Duke de Vendôme, prudently avoided an action; and they managed their motions so well, that they furnished the enemy with no opportunity of attacking them, with advantage. The principal operations at sea, were confined to the fruitless siege of Toulon. The Chevalier de Forbin had the good fortune of taking two English men of war, with twenty merchantmen; and what was still more fortunate for himself, to make his escape after an engagement with a superior squadron. Some advantages were obtained by the English on the coast of North-America. But they sustained a very great loss in the shipwreck of Sir Cloudsley Shovel. That admiral, on the twenty-ninth of September, sailed from Gibraltar, with a fleet of fifteen ships of the line and some frigates. Having arrived in the mouth of the channel, on the night of the twenty-second of October, by a mistake in his course, he steered directly on some dangerous rocks, to the westward of the islands of Scilly. The Association, the ship in which the admiral sailed, struck and foundered, at once, not one of the crew being saved. The same melancholy fate attended the Eagle and Romney; and of the sailors on board the Firebrand, another ship driven on the rocks, only twenty-

Inactive cam-
paign in
Flanders.
Losses at sea.

* MS. Anecdotes.

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four and the captain were saved'. The fate of Shovel was lamented by all. He had raised himself, by his industry and merit, from a common sailor, to the head of the fleet. In his public conduct he was deemed brave, vigilant, and circumspect; and in his private capacity, he preserved the character of a modest and honest man.

Reflections
on the cam-
paign.

THE campaign of the year 1707, though in some degree favourable to the house of Bourbon, scarce suspended their misfortunes. The conquest of Naples balanced the benefits derived from the victory obtained at Almanza; and the siege of Toulon, though unsuccessful on the part of the allies, was extremely detrimental to France. The enemy, in their march and retreat through Provence, ruined a great extent of country. The attempt defeated the projects of France on the side of Germany, by dividing her forces. Villars having penetrated to the Danube, was forced to repass the Rhine; and to relinquish to an enemy, who could not meet him before in the field, all the advantages of a campaign, that seemed to threaten to change the whole face of affairs. A degree of mortification was added to the misfortunes of the court of Versailles. The Duke of Savoy, whose capital was besieged by a French army, in the preceding campaign, was at the head of a powerful invasion in the dominions of France in the present year. But the conduct of the court of France was now as feeble as her misfortunes were numerous. The Salique law seemed to have been made in vain, in a country destined to be governed and ruined by women. Madame de Maintenon, though advanced in years, maintained her influence over the superannuated mind of the King. Flattery to an aged mistress, became a better title than merit, to the command of armies; and thus, the folly of his own councils became as fatal to Lewis as the arms of the confederates.

f Naval Hist.

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Discontents in Scotland.—Intrigues of France.—Hooke's negotiations.—Secret views of Godolphin.—Marlborough's intrigues.—An opposition formed.—First parliament of Great Britain.—House of lords refractory.—Examination into public affairs.—Scotish affairs.—A zeal for war.—Harley's intrigues.—He is dismissed from office.—An invasion threatened.—Pretender sails from Dunkirk;—but returns.—Observations on the invasion.—Views of the Scotish Jacobites.—Parliament dissolved.—Campaign of 1708.—Battle of Oudenarde.—Siege of Lisle.—Siege of Brussels raised.—Corrupt practices of Marlborough and Cadogan.—Operations on the Rhine—in Savoy—and in Spain.—Sardinia and Minorca reduced.—Affairs of Italy.—Death of the Prince of Denmark.—New Parliament.—Whigs promoted.—Laws of treason extended to Scotland.—An act of grace.—Parliament urges the Queen to marry.—Proposals of peace.—Distress of France.—Extraordinary terms.—Preliminaries rejected by the allies.—Marlborough favours the Pretender.—Secret intrigues of Godolphin.—Pretender's views.—Campaign of 1709.—Battle of Malplaquet.—Retreat of the French.—Operations on the Rhine—in Dauphinè—and Spain.—Naval affairs.—Battle of Pultowa.—Overtures of peace.—Secret intrigues.—Affair of Doctor Sacheverell.—He is impeached.—A general ferment.—His trial.—Preliminaries offered by France.—Conferences at Gertruydenberg.—Campaign of 1710.—Operations in Flanders—Germany—and Savoy.—Battles of Almenara—Sarragossa—Villa-Viciosa.—Naval affairs.—Affairs of the North.

THOUGH the Union of the two British kingdoms had been carried in their respective parliaments by a great majority, that measure was far from receiving the general sanction

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of the people. Men who were apt to urge speculative arguments against expediency, affirmed, with a degree of justice, that no representative of a nation had a right to dissolve the constitution from which they derived their own political existence. The generality of the Scottish nation, either swayed by their pride or yielding to their prejudices, were loud in their complaints; and wanted nothing but leaders to appeal from their parliament to the decision of the sword. The populace, in particular, were so eager to take up arms, that the nobility and chiefs were forced to avoid mixing with their vassals, for fear of being insulted for not leading them directly to the field^a. The minister of England, in the mean time, either from negligence or design^b, had made no preparations against the sudden incursion of a people whom he knew to be inflamed to a degree of madness.

Intrigues of
France.

HAPPILY for England, and, perhaps, ultimately for the Scots themselves, the court of France was still more destitute of counsels than of power. Instead of listening to the earnest solicitations of the malcontents, in sending the Pretender, with a force sufficient to protect his person, to Scotland, they dispatched Colonel Hooke into that kingdom, with instructions more calculated to depress the spirits of the Jacobites, than to rouse them to arms. Hooke arriving soon after the recess of parliament, made a secret progress through the northern counties, and presented to the leaders of the Jacobites, letters from the King of France, as well as from the Pretender. The Dukes of Gordon and Athol, the Earls of Errol, Marishal, Panmure, and Strathmore, the Viscount Stormont, and, in general, all the nobility and gentry to the North of the Forth, and many whose estates lay to the South of that river, received him with gladness, and expressed their readiness to take up arms for the exiled family. Their enthusiasm in favour of the Pretender and aversion to the Union were so great, that though it was apparent Hooke's object was to

^a Hooke's Negotiations.^b Stuart-papers, 1707.

engage

engage them in every thing and the French King in nothing, they signed a general memorial, referring implicitly the expected aid from France to the generosity of Lewis the Fourteenth.

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IN this memorial, after a complimentary preamble to the French King, they signified their earnest desire that the Pretender should be immediately sent to Scotland. They affirmed that, upon his arrival, he should be received without opposition as king; and that the established government would instantly vanish without making the least effort for its own support. Out of the great number of men that were to be led by his adherents to his standard, they proposed to select twenty-five thousand foot and five thousand horse. These they promised to clothe, to arm, and to provide with provisions till they should march into England. But, upon that event they insinuated, that a monthly subsidy ought to be paid by France, should the war be prolonged for any time, by the resistance of the English nation to the person whom the memorialists called their lawful King. They solemnly assured the most Christian King, that the whole kingdom, from an aversion to the Union, were unanimous in their wishes for the restoration of the exiled family; and that, as they threw themselves under his Majesty's protection, they were confident he would effectually support their cause. They, however, left the time, the manner, and the strength to be sent, entirely to himself. The whole strain of the memorial was spiritless though vehement. It expressed an enthusiasm for an immediate insurrection, which Lewis, had he been more attentive to his own interest, might have greatly improved to his advantage.

Hooke's negotiations.

TOGETHER with this memorial, Hooke was charged with letters from the leaders of the malecontents to the Pretender and the French ministry. Having arrived in France, in the month of

Conduct of
the court of
St. Germans.

* Hooke's Negotiations.

July,

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July, he laid the substance of his negotiations before the court of Versailles. The Earl of Middleton, who managed the affairs of the Pretender, attempted to add the weight of argument to the offers and solicitations of the Scots. He endeavoured to establish the probability of the success of an insurrection in Scotland, by the recent and still-existing resistance of the Hungarians against the forces and efforts of the court of Vienna. He mentioned, as an example of the same kind, the insurrection in the Cevennes, where a few peasants, without any succours from abroad, maintained themselves so long against regular troops, commanded by Marshals of France. He averred, that nothing was so well calculated to terminate a war, as to carry it into the enemy's country. The King of Sweden, he said, after a series of victories, for five years, in Poland, found new enemies rising, as it were, from the blood of the slain, till, by making a sudden irruption into Saxony, he put, at once, an end to the war and the reign of King Augustus. He affirmed, that the enemies of France were convinced of the justness of these maxims; as appeared from their efforts in Spain, their attempts upon the Moselle, their project of a descent on the coast of the ocean, and the present invasion of the Duke of Savoy along the shore of the Mediterranean^d.

Secret views
of the Earl of
Godolphin.

THE representations of Hooke, the arguments of Middleton, and the repeated and vehement solicitations of the Scots themselves, were lost on the court of Versailles. Happily for Great Britain, the measures of the French ministry were too much disconcerted with an invasion of their own country, to think of carrying the war into that of the enemy. The sullen silence which arose in Scotland, from the anxious expectations of the discontented, was, in the mean time, mistaken by the superficial for an acquiescence in the Union between the kingdoms. The

^d Middleton to M. de Chamillart. MS.

affairs of England, in like manner, wore the face of tranquillity. The attention of the people being turned to the operations of the war, the bickerings between parties were either forgot or neglected. But to those, who from judicious observations on the past, could penetrate into the future, a storm seemed to be gathering behind the transient sun-shine, which, to use a metaphor, enlightened at present the kingdom. The lord-treasurer thinking, perhaps, that he had gone too far, in opposition to his principles, in accomplishing the Union, seemed, from his conduct, little anxious about its continuance. Every measure calculated to exasperate the Scots against that treaty was adopted. Though the revenue of Scotland had fallen under the management of the treasury in England, on the first of May, no care had been taken to issue commissions for new officers.

THE whole trade of the kingdom was suspended for two months, through this negligence; while, in consequence of an act lately passed, seizures were made of foreign goods imported from Scotland, under a pretence that they had been sent to that country to avoid the payment of duties from which all imports from thence had been exempted by the treaty of Union*. These measures, calculated to irritate the Scottish nation against the English, were accompanied with an internal relaxation of government, which raised a suspicion, that the minister, if not the Court, was in the interest of the exiled family. The correspondence maintained between France and Scotland was no secret. But it passed without animadversion; and no notice was taken of public rejoicings celebrated at Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland on the birth-day of the Pretender. The Scots considering all government in a manner dissolved, by what they called the illegality of the Union, were at no pains to conceal their sentiments; yet such

Suspected of
a design to
break the
Union.

* Burnet, vol. iv.

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Marlbo-
rough's secret
intrigues.

was the supineness of the minister, that he seemed to court an insurrection and even an invasion^f.

DURING this suspicious conduct of Godolphin, he and the Duke of Marlborough continued to make their usual assurances of fidelity and attachment to the court of St. Germans^g. The Duke, in particular, seemed to insinuate to their agents, that one cause of rejecting the proposals of peace offered by France, was their not comprehending any stipulations in favour of the exiled family^h. The conduct of Marlborough with regard to that unfortunate race is unaccountable, except on the footing of principle. Neglected by the French and without resources themselves, they were scarce worthy of being deceived, should they even have the weakness to place any confidence in promises so often and so ineffectually made. Had their conviction of Marlborough's sincerity been equal to the opinion which the world had formed of his power, they might, at least, suppose, that their own misfortunes were drawing to an end. The Queen was in the possession of his Dutchess. The affairs of the nation were either in the hands of his friends or in his own. The lord-treasurer, who guided the whole line of internal business, was inseparably connected with the fortune of his family. The Earl of Sunderland, his son-in-law, as secretary of state, was possessed of the secrets of the kingdom; and either the splendour of his own actions, or the art of his conduct, had rendered parliament, in a manner, subservient to his views.

Intrigues in
the cabinet.

NOTWITHSTANDING this appearance of firmness in the fabric reared by Marlborough, it was secretly undermined in a manner that threatened its fall. The Whigs, either suspecting the principles of Godolphin, or what is more probable, from views upon

^f Stuart-papers.^g Stuart-papers, 1707.^h Stuart-papers, April 1707.

his

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his office and influence, were preparing to attack his measures in parliament¹. They were no strangers to his political cowardice; and they were determined to derive some advantage to themselves from his weakness. But when preparations were making against him without, he was privately attacked within the cabinet. A new female favourite had, in a great measure, supplanted the Dutchess of Marlborough in the affections of the Queen, or rather in the dominion which she had established over the mind of that timid and easy Princess. Mr. Harley, who had been secretary of state for some years, had gained a considerable degree of credit with the Queen. To strengthen his own interest he secured the confidence and assistance of the new favourite. The great weight, and the almost irresistible power which Marlborough and the connexions of his family had established, could not have failed to raise, in some degree, the jealousy of the Queen, who was actually a mere cypher in their hands. She, therefore, listened to the suggestions of Harley; who, presuming on the manifest change in the mind of the sovereign, began to act no longer in dependence on the minister^k.

WHILE Harley employed his intrigues in the closet against Marlborough and Godolphin, a formidable opposition to their measures was preparing against the meeting of parliament. As long as the people were amused with splendid victories abroad, they complained not of the burden of the war at home. But when the progress of conquest was stopt, by the misfortune at Almanza and the raising of the siege of Toulon, a general inclination for peace appeared in the nation. The Whigs, offended in the person of one of their leaders, encouraged this pacific disposition among the people. The Lord Wharton, forgetting the animosity between the Whigs and the Tories in his own resentment against the ministry, had paid a visit to the Earl of Notting-

Opposition
formed.

¹ Duke of Hamilton to the Pretender. May, 1707.

^k Burnet, vol. iv.

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ham, with propositions to join the high-church party to humble Marlborough and Godolphin. The latter noblemen, from views of their own, were highly averse to pacific measures. But the current ran violently against the war, till Marlborough returned to the kingdom. The chief reason opposed by the Duke to a peace, was that France, presuming on her success at Almanza, had receded from the terms which she had offered the preceding year. He pretended, that Lewis the Fourteenth had then promised to restore Spain and the Indies. The recovery of the whole Spanish monarchy out of the hands of the house of Bourbon, he knew, had been the chief object of the English nation in their warm prosecution of the war, from the hopes that they had conceived of the great mercantile advantages resulting from a treaty already concluded with the house of Austria. The Duke insinuated, that to obtain that great object, there was a necessity for continuing the war; and this argument, though founded on a misrepresentation of the fact, had great weight with the trading part of the nation¹.

First parliament of
Great Britain.

DURING these intrigues, on both sides, the first parliament of Great Britain met at Westminster. The Queen coming to the house of peers, on the twenty-third of October, directed the commons to chuse a speaker. Many considered this ceremony unnecessary, as the parliament had not been dissolved, but dropt and afterwards renewed by proclamation, in terms of an act for that purpose. All disputes concerning the legality of the election of a speaker were prevented by Smith's being again placed in the chair. On the sixth of November, the Queen, as usual, made a speech from the throne. To a brief detail of the state of affairs abroad, she annexed the customary demand of supplies, and concluded with exhortations to affection toward her own person and government, and unanimity among themselves. The commons having

¹ Stuart-papers. Hooke's Negotiations, 1708.

approved

approved of the Queen's speech, voted an address of thanks, on the tenth of November. The house of peers, however, were not equally complaisant. The discontents of some disappointed lords, joined several votes to the standing party against Marlborough and Godolphin. When an address to the throne was moved, a motion for considering first the state of the nation was carried. A zeal for the redress of public evils arose, in proportion to the height of private resentment. Whigs and Tories were promiscuously in opposition. The leaders of the first had been too much neglected in the distribution of places. The latter had neither forgot nor forgiven the means that had been used to deprive them of power^m.

THOUGH many followed the bent of their own passions in the opposition with which the session was opened in the house of lords, it must be confessed that there was matter of just complaint. The Duke of Marlborough, with all his abilities and success in the field, suffered acts of meanness, selfishness, and avarice to stain the fame, which he had acquired in the world. The Earl of Godolphin, though a man of abilities, carried the indolence, ill-temper, and peevishness of his private character into his public conduct. The reputation which both had acquired, with a degree of justice, in their respective departments, had a visible effect on their own minds. The self-sufficiency which is seldom separated from success, had rendered them negligent of men who possessed abilities to support their measures in parliament. Instead of permitting the places and emoluments of government to run in the channel of parliamentary interest, they gratified their own friends and dependents, and thus by excluding the ambitious from office, they furnished them with leisure as well as with resentment to oppose their own measures.

Great opposition in the house of lords.

^m MS. of the Times.

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Inquiry into
mismanage-
ments in the
admiralty.

THE lords resolving themselves into a committee of their whole house, to consider of the state of the nation, a petition was presented, in the name of more than two hundred merchants of London, complaining of great losses at sea, for want of cruizers and convoys. In the prosecution of the inquiry great abuses were discovered in the department of the admiralty, which was managed by a council, in the name of the Prince of Denmark, who bore the name but not the power of lord admiral. The committee having made a very unfavourable report to the house, it was transmitted to the Prince of Denmark. An answer was returned in his name, which attempted to justify the several charges contained in the report. But the most remarkable part of the paper was its conclusion, which contained very severe strictures on the management of sea affairs in the late reign. In the war carried on by King William it appeared, that four thousand merchant-men had been taken by the enemy; which at a medium fell little short of five hundred ships every year. The truth is, that during the two reigns which immediately succeeded the Revolution, naval affairs were much neglected. Great fleets were equipped to second the operations by land, while the trade of the nation was left a prey to flying squadrons and privateersⁿ.

Affairs in
Spain ex-
amined.

THOUGH the Prince of Denmark was neither blamed in the debates nor mentioned in the report of the committee, the Queen was highly offended. She, however, made a general answer to the address of the lords, and promised to protect the trade of her subjects. The inquiry into the state of naval affairs, was succeeded by an examination into the military operations in Spain; where the first success of the English nation had terminated in loss and disgrace. The Earl of Peterborough, who had performed signal services in that kingdom, had been recalled in the preceding

ⁿ Journals of the lords.

August. The Tories, in opposition to the Earl of Galway, magnified the merit of Peterborough; while the Whigs made severe remarks on his conduct. A written complaint against Peterborough, had been transmitted by King Charles to England. The paper was laid before the two houses. But Peterborough, in his own justification, produced such a number of witnesses and papers, that the parliament, after spending two weeks on the subject, were so much tired of Spanish affairs and the Earl, that they dropt both, without any animadversionⁿ.

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THE commons, less censorious and refractory than the lords, granted, without hesitation, the demanded supplies^o. They turned, at the same time, their attention to matters of more importance, than inquiries which were scarce intended, even by those who promoted them, to procure redress. To abate the resentment of the Scots against the Union, they addressed the Queen^p, to issue a *noli prosequi*, to discharge the several informations with regard to goods imported, custom-free, into Scotland, before the first of May. They, however, introduced a bill for repealing the famous act of security, which had so much inflamed the Scots and alarmed the English nation. In considering that part of her Majesty's speech, which required the parliament to make the Union more complete, they came to several important resolves. They voted, that there should be but one privy-council in Great Britain. That the militia of Scotland should be placed on the same footing with that of England. That the powers of justices of the peace should be the same throughout the united kingdom. That, for the better and more expeditious administration of justice, the lords of justiciary should go circuits, twice a year; and that the writs for electing members to serve in parliament for Scotland, should be returned in the same manner as in

Proceedings
on Scottish
affairs.

ⁿ Journals of the lords:

^o 5,933,657 l.

^p Journals of the commons, Nov.

England.

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An universal
zeal for con-
tinuing the
war.

England⁹. A bill brought in upon these resolutions, passed, with little difficulty, the two houses.

DURING these proceedings, the warmest and most universal zeal for carrying on the war, with the utmost vigour, was exhibited by the two houses. The lords resolved that no peace could be safe or honourable, for her Majesty or for the allies, should Spain and the West Indies remain in the power of the house of Bourbon. The commons, having concurred with the lords in an address containing this resolution, the two houses presented the same, in a body, on the twenty-third of December¹. The Queen, in her answer, assured her parliament that she was fully of opinion, that no peace could either be safe or honourable, till the entire monarchy of Spain should be restored to the house of Austria. She, at the same time, promised, in compliance with the other articles of their address, to continue her most pressing instances to the Emperor, to hasten further succours for Spain, under the command of the Prince of Savoy. The court of Vienna, however, were not equally sanguine with their very generous allies, in their own cause. The instances, if made, were ineffectual. The languor and undecisive measures of Germany continued. England, with the true spirit of knight-errantry, squandered her blood and exhausted her treasures, in prosecuting a war from which, it was not even pretended, she was to derive either territory or power.

Intrigues of
Harley.

THOUGH this vehemence for continuing the war with such vigour, was highly suitable to the inclinations of the Duke of Marlborough, and consequently to those of the Earl of Godolphin, they still found themselves uneasy in their departments. The intrigues of Harley, in conjunction with Mrs. Masham, the new favourite, had already disturbed their counsels in the cabinet. The effects of this secret influence had even extended themselves to the

9 Dec. 11.

Dec. 23.

two

two houses of parliament. Harley, who, perhaps, was not entirely ignorant of the attachment of Marlborough and Godolphin to the exiled family, found means to raise the jealousy of the Whigs, while, at the same time, he was said to have contrived to foment the bad humour of the Tories against the management of public affairs. An accident, however, furnished the enemies of Harley with an opportunity of revenge. The Marechal de Tallard, still a prisoner in England, wrote frequently to Chamillart, one of the ministers of Lewis the Fourteenth. But he sent his letters to the secretary's office, where they were perused and sealed. Harley, ignorant himself of the French language, was obliged to trust the perusal of Tallard's letters to one Greg, a clerk in his office. Greg, being an abandoned and profligate fellow, hoped to derive advantage from this circumstance. He enclosed, in a letter from the Marechal, one from himself, offering his own services. He promised, for a valuable consideration, to betray his country to the court of France; and, as a specimen of his abilities to discharge his engagements, wrote an account of some important transactions. This letter was intercepted in Flanders, and sent back to London. Greg was seized, tried, and condemned. Though Harley could not possibly be supposed to know any thing of the matter, his reputation, through the art of his opponents, suffered considerably, with the more credulous and suspicious part of mankind.

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THIS circumstance might have shaken the credit of Harley with the nation. He still retained his influence with the Queen. The principles avowed publicly by the Tories, being most agreeable to all sovereigns, Anne seems to have entertained an affection for that party, when even she excluded them from office. Marlborough and Godolphin, as far as they

He is dismissed from office.

* Burnet, vol. iv. Dutche's of Marlborough's conduct. † Stuart-papers, Hannover-papers, MSS. passim. Publications of the times.

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were swayed by principle, were in the interest of the excluded family. But they had employed the Whigs as more active and better acquainted with business than the Tories. They had always found the latter as unsteady in their conduct, as they were violent in their schemes. Harley, though bred a dissenter, and having all along avowed whiggish principles, sacrificed his opinions to his love of power; and, by flattering the prejudices of the Queen, in favour of the excluded party, hoped to govern the nation through their support and assistance. But though he was possessed of courage to undertake the administration of affairs on these terms, the times were not yet ripe for so precipitate a change. The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin complained of Harley's intrigues to the Queen. But that Princess heard them without being moved. They resolved, therefore, to extort from her fears what they could not derive from her prudence. They threatened both to resign their places; and the dismissal of Harley from the office of secretary of state, was preferred by the Queen, as the least evil. Sir Simon Harcourt, the attorney-general, Henry St. John, secretary at war, and Mansel, comptroller of the household, chose to follow Harley's fortune, and resigned, at the same time, their places.

Opposition in
parliament.

NEITHER Harley nor the associates of his fortune, were likely to sit down quietly in their present state of disgrace. They had been from the beginning of the session, at the bottom of the inquiries made in both houses, into the conduct of the war; and now they had added resentment to what formerly was only ambition. On the third of February, the commons had addressed the Queen, demanding to be informed, why a greater number of English forces had not been in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of Almanza. The answer of the Queen was delayed to the eighteenth; and when it was received, it was deemed un-

MS. anecdote.

Feb. 11, 1708.

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fatis-

satisfactory. The lords continuing their inquiries into the state of naval affairs, presented a long address against the mismanagements in that department. Upon the whole, the complexion of both houses seemed greatly altered with regard to the ministry. The weight of government had secured, hitherto, a majority, upon the most trying questions, in the house of commons. But the Tories, in conjunction with the disappointed part of the Whigs, contrived to carry motions in the house of lords, highly disagreeable to those who had the chief management of public affairs.

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A SUDDEN alarm from abroad, by terrifying at once the sovereign and the people, strengthened the hands of the ministry, and disappointed the views of the discontented. The court of France had almost always been averse to an invasion of Great Britain, and particularly in the preceding summer. They, however, suffered themselves, in appearance, to be reconciled, in the winter, to that measure, through the vehement solicitations of the Scots, and the pressing instances of the excluded family. A squadron of small men of war, consisting of five ships equipped for action and two fitted for transports, together with twenty-one frigates, were prepared at Dunkirk, while several battalions were ordered to march to that place, from the garrisons of Calais, St. Omers, Bergues, Aire, and Lille. The preparations were carried on with expedition and secrecy; and when they came first to be known, it was uncertain where the storm was to fall. Men could scarce believe, that an invasion of Great Britain was seriously meant by the enemy, without a fleet of capital ships; and, therefore, the States of the United Provinces began to be extremely apprehensive of a descent on the coast of Zealand.

An invasion threatened from France.

French sail from Dunkirk.

GENERAL Cadogan, who resided at the Hague, in quality of ambassador from the court of Great Britain, obtained the first

Preparations in Great Britain.

^a Journals.

^a Hooke's negociations.

^b Public intelligence.

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intelligence of the real destination of the armament preparing at Dunkirk. The information given by Cadogan, to the ministry, was confirmed by the news of the arrival of the pretended Prince of Wales at Dunkirk, in the end of the month of February. Boyle, who had succeeded Harley as secretary of state, communicated his intelligence, by the command of the Queen, to the house of commons, on the fourth of March¹. The two houses, as upon all occasions of danger, joined in the usual address of lives and fortunes; and the commons, to strengthen the hands of government, introduced a bill for suspending the act of *habeas corpus*. The preparations of the ministry kept pace with the zeal of parliament. Sir George Byng, with a squadron of twenty-three ships of war, had already stretched over to Dunkirk. Ten battalions of English troops were ordered from Flanders. The forces in England were every where in motion; and the regiments quartered in the south of Ireland were ordered to march towards the north, for the convenience of a short passage to Scotland, where the French had formed a design to land².

French fail
from Dun-
kirk.

THE fleet, under Byng, having been driven back by strong winds, to the Downs, the French squadron sailed from Dunkirk, on the sixth of March. To deceive the British admiral, should he return to his station, they had placed an equal number of vessels in the road. The squadron was commanded by M. de Fourbin. The Pretender, under the name of Chevalier de St. George, was on board, with five thousand one hundred soldiers, with ten thousand muskets, one thousand pistols, and as many carabines. The weather becoming calm, the squadron was forced to come to an anchor before Newport. During two days of bad weather, which detained them in that place, three frigates having made signals of distress bore away for Dunkirk, having eight hundred land forces on board. Weakened by this desertion, the admiral called a

¹ Journals, March 4.

² Hist. of Europe, 1708.

council

council of war, to consider whether they should continue their voyage to Scotland. The Chevalier himself decided in the affirmative. They accordingly sailed, in the night of the eighth of March, with a brisk and favourable gale. On the twelfth, they discovered the coast of Scotland. But either through the ignorance of their pilots, or the design of M. de Fourbin, who is said to have had positive orders neither to land the troops, nor to hazard the loss of the squadron, they found themselves to the north of the firth of Edinburgh, where they had proposed to land.

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ON the same day that the French fleet sailed from Dunkirk, Sir George Byng, whose squadron, by the incredible diligence of the admiralty, had been now augmented to forty capital ships, besides frigates, weighed anchor in the Downs, and stretched over towards Dunkirk. Being informed of the sailing of the enemy, by a boat from Ostend, he crowded after them with all his sails, and came in sight of the French with his van, on the morning of the thirteenth of March. M. de Fourbin took advantage of the wind and put to sea. In the afternoon of the same day, some of the enemy's ships came up with the *Auguste*, a French man of war, and a kind of running fight began. The Chevalier de St. George, during this action, entreated Fourbin, with the utmost earnestness to put him on shore; being resolved, he said, to remain in Scotland, should none follow him but his own domestics*. Fourbin having long argued in vain against the propriety of that measure, positively refused, at last, to agree to his request. The French, in the mean time, were dispersed, in their confused flight. The *Salisbury*, a vessel some time before taken from the English, was the only ship that fell into the hands of Byng. The rest having suffered much hardship at sea, and lost many of their men by sickness, returned, ship by ship, to Dunkirk†.

They return.

* Lockhart's Mem.
N. S. 1708.

† M. d'Andrezel's account to the French ministry, April 7.
‡ Hooke's negotiations.

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THOUGH the armament for the invasion of Scotland seems rather to have been extorted from Lewis the Fourteenth, by the solicitations of the malecontents, than intended for a serious diversion to the British arms, there is reason to believe, that the failure of the scheme, before any landing was made, proved of the utmost importance to the safety of government, as it then stood. The state of Scotland was, in every respect, favourable to, at least, the temporary success of the design. The most of the nobles, four-fifths of the gentry, and, perhaps, a greater proportion of the common people, were inflamed into a degree of despair, at what they deemed the indignity of the terms of Union between the two kingdoms. The injudicious violence with which the new laws for collecting the revenue, were introduced into Scotland, bore the appearance of a design in the minister to rouse the inhabitants to some desperate attempt, to break a treaty, which he himself had accomplished with such appearance of zeal. Swarms of surveyors, collectors, and other officers, were sent from England. These executed the new regulations, with a rigour more suitable to the indignities that accompany conquest, than to the rights of a free people. The friends of the excluded family fomented, with success, the public resentment against the English government. Many, formerly averse to the restoration of the Stuarts, now desired it with the utmost vehemence, as the only means to avoid a yoke, which they deemed the more grievous and insupportable, that it was unexpected and new^b.

on the projected invasion.

THE English minister, with unpardonable negligence, or, perhaps, with design^c, had, at the same time, left the kingdom in a defenceless condition. The castles and forts were in a ruinous situation, and destitute of military stores. There were only two thousand five hundred regular troops in Scotland, and these were known to be disaffected. The money for the equivalent was, at

^b State of Scotland, MS.^c Burnet, vol. iv. Stuart-papers.

the

the same time in the castle of Edinburgh. That fortress was not in a state to defeat the slightest effort of an enemy*. A Dutch fleet had just run a-ground, on the coast of the county of Angus, with ammunition, cannon, muskets, and money. The act of security had placed arms in the hands of the lower sort of people, of which they had not yet been deprived, by the repeal of that law. The Highlanders, though from the situation of their country, and the state of society established among the clans, they felt not the supposed grievances of the Union, were, from a national pride, attached to a race of Princes, whom they deemed their countrymen. The officers of government in Scotland, were so sensible of the untenable condition of that country, that they had already made preparations for taking refuge in the town of Berwick. The immediate submission of the whole kingdom, and a general acknowledgment of his authority would, therefore, have been the infallible consequence of the Pretender's landing with the appearance of a regular force¹.

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THE discontented Scots had formed a resolution of invading England, as soon as their own country should submit itself to the authority of the person, whom they called their lawful King. They proposed, with seventeen thousand foot and three thousand horse of their own nation, in conjunction with their French auxiliaries, to distress London, by the immediate seizure of Newcastle, and by stopping the coal-trade. The regular force to the south of the Tweed was incapable of meeting the Scots in the field. In Flanders, there were only eighteen British regiments, and one third of these were their countrymen. The latter, instead of opposing their projects, would, they hoped, join and forward their views. They knew, that, without the consent of parliament, the Queen could not call^m any foreign troops to her aid. Besides, they derived expectations from negotiation as well as from force. The

Views of the
Scottish Jacobites.

* Hooke's Negotiations. ¹ Ibid. ^m Ibid. Stuart papers, passim.

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tions.

dissolution of the Union, the repeal of the act of settlement, the present possession of Scotland, the eventual succession of England to her brother, they hoped to derive all from the fears, and, perhaps, from the affection of the Queen. Should matters come to extremity, they knew, that Marlborough would, in all likelihood, have the chief command. They hoped, that such a favourable opportunity would induce that nobleman to perform his promises and oaths to the excluded family^a. They built much on the attachment of the Tories, the confusion of the Whigs, the total breach in public credit, the terrors of the affluent, the expectations of the needy, and the love of novelty in all.

WILD as these expectations of the Scottish Jacobites may now appear, they were deemed by no means extravagant in the eyes of men acquainted with the state of the kingdom and the disposition of the times. The project seemed so practicable to the Duke of Marlborough, that he chided the court of St. Germain, for not having previously informed him of their design^b. The Queen and her minister, the Earl of Godolphin, were guided by passions, that favoured the most sanguine hopes of the adherents of the excluded line. They were both subject to political terror, both attached to the eventual succession of the Pretender; and there is scarce any reason to doubt, but they would both agree, with great readiness, to any proposals to secure the reversion of the crown of England to the ancient line^c. Happily for the kingdom, the retreat of the French put an end to the fears of the people, and prevented, perhaps, the horrors of a civil war. Some mischief, however, was effected in Britain, by this impotent attempt on the part of France. A violent run upon the bank, threatened the ruin of public credit; and though the treasury and some noblemen of wealth tendered their assistance, the evil only ceased with the terrors of the nation.

^a Stuart-papers, passim.^b Ibid. May, 1708.^c Reflections, Stuart-papers, MS.

THE two houses continued sitting, during the alarm of the invasion. But nothing important was transacted after the money-bills had passed, for the service of the approaching campaign. On the thirteenth of April, the parliament was prorogued, and, two days after, dissolved by proclamation. The messengers of government were, in the mean time, employed in taking into custody the lords and gentlemen, in Scotland, who were most suspected of having invited the French to invade the kingdom. Though all who were seized, were deeply concerned in the conspiracy against government, proofs could be carried home to none. The most of the prisoners were, therefore, dismissed upon bail. A prudent lenity was even observed toward persons already legally convicted of treason. In the Salisbury, the only ship which had fallen into the hands of the British fleet, the Lord Griffin, who had followed the late King James to France, was taken, and received sentence of death on a former outlawry. His great age induced the Queen to reprieve him, from time to time, till a natural death, by preventing the hand of public justice, put an end to his misfortunes and his fears.

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Parliament
dissolved.

DURING these transactions in England, preparations were made abroad, for opening, with vigour, the campaign. The Duke of Marlborough, having left London on the twenty-ninth of March, arrived the next evening at the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene of Savoy. These two generals, having settled with the States the operations of the summer, repaired, by different roads, to Hannover, to reconcile the Elector to the regulations which they had settled, without his communication, with regard to the army which his Highness commanded, in the close of the preceding year, on the Upper-Rhine. The Duke of Marlborough, having placed himself at the head of the confederates, in the neighbourhood of Ghent, in the end of May, the French took the field on that side, with an army superior to the allies, in point

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of number. They were commanded, in the name of the Duke of Burgundy, by the Duke de Vendôme. Though they were possessed of strength sufficient to cope with the enemy in the field, they chose rather to rely on stratagem and surprise, than on the more uncertain success of open force. The Elector of Bavaria, during his long government in Flanders, had gained an influence among the Flemings, which he retained, after the greatest part of the country had been lost to the allies, in the fatal battle of Ramillies. He either obtained, by his intrigues, or purchased with the money of France, an absolute promise from the magistrates of the cities of Ghent, Antwerp, and Bruges, to open their gates to the troops of the house of Bourbon. The extortions of the allies, of which neither Marlborough nor his friend Cadogan had been unconcerned spectators^a, contributed to this projected revolt, as much as the intrigues of the Elector of Bavaria.

Battle of
Oudenarde.

THE two armies having remained in their respective camps, the whole month of June, a body of French troops were received, into the city of Ghent, under the appearance of a surprise, on the fifth of July. Bruges surrendered itself, the next day, in like manner, to another detachment of the same army. The Duke of Marlborough, accused, perhaps very unjustly, of being privy to the treachery, from interested views, was incapable of preventing its effects. Though much inferior in force to the enemy, he offered them battle; which they avoided, by passing the Dender in the night^r. The opportunity, which the French generals now denied to the enemy, was soon offered by their own disputes. Returning from the Dender, they directed their march to the Scheld. But the Duke of Marlborough, who had been joined by Prince Eugene, had already passed that river, and lay between the French and their lines. The enemy could no longer

^a Mem. of the Generality of Ghent, MS.^r July 6.

decline

decline a battle. The Scheld, with several inclosures, covered their left. A morafs ran along their front; and, on a rifing ground on their right, they placed their cavalry, interlined with bodies of foot^r.

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THE infantry of the allies advancing acrofs the morafs, were received with great refolution and fpirit by the enemy. But the British cavalry broke thofe of the French at the firft fhock; while the foot intermixed with the fquadrons were cut to pieces on the plain. The infantry behind the morafs flood their ground for fome time, againft all the efforts of the allies. To avoid, however, being flanked by the British horfe, who were now victorious, they fheltered themfelves in the inclosures on the banks of the Scheld. The battle, however, was by no means decifive. But the fears and bad conduct of the French, yielded to the allies all the confequences of a complete victory. No baggage, no cannon were loft. It was the repulfe of a party, rather than a general rout. The allies expected nothing but the renewal of battle upon better terms the next morning. But the French retreated through five different routes in the night. The general confufion and panic which prevailed in this difgraceful and diforderly retreat, by breaking the fpirits of the foldiers, difconcerted all the meafures of the French generals for the reft of the campaign^r.

French partially defeated.

DISCOMFITED in their own minds, the French, inftead of retrieving the honour which they had loft, plunged themfelves deeper in difgrace and misfortune. They retired from Ghent under Tournay and under Ypres. They permitted Prince Eugene, whole reinforcement of Germans from the Mofelle was now arrived, to form the fiege of Lifle. That city, fortified with all the art of Vauban, was confidered as the key to France itfelf, on that fide. The Marefchal de Boufflers defended in perfon,

Their retreat and the fiege of Lifle.

^r Mem. du Marq. de Feuquieres.

^s French writers, paffim.

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with a numerous garrison, the capital of his own government. The particulars of sieges are not interesting at any considerable distance of time. The Duke of Vendôme attempted, in vain, to relieve the place, by endeavouring to cut off the convoys of the enemy from beyond the Scheld and from Ostend. In attacking a party of English at Winnendal, a French detachment was defeated with the loss of their cannon and all their implements of war. In attempting to attack the enemy before Lisle, though joined by the Duke of Berwick with a great reinforcement, Vendôme was twice disappointed, after a fruitless cannonade. The city, in the mean time, was gallantly defended by the Mareschal de Boufflers. After a siege of three months, it was, however, forced to surrender'. Boufflers retired, with the remains of the garrison, into the citadel, which he held till the eighth of December.

Observations.

No fortified place was ever more vigorously attacked, none more gallantly defended than the important town of Lisle. The besiegers carried no part of the works without a regular and obstinate battle; and they were scarce masters of one place, when they were driven from another, and put in danger of being forced to yield the advantages, which they had gained with so much valour and blood. But the difficulties of the allies were not ended with the conquest of Lisle. They had lost between eighteen and twenty thousand men before the place, which had rendered their army much inferior to the French. They were, at the same time, under the necessity of repassing the Scheld, or to distribute the troops in winter-quarters in the small space of country comprehended between Lisle, Menin, and Courtray. To pass a river whose banks were occupied by an enemy superior in number was dangerous as well as difficult. To remain in the neighbourhood of Lisle for the winter, would have been to abandon the rest of

Oct. 23.

Flanders,

Flanders, the province of Brabant, Guelderland, and a part of the territories of the States, to the mercy of the French. The Duke of Marlborough, who always treated fortune as if she had made an agreement to favour all his designs, attempted, at once, the passage of the Scheld; and he succeeded without drawing a sword.

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THE raising of the siege of Brussels was the first consequence of Marlborough's passing the Scheld. The Elector of Bavaria had sat down before that place the day before the allies had crossed the river. Had his Highness invested Brussels when the enemy were fully employed at Lille, the city must have fallen into his hands. But upon the approach of the allies he decamped with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him all his cannon, ammunition, and wounded. The cities which the French had recovered through the treachery of the magistrates, were again lost to the enemy. The retaking of Bruges and Plaffendal followed immediately the passage of the Scheld. Ghent surrendered after a feeble resistance, about the middle of December. At the close of a campaign, where every motion of the French was marked with some loss or some error, the Duke of Vendôme went to Versailles. He durst not pass through Paris, dreading the consequences of the public hatred which his conduct had raised. Irritated by his cold reception at court, he retired to one of his estates; being the fifth Mareschal of France whom Marlborough's success had driven from the service.

Siege of
Brussels
raised.
Ghent and
Bruges reco-
vered.

THE glory acquired by the Duke of Marlborough, in recovering the towns which their respective magistrates had betrayed to France, was much tarnished by his own avarice; a vice to which, of all others, he was most subject. When, in consequence of the battle of Ramillies, the greatest part of Flanders was reduced by

Corrupt
practices of
Marlborough

* Nov. 16.

the

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the allies, the chief management of the conquered country fell into the hands of general Cadogan, who succeeded Mr. Stepney as ambassador from England to the States of Holland^w. Cadogan, a man of a profligate and avaricious character, had recommended himself to the protection and friendship of the Duke of Marlborough, by giving him the largest proportion of the contributions, which he had privately raised from the magistrates of Ghent, under the promise of his own and the Duke's protection. Marlborough, who had received, at that period, six thousand pistoles in specie, was so well pleased with the magistracy, that, at their request, he reversed, by his own authority, the regulation for the government which had been signed by himself and the deputies of the States of Holland, on the sixth of October, 1706. These regulations, it seems, interfered with the perquisites of those who had been so liberal to himself. Their gratitude and his protection continued. The magistrates pillaged the people, and the Duke and Cadogan received their proportion of the spoil^x.

and general
Cadogan.

THE people, thus oppressed by their magistrates, formed the worst opinion of the patrons of persons so unjust and profligate. They believed, though probably without foundation, that Marlborough and Cadogan were privy to the measure of betraying Ghent and Bruges to the French from interested views of their own^y. The conduct of these generals, after retaking the two cities, was calculated to justify suspicions of the worst kind. Though they knew perfectly the treason, and were fully informed concerning the traitors; they not only procured for them a general pardon, but continued them, notwithstanding the murmurs of an oppressed people, in their former offices and authority^z. A favour so great was not without an immediate and suitable reward.

^w MS. Memorial to Queen Anne. Original Papers.^x Ibid.^y Ibid.^z Ibid.

Two hundred thousand guelders are said to have fallen to the share of Marlborough ^a. Cadogan, the intermediate agent in this lucrative transaction, received ten thousand pistoles. A magistracy so generous deserved to be supported. They were, therefore, permitted to remain in their departments during the war, though they were known to be in correspondence as well as friendship with France; and though, according to the customs and privileges of the country, they ought to have been changed every year ^b.

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IN Germany nothing of importance happened during the campaign. The Electors of Bavaria and Hannover, who were opposed to one another, on the Upper-Rhine, were rendered incapable of performing any thing, either worthy of themselves, or of consequence to their respective allies. The campaign was spent in fortifying their lines, as neither was in any condition to act with effect in the field. The French army was weakened by detachments sent to Flanders. The troops of the empire were destitute of every thing necessary for war ^c. On the side of Italy, where much was expected, nothing decisive was performed. The Duke of Savoy had made great preparations in the winter; but it was late in the summer before he took the field. Besides his native troops, he had twenty-two thousand men in his army, in the pay of Great Britain and the States. That Prince had formed great and extensive projects. He designed to pass through the territories of the Swiss, to join the troops of the empire in Alsace, and to penetrate into France on that side. He was opposed by the Mareschal de Villars. But, notwithstanding the vigilance of that officer, the Duke found means, by making himself master of Exilles, La Perouse, and Fenestrelles, to open a passage into France, while he secured his own dominions against future invasions from that kingdom ^d.

Campaign on
the Upper-
Rhine, and
in Savoy.

^a MS. Memorial to Queen Anne. Original Papers.

^b Ibid.

^c Hannover-papers, 1709.

^d Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii.

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Affairs of
Spain.

IN Spain, which had been the principal object of the war, the confederates were least successful. The house of Bourbon had three armies in the field; two on the side of Catalonia, one under the Duke of Orleans, another led by the Duke de Noailles; and the third in Estramadura, commanded by the Marquis de Bay. Though Charles the Third had not a force sufficient to face the Duke of Orleans in the field, the latter was prevented from making any decisive progress by the unprovided condition of his army. He, however, took Tortosa, on the eleventh of July. Denia and Alicant, in the kingdom of Valencia, fell into the hands of the French before the end of the campaign. The Duke de Noailles, opposed by the Prince of Darmstadt, performed nothing of importance, except providing his troops with provisions during the campaign at the expence of the Catalonians. The summer passed in a state of absolute inactivity on the side of Portugal. The French, though superior in numbers, attempted nothing. But though the generals on neither side gained any credit by their conduct in the field, they deserved praise for their wisdom and humanity. In imitation of the ancient Romans, they entered into a convention, that the labourers on their respective frontiers should not be disturbed, by either side, in cultivating the soil^e or in feeding their cattle; and, that the war, for the future, should be considered as subsisting only between regular armies, and not between the peasantry of the two kingdoms^f.

Sardinia and
Minorca re-
duced.

THE operations of the fleet were attended with considerable success in the present year. Admiral Leake having carried to Barcelona the Princess of Wolfembutte, whom Charles the Third had espoused, directed his course from thence to Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. The whole island fell into his hands without drawing a sword. When the English fleet appeared, the monks, gained by the cardinal Grimani, ran in bodies to the

^e Hist. de Portugal, 1708.^f Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii.

streets and public places, holding the crucifix in their hands. They assured the inhabitants, who flocked around them, that God had made use of Heretics to give them a better master. They made such an impression on the populace, that the Viceroy, the Marquis of Jamaica, was forced to accept such terms as Leake condescended to grant. The fleet commanded by the same admiral added to this exploit the important conquest the reduction of Minorca. The island itself was less considerable in itself than Sardinia; but more valuable to the British nation, on account of the excellent harbour of Mahon. The French and Spaniards lost their courage with their good fortune. The forts which defended Port-Mahon, though provided with every necessary for sustaining a siege, made scarce any show of defence. After an irregular siege of a few days, some British soldiers, without any orders, marched into their lines, and the enemy, struck with consternation at their sudden approach, surrendered the place upon terms^s.

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WHILE the maritime powers were employed in the reduction of the Italian islands under the government of the house of Austria, the Emperor alarmed the princes and republics of Italy by the renewal of antiquated claims on their dominions. He published a manifesto wherein he declared, that he was resolved to pursue the rights of the Imperial crown, against such States as could not exhibit authentic proofs, that their titles to their territories were derived from the unanimous consent of the empire. In consequence of his declaration, he ordered the Duke of Parma, to pay homage for his dominions within fifteen days, under the pain of confiscation. These obsolete and prescribed claims spread a general consternation. The Republics of Venice and Genoa, the Dukes of Modena, Savoy, and Tuscany, were all interested in the Emperor's demands. The house of Bourbon entertained hopes of forming a confederacy in Italy against a prince

Affairs of
Italy.

^s Hist. of Europe, 1708.

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so unjust and unreasonable. But their expectations were quashed by the reduction of the islands in the Mediterranean, a circumstance that enabled the maritime powers to awe the Italian States with their fleets. But the animadversion with which Joseph threatened other powers, he actually put in execution against the Pope. That Pontiff, who had hitherto adhered to the interests of Philip the Fifth, was forced to promise to acknowledge Charles the Third as lawful King of Spain, to prevent Rome itself from being a second time sacked by the Imperialists^b.

Death of the
Prince of
Denmark.

DURING these transactions abroad, the nation, in their attention to the events of war, seemed to lose their former animosities and fears. A general tranquillity prevailed, except where it was disturbed by contested elections for the new parliament. But the joy which the Queen derived from the great success of her arms, was damped by the death of her husband the Prince of Denmark. Having languished for some months, he expired on the twenty-eighth of October. The very defects of his character had recommended this Prince to the affection of the people. He had scarcely any talent for business, and he was destitute of ambition. Having no passion for influence or power, he never entered into the intrigues of parties. The Whigs respected him, as he never interfered with their own views. He loved the Tories, as they had been the chief instruments in procuring for him an eventual pension, in case he had survived the Queen. Mild and humane in his disposition, he possessed the most of those virtues, which are as common as they are agreeable in private life. But he was so unfit for a public station, that his elevation proved to him a misfortune, as it exposed his weakness to the world. He was, upon the whole, what the consort of a sovereign of England ought to have been: possessed of too feeble parts to be troublesome, and too indolent to interfere in measures which he

^b Hist. of Europe, 1708. Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. Burnet, vol. iv.

could

could not guide. The Queen, who had exhibited every mark of conjugal affection during his illness, seemed inconsolable at his death. She removed immediately from Kensington where he expired, to the palace of St. James's, and shut herself up for several months, with all the symptoms of an unfeigned grief¹.

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THE great success of the campaign, confirmed the influence which Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, by the expulsion of Harley, from the cabinet. They found means, at the same time, to reconcile the Whigs to their measures, by dividing with their leaders the power and emoluments of government. The weight of the crown being thrown into the scale of that party, they carried most of the contested elections against the Tories. This secured a majority not to be controuled, in the house of commons. The new parliament having met on the sixteenth of November, the session was opened by commission. The superiority which the court, now consisting entirely of Whigs, had acquired, precluded opposition, as it could not be attended with any success. Sir Richard Onslow, recommended by the adherents of the crown, was unanimously chosen speaker. As the prevailing party were bent on continuing the war, supplies were granted, not only with liberality, but even without reserve. Seven millions were voted for the service of the campaign. In concert with the States, who had agreed to an augmentation of their own troops, ten thousand men were added to the establishment of the preceding year². All was harmony in the house of commons, if the sullen silence, which frequently proceeds from the political despair of the discontented, can be construed into unanimity.

New parliament.

¹ Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. Hist. of Europe, 1708. Burnet, vol. iv.

² Journals, passim.

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Whigs pro-
moted.

ONE cause of the adherence of the Whigs to the measures of government, in every question, became apparent, soon after the meeting of parliament. The Earl of Pembroke, who had sufficiently concealed his attachment to the late King James¹, to be deemed a firm friend to the Revolution, was raised to the office of lord-admiral, now vacant, by the death of the Prince of Denmark. Though his lordship had executed the duties of that station, with considerable applause, in the end of the last reign, he owed his elevation, at present, more to the places which he had to resign, than to his own merit. Being, at once, lord-president of the council and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, his resignation furnished the minister with two places of importance to secure the Whigs, by gratifying their leaders. The Lord Somers, who had been out of employment ever since he had been deprived of the great-seal by King William, was raised to the head of the council. The Earl of Wharton, a man of profligate abilities, a Whig from faction more than from any principle, was declared in council lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and an addition was made to the list of privy-counsellors, to gratify others of the same party^m.

Debates on
Scottish elec-
tions.

THESE judicious promotions contributed to continue that unanimity in parliament, which rendered the transactions of the session, in a great measure, unimportant. Some debates, concerning Scottish elections, for both houses, raised the attention of many, from the stillness which prevailed in public affairs. Two sons of peers, the Lord Haddo and the Lord Johnston, having been returned to serve for two counties in Scotland, a petition against their right of being elected, was presented to the house of commons. Proofs were produced, that the eldest sons of the nobility had been uniformly rejected by the Scottish parliament, and a vote was passed for vacating the seats of the two lordsⁿ. Great debates arose

¹ Stuart-papers, passim.ⁿ Dec. 6, 1708.^m Gazettes, Nov. and Dec. 1708.

in the house of peers, upon a petition against an undue return of the representative of the Scottish peerage, in the British parliament. The Duke of Queensberry, who, for his services in accomplishing the Union, had been created a peer of Great Britain, under the title of Duke of Dover, having given his voice in the election of Scottish peers, was accused of having assumed the right of two votes, in his own person, a circumstance inconsistent with the privilege of peers, who are all deemed equals. Upon a division of the house, the matter was determined against the Duke of Queensberry, though he was supported by the whole weight of government °.

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ANOTHER matter of importance with regard to Scotland, raised the attention and employed the debates of the two houses of parliament. Upon the attempt of an invasion from France, in the preceding year, several peers and gentlemen of rank were seized, by the procurement of the Scottish lords in the ministry, and were brought prisoners to London. Though all were suspected of maintaining a correspondence with the invaders, and many were actually guilty, proofs could be carried home to none. They were, therefore, dismissed. But the disgrace and expence which they incurred upon bare presumptions, had induced mankind in general to conclude, that they had been treated with unjust severity. This circumstance, together with a dispute between the court of justiciary and the Queen's advocate in Scotland, concerning the trial of some Jacobites in that kingdom, induced the lords to introduce a bill for extending the laws of treason already established in England, to the whole kingdom of Great Britain. The trials in matters of treason being less severe in Scotland than in England, the whole representative of the former opposed the bill in both houses. It was, however, passed into a law. The commons, to gratify the Scots, in some degree, made an amendment, which directed, that all persons indicted

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Laws of treason extended to Scotland.

° Burnet, vol. iv.

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for high treason or misprision of treason, should have, not only a copy of their indictment, but a list of all the witnesses to be produced, and of the jurors impanelled, with their professions and places of abode, delivered to them ten days before the trial, and in the presence of two witnesses. This salutary clause was defeated, for the time, by a proviso of the lords, that it should not take place till the death of the Pretender ^P.

An act of
grace.

THE debates concerning the laws of treason, contributed to convince the Earl of Godolphin of the convenience of an ample act of grace. He knew that he himself, from his correspondence with the court of St. Germain's, was obnoxious, upon a discovery, to the law. He was not ignorant that he had many enemies who suspected him of treasonable practices, and some, who were actually possessed of proofs sufficient to ruin his reputation, if not to endanger his head. The Marquis of Annandale, it is said, either by accident or art, had possessed himself of an original letter of the lord-treasurer to the court of St. Germain's. In the beginning of the present session, the Marquis had petitioned against the undue election of one of the peers for Scotland; and, by insinuating that he was privy to Godolphin's secret attachment to the excluded family, he obtained the weight of government and gained a seat in the house of peers. The Earl of Wharton, perceiving the unexpected success of Annandale, treated with that nobleman for the use of his valuable manuscript. He obtained the letter and was instantly declared lord lieutenant of Ireland. The mischievous Wharton was at no pains to keep the secret. The whole junto derived benefit from the discovery. Pembroke, Somers, Dorset, and their retainers, demanded offices and were gratified. But still Godolphin was in danger, till the act of grace passed, in the beginning of the present year. The bill seemed calculated chiefly for the lord-treasurer himself. Few things were pardoned except

^P Stat. 7 Ann. c. 21.

all correspondence with the court of St. Germain's*. Wharton, who hoped to derive still greater advantages from the letter, which he is said to have either purchased or obtained from the Marquis of Annandale, was completely outwitted by the Earl of Godolphin. The latter, by assuring him that the material business of the session was over, had induced his lordship to repair to his government of Ireland. But the first intelligence he received at Dublin was, that the minister had escaped from his hands, under the sanction of an act of grace†.

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THE Duke of Marlborough, to whom the act of grace was as convenient as to the Earl of Godolphin, had arrived in London in the end of February‡. That nobleman, notwithstanding the addition made to his reputation by a very successful campaign, had many enemies in parliament, who were ready to seize any opportunity, either presented by fortune or offered by his own conduct, to attack his character and to ruin his power. The Tories, in particular, had joined a personal quarrel against Marlborough, to the usual violence of men excluded from the possession of influence and office. They were furnished by the Duke himself with a circumstance suitable to their desires. Cardonnel, Marlborough's secretary, in writing to the Queen a detail of the battle of Winnen-dal, attributed the whole honour of the affair to General Cadogan, the favourite of his master, who had not the least share in the action. General Webb, to whose activity and courage the victory was principally ascribed, was not even mentioned in the letter. Cardonnel's account was made public. Webb was enraged. He quitted the army, and returned to London. His own account of the action was printed. The Tories abetted him in the house of commons; and a vote of thanks was passed, not without many severe and personal reflections on Marlborough, who was accused of using unjustifiable means to depreciate the merit of a

Proceedings
of parliament.

* MS. anecdotes.

† Ibid.

‡ Feb. 25, O. S.

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The two
houses urge
the Queen to
a second mar-
riage.

deserving officer. Webb himself, it must be confessed, was a great enemy to his own reputation, by appearing too sensible of the importance of the service^r.

THOUGH the contest between parties ascended not to any degree of violence in the present session, the flame of discord, which soon after arose to an extraordinary height, began already to appear in the debates of both the houses. In one singular address to the throne, an unusual unanimity appeared. The Queen, as head of the church, had ordered, on the thirteenth of January, that the form of prayer, for issue of her body to succeed her in the throne, should be discontinued after the eighth of the next March, the anniversary of her accession to the crown. Mr. Watson, son to the Lord Rockingham, moved, in the house of commons, on the twenty-fifth of January, that an address should be presented to her Majesty, to moderate her grief, and to entertain thoughts of a second marriage. Though the motion seemed to convey a degree of ridicule, it passed the commons, without opposition, and received the concurrence of the lords. The Queen herself, considering her constitution, and even her years, could scarce look upon the address in any serious light. Her answer, however, was full of propriety. She said, that the provision which she had made for the Protestant succession, would always be a proof of her wishes for the happiness of the kingdom. But that the subject of their address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer^s.

Capital of
the bank
doubled.

THE commons had, with great alacrity and unanimity, voted the supplies. But the funds, upon which they could be charged, were not so easily found. The ministry, at length, fell upon an expedient which answered their necessities. They proposed to

^r Kane's Memoirs.^s Journals.

double

double the capital of the bank, and to prolong to one and twenty years its time, which was otherwise to have expired on the first of August, 1711. The terms obtained by government for these advantages, were four hundred thousand pounds, at six per cent. and the circulation of two millions four hundred thousand pounds in exchequer-bills. Books were accordingly opened for subscriptions. So eager were the people for employing their money on such advantageous terms, that in less than four hours the whole sum was subscribed. Though the rapidity with which the subscription was filled, was rather a proof of the necessities of government than of the wealth of the people, the facility with which such a great sum was raised, was calculated to give a high opinion of the flourishing state of the kingdom to foreigners. They perceived, with a degree of astonishment, that after such great exertions, in a war of many years, the nation seemed so far from being exhausted, that more than the whole annual revenue of states deemed powerful on the continent, was raised in a few hours in this island[†]. These were the most material transactions of this session of parliament, which was terminated by a prorogation, on the twenty-first of April[‡].

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DURING measures, calculated for the vigorous prosecution of the war, serious proposals for re-establishing the public tranquillity were made by the French King. The rout at Oudenarde, the taking of Lisle, a famine in his kingdom, the consequent deficiency in the revenue, the general discontents of the people, and the contests between his servants, forced Lewis the Fourteenth to offer terms of peace, at once suitable to the melancholy situation of his own affairs, and proportionable to the success of his enemies. The envoy of Holstein Gottorp, first founded the States-general on the subject. The president Rouillè was sent in the beginning of the year to Antwerp, where

Proposals of
peace made
by France.

[†] Hist. of Europe, 1709. Burnet, vol. iv.

[‡] Journals.

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he had several conferences with the deputies Buys and Vander Dussen. He proceeded soon after to the Hague. The States, cautious of making any advances in an affair of such importance, without the participation of the allies, sent expresses to the courts of Vienna and Great Britain. The Prince of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough, who had managed, with such astonishing success, the war, were fully empowered by their respective sovereigns, to treat with the minister of France, and to settle the conditions of peace, and they arrived, for that purpose, at the Hague, in the beginning of the month of April *.

Marlbo-
rough, Hein-
sius, and Eu-
gene the ar-
biters of Eu-
rope.

THE Duke of Marlborough and Heinsius, the pensionary of Holland, in the strictest intimacy with Prince Eugene, formed a kind of triumvirate, on whom the grand confederacy and consequently the fate of Europe depended. The two generals having gained so many battles, and succeeded in all their arduous and important undertakings, had acquired as much influence with the allies, as they had excited of terror among their enemies. Heinsius had been the depositary of the secrets of King William. He had been raised by that Prince to the place of first minister, and had the good fortune to preserve the authority which he had received, by being the chain which united the States with the grand confederacy formed by his late patron against the house of Bourbon. All the three seemed to have a personal interest in opposing the peace. The Duke of Marlborough, besides the thirst of glory, which was probably common to him with other men, had an opportunity, by a continuance of the war, to gratify a passion still more predominant in his mind, the love of money. Prince Eugene, being a foldier of fortune, had no business with tranquillity, in which generals are commonly laid aside to rust with their swords. Heinsius, besides the dread of losing his importance at home, by breaking the line which connected him with foreign

* M. de Torcy, tom. i.

powers, was absolutely under the dominion of Marlborough, whose address in the cabinet was still more irresistible, than his conduct in the field.

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THE court of France, with their usual refinement, hoped to derive advantage towards the necessary peace, from those very passions and reasons, which seemed to render Marlborough and Heinfius invariably attached to war. They were no strangers to the true state of the first. They built much upon the prudence of the latter, and the character of patriotism which he had already acquired. They knew that Marlborough, while he possessed such credit and authority abroad, was secretly undermined by his enemies at home. They were told, that a great part of the British nation were offended at seeing the power, influence, and emoluments of government so long divided between the Duke, the earl of Godolphin, and their friends. That the mind of the Queen, by the secret artifices of a latent faction, was greatly alienated from the interest of her generals, and uneasy at the uncontrolled power of her treasurer. They were assured, that the influence of the first was already in a tottering condition. They supposed that his prudence would suggest to him to provide for the worst; and, therefore, they derived hopes, from his known love of money, that he would be glad to receive a reward from France, in proportion to his merit in delivering her from the calamities of a war, which threatened her with apparent ruin. The authority of Heinfius was by no means on the same precarious footing with that of Marlborough. But the French supposed that directing chiefly his attention to the interest of his country, he would seize with ardour the very advantageous conditions which were to be offered by Lewis the Fourteenth, for extinguishing a war, the burden of which lay so heavy on the republic *.

The French
form hopes on
the charac-
ters of Marl-
borough and
Heinfius.

* M. de Torcy, tom. i.

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But they are
deceived.

THE French, however, found themselves deceived in the hopes which they had formed upon the condition of Marlborough, and the character of Heinsius. Though neither of these two great men durst avowedly shew their want of inclination for peace, they were provided with expedients, by breaking off the conferences, to continue the war. The whole business had been hitherto transacted between Buys and Vander Dussen, the deputies of the States, on the part of the allies, and the president Rouillé in the name of the French King. The terms offered by France were to the last degree humiliating to that monarchy. But in proportion as the French minister augmented his concessions, these haughty republicans rose in their demands, in the name of their allies. While affairs were in this unpromising condition, the Duke of Marlborough, whose opinion of his own situation at home, agreed not, perhaps, with the hopes the French had formed on that subject, put at once a stop to the conferences. He informed the States, that he had orders to prevent all further advances towards a treaty, should France refuse to extend her offers in favour of the Emperor and Great Britain¹. Prince Eugene insisted, that the entire cession of the Spanish monarchy, together with the re-establishment of the treaty of Munster, should be an indispensable preliminary to the projected treaty². Marlborough, at the same time, had the address to render the sincerity of France suspected, by encouraging a belief, that the sole business of Rouillé in Holland was to amuse and deceive the confederates³.

Distress of
France.

THE state of France, and the consequent behaviour of her sovereign, form together irresistible proofs, that the continuation of hostilities proceeded more from the views of Marlborough, than from the insincerity of Lewis the Fourteenth. The dominions of France were afflicted with various and dreadful calamities. A desperate famine threatened to extend the waste already made

¹ M. de Torcy, tom. i.² Ibid.³ Ibid.

among

among the inhabitants by the sword. An excessive hard frost, that had been severely felt throughout Europe, was succeeded in France by a sudden thaw, that destroyed all the grain. The spring came on, but the weather continued severe. Not the least promise of maturity was made by the fruits of the earth. Nothing was seen within but misery, desolation, and distress. A powerful enemy hovered on the frontiers, with victorious armies. The complaints of the nation were equal to their misfortunes. Intelligence of the wretched state of the French was carried to their enemies, and the report augmented their confidence. The ways and means for raising new funds for prosecuting a disastrous war, had not only declined, but had almost vanished. The repeated misfortunes, in preceding campaigns, suggested nothing but despair concerning the future. Every quarter of Europe was filled with the disgraces and misfortunes of France. The confederates, by making themselves masters of Lille, threatened to penetrate into the heart of the French dominions. A Prince, who had carried his arms, a few years before, to the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, was now forced to examine whether he could remain in safety at Versailles. His people heard already, in their imaginations, the victors thundering at the gates of Paris. The troops without pay, without clothes, without provisions, led by generals who had lost all authority, by repeated errors, and consequent misfortunes; and an enemy elated by conquest, first prescribing terms, and then rejecting them, when adopted by the vanquished.

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NEITHER Lewis nor his servants were possessed of those daring abilities, which supply the absence of force with an indignant pride. When the relation of the last conference between Rouillé and the deputies of the States was read in council at Versailles, the French ministry resigned themselves to pusillanimity and fear. Instead of assuming courage from despair, they yielded to all the melancholy reflections, which misfortunes suggest to the timid and weak.

Melancholy
situation of
the French
court.

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weak. The campaign was upon the point of being opened on the side of Flanders. A dispirited army, scarce provided with the necessities of war, only lay between a powerful and well-conducted enemy and the capital. They broke up without coming to any resolution^b. The Marquis de Torcy, secretary for foreign affairs, offered to the King his services, as the last resort. Lewis, with an enthusiasm fuitable to despair, instantly accepted his offer. He sent him to Holland with powers to put an end, upon the most humiliating terms, to a war that even threatened the destruction of the French monarchy. That minister arriving at the Hague, on the sixth of May^c, entered into various conferences with the pensionary and the deputies of the States.

Extraordi-
nary terms

NOTHING, however, could be determined till the arrival of the Duke of Marlborough. That general had sailed to England to frustrate some secret attacks made by his enemies against his power^d. He returned to the Hague, on the seventh of May, accompanied by the Viscount Townshend, as ambassador extraordinary to the States, and joint-plenipotentiary from Great Britain, for treating concerning the terms of peace. After many fruitless conferences, it appeared that the allies were not sincere in their avowed declarations of wishing to put an end to the war. France agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria, without any equivalent. To cede her conquests on the empire, upon the Upper Rhine. To give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lille, Condè, and Mabeuge for a barrier to Holland. To acknowledge the Elector of Brandenburg, as King of Prussia; the Duke of Hannover, as ninth elector of the empire. To own the title of Queen Anne to the British throne. To remove the Pretender from the dominions of France. To recognise the succession of the throne of Great Britain in the Protestant line. To restore every thing to the Duke of Savoy;

^b M. de Torcy, tom. i.^c N. S.^d M. de Torcy, tom. i.

and

and to agree to the cessions made to the King of Portugal, by his treaty with the confederates ^e.

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THE obstinacy of the two generals, and the haughtiness of the Dutch, who were elevated beyond measure, at having the management of a treaty, which reduced the French nation so low, prevented the conclusion of a peace, as honourable to the allies, as it was humiliating to the house of Bourbon. Though the entire cession of the Spanish monarchy, or what was virtually the same, the withdrawing all the aid of France from Philip the Fifth, was the whole object of the war, they broke off the conferences, by demanding terms nugatory in themselves, as they could not be executed by the French King. The utmost that he could promise, was to leave the King of Spain to the protection of such as should adhere to that prince of his own subjects. But he was not permitted to form the most distant hopes of peace, without surrendering the strongest towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spanish dominions by his grandson. The Marquis de Torcy, who knew the deplorable state of France, went beyond his powers, in hopes of procuring peace ^f. In proportion to his concessions, the confederates rose in their demands.

rejected by
the allies.

CONFERENCE followed conference in vain. The pensionary Heinsius framed, at length, forty preliminary articles, as the ultimatum of the allies. Though every one of these articles contained the dictatorial language used by conquerors to the vanquished, the plenipotentiaries of France yielded to thirty-five. The other five were referred to the decision of Lewis the Fourteenth. The Marquis de Torcy repaired for that purpose to Paris. But notwithstanding the consternation of the French King and his council, they had the spirit to reject terms of peace, scarce less ruinous.

Preliminaries
of the allies
rejected by
France.

^e Printed preliminaries.

^f M. de Torcy, tom. i.

and

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and disgraceful, than the evils apprehended from a continuance of hostilities^s. The court of France, however, derived some advantage from the conferences at the Hague. They found means to remove the despair of the people, by raising their indignation. They made public the whole negotiation. They explained their own enormous concessions, and the haughty terms prescribed, rather than proposed, by the confederates. The King himself wrote to all the governors of the provinces a moving relation of the transactions. The pride of the French being roused, by what they deemed an affront, they prepared themselves for new efforts in the war^h.

Marlborough
favours the
Pretender.

IN the course of the negotiations at the Hague, the Marquis de Torcy, instructed by the court of St. Germain, mentioned the concerns of the Pretender to the Duke of Marlborough. The Duke, with a want of caution, inconsistent with his usual prudence, expressed a strong desire of serving effectually "the son of a King, for whom," he said, "he would have spilt the last drop of his blood." He told M. de Torcy, at the same time, that he believed it was the interest of the Prince of Wales, for so he called the Pretender, to remove entirely from France. That he ought to fix his residence where he pleased, enjoy perfect security, and to be the master of his own motions and journies to whatever country he pleased. The article of subsistence was a matter of greater difficulty. The payment of her dowry to his mother was proposed by the Marquis de Torcy, as the best expedient. Marlborough desired him to insist strenuously on that article, to the Viscount Townshend. "That lord," said Marlborough, "is a kind of inspector over my conduct. He is an honest man; but of the whig-party. I must speak like an obstinate Englishman, in his presence. I wish, however, I could be of service to the Prince of Wales. I hope your solicitations will furnish me with the opportunity

^s M. de Torcy, tom. i.^h Hist. de France, tom. iii.

which I so much desire¹." The result of the whole was, that Marlborough and Townshend insinuated, that if the British parliament and the nation should insist upon the removal of the Pretender from France, they ought to be at the expence of supporting him, with a degree of dignity and affluence².

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THE intercourse between Marlborough, Godolphin, and the court of St. Germain, continued, in some degree, to be carried on by the agents of the latter in England. The more important part of the correspondence, however, lay between the Duke of Marlborough and his nephew the Duke of Berwick¹. He made no secret to his nephew of his absolute and fixed resolution of restoring the excluded family to the British throne. His own victories having rendered France incapable, even had she been willing, to aid the cause of the Pretender, he had long signified his desire, that the unfortunate Prince should remove from the French dominions. The Duke himself and the Earl of Godolphin, who was still more sincere in his attachment to the exiled branch of the Stuarts, perceived that the greatest obstacle to the accomplishment of their views, proceeded from the unsurmountable aversion the people entertained against the having a King imposed upon them by France. The lord-treasurer, in particular, affirmed, that his own inexplicable conduct, in turning the Tories out of office, was to facilitate the assuring the succession to the Pretender, whom he dignified with the name of King. He knew the Tories, he said, to be passionate, unsteady, and unfit for business. He, therefore, resolved to bend gradually the Whigs to his purpose, men who regarded less the person of the successor, than the certainty of possessing, in his name, the power of the crown. He hoped, he said, by management to extricate the Pretender from the hands of France; and,

Secret intrigues of Marlborough and Godolphin.

¹ Ibid.

² M. de Torcy. Stuart-papers.

¹ M. de Torcy.

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Views of

by gradually reconciling the people to his character and person, to ensure his succession to his sister's throne^m.

THE Pretender himself seemed to have been sensible, that his remaining in France was, by no means, favourable to his expectations and designs. When he returned from his expedition to the coast of Scotland, he attended the Duke of Burgundy in Flanders, and served under that Prince in the preceding campaign. During that period, he sent repeatedly to Scotland, to announce his fixed resolution of passing in a hired vessel, into that kingdom, and to place himself in the hands of his friends. If he could not establish himself in the south, he intended to retire to the fastnesses and inaccessible vallies of the north, under the protection of the Highland clans. The nobility in Scotland, who were in his interest, discouraged a project, which, they deemed, would inevitably throw himself into the hands of his enemies, and totally ruin his friends. Besides, though France was in no condition to support his pretensions, she would not probably dismiss his person. Should he retire clandestinely from that kingdom, Lewis the Fourteenth would most certainly stop the payment of the pittance, which was the sole support of his mother and himself. Though his enemies derived most advantage from the counsels of France, he was impressed with a deep sense of gratitude, for the protection given to his familyⁿ. He would not, therefore, enter into any project without the consent of that kingdom. Those who promised to serve him in Britain, could not, they affirmed, effectually espouse his interest, while he remained in the power of a court, abhorred by that nation over whom he wished to reign^o.

the Pretender.

HAVING during the winter, pressed the French King to undertake a second expedition to Scotland, he received, in the month of March of the present year, an explicit, and, probably, a sincere

^m Stuart-papers, 1710.ⁿ Pretender's original letters, MS.^o Stuart-papers, passim.

answer

answer from that Prince. Lewis told him, that though he had all the inclination in the world to serve the excluded family, and ultimately his own interest, by forming a diversion for the arms of the most powerful of his enemies, the thing was absolutely impracticable in the present distressed condition of his affairs. The pretended Prince laid aside, for the time, all hopes of transporting himself into Britain. He acquainted his adherents in Scotland, that they had nothing to expect from the court of Versailles. His servants, in the mean time, endeavoured to comprehend some part of their own interest in the negotiations then carried on at the Hague. They proposed, that the Pretender, as a mark of his gratitude to the French King, should retire to any country the confederates might choose, except the Pope's dominions or the Swiss cantons. They earnestly insisted upon a general indemnity to the adherents of the excluded family. They mentioned, on various foundations, the dowry still owing to Queen Mary d'Este, the Pretender's mother. To all these demands they received favourable answers, could the polite carriage and promises of Marlborough be deemed sincere. But, though Marlborough seems to have advised the removal of the Pretender from the dominions of France, as necessary to the success of his hopes of the British throne, that Prince disliked his proposal, that Great Britain should, in such a case, charge herself with his maintenance. He deemed it, to use the words of his minister, the Earl of Middleton, a design to make the world believe, that he renounced his pretensions for a pension ^p.

THE breaking up of the conferences for the re-establishment of peace, was immediately followed by vigorous preparations for carrying on the war. The Duke of Marlborough left the Hague, on the ninth of June, to place himself at the head of the confederate army in Flanders. The Prince of Savoy had absolutely re-

Campaign of
1709.

^p Stuart-papers, 1709.

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fused to go to Spain. Nothing to be done in Italy seemed worthy of his presence. The army on the Rhine had been formed with difficulty, and its motions were slow. He, therefore, resolved to remain in Flanders, and to second the Duke of Marlborough, in those great designs, which had probably frustrated the conclusion of an honourable and highly advantageous peace. The army was in a condition suitable to the magnitude of the concerted enterprises. The troops, that had gained so much glory and suffered so great losses, in the preceding campaign, had been early recruited. The fresh reinforcements, consisting of some British regiments, and eight thousand Saxons, which the Duke of Marlborough had negotiated with King Augustus, had augmented the army of the allies in Flanders, to one hundred and ten thousand combatants^p. The wretched state, into which a severe winter had reduced France, had facilitated the recruiting of her forces. Those who could procure no bread at home, were forced, for mere sustenance, to enlist themselves as soldiers. The army opposed to the allies in Flanders, was commanded by the Marechal de Villars. Though inferior in number to the enemy, the troops derived a kind of spirit, from their very despair^q.

The allies
unable to
force the
enemy to a
battle,

IN the end of June, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough formed their army, on the plains of Lisle. The number of their troops, their confidence in their own conduct, the consternation of the French, and their promises to the allies to disperse the army of the enemy, and to penetrate into the heart of France, rendered those able generals extremely anxious to bring matters, by a battle, to a decision. The Marechal de Villars had occupied a strong post, between Couriere and the town of Bethune, these two places covering both his wings. He was defended in front, by the villages of la Bassée and Pont-Avendin. He covered, by this position of his army, the cities of Doway and

^p Life of Marlborough, vol. ii. Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. iii.

^q Hist. de France, tom. iii.

Arras,

Arras, the taking of which would have opened a wide passage to the allies into the heart of France. The generals of the confederates having advanced within two leagues of the enemy, rode out on the twenty-fourth of June to view their situation. Finding it too strong to venture a battle, they decamped in the night, and sat suddenly down before Tournay*. Villars, afraid of being attacked in his camp, had injudiciously weakened the garrison of Tournay to five thousand men; and it was the intelligence received by the allies concerning this circumstance, that induced their generals to form the siege of that important place*.

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TOURNAY was one of the strongest and most ancient cities of Flanders. It had been from time immemorial subject to France, till it fell into the hands of Henry the Eighth, King of England, in the year 1513. It was, however, soon after restored, through the intrigues and influence of Cardinal Wolsey. The Spaniards took Tournay in the year 1618. But, having been retaken by Lewis the Fourteenth, in the year 1667, it was rendered, by new fortifications, one of the strongest places in the Netherlands. The situation of the town is extremely advantageous for defence. No commanding heights are near; and it is so well defended by nature on every side, that an enemy must be in possession of the covered way, to batter in breach. The Scheld, which divides the town, must divide the enemy; a circumstance often inconvenient and always dangerous. The citadel, fortified with all the skill of Vauban, was still more strong than the town. The place, however, was so well attacked, or so ill defended, that it fell into the hands of the allies, after one and twenty days open trenches. The governor entered the citadel, with the remains of his garrison, on the thirtieth of July. But, at the end of a month, he also surrendered that place*.

take the
town and
citadel of
Tournay.

* Kane's Memoirs. Life of Marlborough. * Ibid. * Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii.

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Mons be-
sieged.

THE important city of Tournay being taken, the allies formed the design of besieging Mons. The Prince of Hesse having been ordered, with a strong detachment, to dislodge a party of the enemy, posted in the neighbourhood of that city, was soon after followed by the whole army. Villars, having formed the resolution of preserving or relieving the place, passed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheld. Finding himself disappointed in his hopes of arriving before the main army of the confederates, at Mons, he stopt short at Malplaquet, a village scarce a league distant from that city. He entrenched himself in that strong situation, and prepared to give all the disturbance possible to the besiegers. His right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extensive and impenetrable wood of Sart. His left was covered with another deep wood. Along a very narrow plain opposed to his center, he drew trenches behind trenches, and covered the whole with a row of trees, with all their branches, which he had cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods. The generals of the confederates, resolving to dislodge the French from their strong post, viewed their situation, on the tenth of September, and fixed upon the next day for the execution of their plan^u.

Battle of
Malplaquet,

SCARCE had day-light appeared, when the two armies, having prepared themselves in the night for action, were seen ranged in complete order of battle. The allies had resolved to attack, at once, the whole line of the enemy. The British troops were opposed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the center of the French. The Marechal de Villars placed himself at the head of his left wing. He committed the charge of the right to the Marechal de Boufflers, who, though his senior, consented to act a second part. After an awful suspense and silence for near two hours, the battle began at eight of

^u Mem. de Feuquiere. Kane's Memoirs.

the

the clock. In a moment the firing extended from wing to wing. Few ages ever produced so long, so obstinate, so bloody a battle. The allies were roused by their former victories. The French were become, in a manner, furious, through despair. The Duke of Argyle, with the left of the British troops, passing through a morass, deemed impracticable, charged, with fury, the enemy stationed in the wood, in his front, and drove them into the plain behind, where they instantly formed. This circumstance contributed greatly to the success of the allies. Villars, as had been foreseen, weakened his center to support his left wing against the fierce assault of the British infantry. The French sustained, with uncommon firmness, all the efforts of their enemies, in the plain. They even drove them back into the wood from which they themselves had been driven. The carnage was immense. But neither side shewed any inclination to put an end to slaughter by flight *.

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THE Dutch, under Count Tilly, were, in the mean time, engaged with the right of the French. Advancing, in three lines to the intrenchments, they made and sustained a terrible fire, for the space of an hour. Some battalions giving way before them, were brought back and confirmed in their station, by the vigilance, courage, and activity of the Mareschal de Boufflers. The Dutch, in their turn, gave ground a little way. Some French battalions, emboldened by their own resistance, rushed from their intrenchments, pushed the enemy from one of their batteries, seized their colours, and regaining their post, sustained a second charge. The unexpected obstinacy of the French, in both wings, induced the generals of the confederates to entertain thoughts of desisting from the attack. General Cadogan, in that instant, perceived the void left in the center of the enemy, by the troops called by Villars to support his left. Prince Eugene resolved to attack, in

long, obsti-
nate, and
bloody.

* Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. Kane's Memoirs.

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person, the intrenchments in that place. He led some fresh battalions to the charge. He entered the line of the enemy. He flanked a regiment of French guards, and forced them to fly. Villars, hastening to support his center, was wounded and carried from the field. The Marechal de Boufflers, notwithstanding, sustained the fight with obstinacy. The cavalry of the allies had already entered his lines. He ordered the Chevalier de St. George, who served in this campaign, to advance at the head of twelve hundred of the horse-guards. In one desperate shock the German horse were broken and dissipated. But the two generals of the confederates, who, on that occasion, joined the valour of soldiers to the conduct of great captains, rallied their cavalry, forced the enemy back on their lines, and advancing slowly, but firmly, under the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, showed, by their steady motions, that they were resolved to gain the field*.

The French
retreat.
Mons taken.

BOUFFLERS, perceiving the firm countenance with which the enemy advanced, resolved to prevent worse consequences, by withdrawing his army from the field. He carried off all his cannon, except fourteen pieces, dismounted in the action. His retreat partook, in nothing, of flight. It was neither confused nor precipitate. The enemy were in no condition to press upon his rear. They contented themselves with the field of battle, now covered with near forty thousand men, comprehending the wounded and the slain. This battle was one of the most bloody, and, perhaps, the most singular, that had been fought for several ages. The trophies were few in number, and they were reciprocal. The generals and officers, on both sides, acted their respective parts with distinguished conduct; and all their efforts were supported by the troops with consummate courage. Though the field of battle remained in the possession of the allies, the French obtained an honour almost equal to that of victory, by a steady, regular, judicious,

* M. de Feuquiere. Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii.

and safe retreat. The loss of the confederates, in this bloody action, amounted to twenty thousand men. The French left more than eight thousand dead on the field. Though the abilities of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough extricated them with honour from this hazardous attack, men could scarce forgive their rashness in throwing away the lives of thousands, without any necessity. Mons might have been taken without a battle. The confederates, at least, might have had the choice of their own ground. Mons was invested on the twenty-fifth of September. The surrender of that place, on the twentieth of October, put an end to the campaign on the side of Flanders.

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THE unprovided state of the Imperialists scarce maintained the show of war, on the Upper-Rhine. The Elector of Brunswick, who commanded the army of the Empire, formed some important schemes. But he found the troops in no condition to second his designs. He proposed to pass the Rhine, and to penetrate into the Upper Alsace, while the Duke of Savoy should cross the Rhone and enter Franche-comté, where the two armies were to join. The Elector executed his part of the plan, as far as he was permitted by the wretched state of the forces under his command. The Duke of Savoy, displeased with the Emperor, became careless concerning the fate of the war. The Elector, in prosecution of his part of the scheme, detached Count Merci, with a strong body of troops, into the Upper Alsace. But on the twenty-sixth of August, that general was totally defeated by the Count de Bourg, and forced, with the shattered remains of his forces, to repass the Rhine. The defeat of Merci ended all military operations on that side. The Elector, during the remaining part of the campaign, kept himself within his lines; while the French, under

Operations
on the Up-
per Rhine.

Kane's Memoirs. M. de Feuquiere

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Campaign in
Dauphine
and Spain.

the Marechal d'Harcourt, raised heavy contributions in the neighbourhood of Landau and in the Marquisate of Baden^z.

THE disputes between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, concerning some territories in the dutchy of Milan, rendered the campaign inactive on the side of Dauphiné. The Duke refused to take the field in person. His troops remained upon the defensive; and the French were too feeble to make any attack of importance. In Spain, the principal and first object of contest, the war, as usual, was neglected by the confederates. The French King, either with a view to peace, or on account of the exhausted state of his own kingdom, had withdrawn his troops from Spain; and devolved on his grandson the defence of his own dominions. That Prince, thus left to his own resources, obtained considerable advantages over Charles the Third, and the Portugueze. The Chevalier d'Asfeldt took the castle of Alicant, on the seventeenth of April. The Earl of Galway was totally defeated by the Marquis de Bay, on the seventh of May, in the province of Estramadura. The Duke de Noailles, who commanded in Catalonia, obtained some advantages over the allies. But the Count Staremberg, who led the forces of Charles the Third in that kingdom, having endeavoured, in vain, to force the Marechal de Bezons to a battle, took Balaguier, in his presence, and, with that success, put an end to the campaign^a.

Naval affairs.

NOTHING remarkable happened at sea, in the course of the present year. The French, scarce able to support their armies by land, were utterly incapable of fitting out any fleet. Britain was, for some time, amused with great preparations made in her own ports. But the armament which was destined, it was said, for the coast of France, produced nothing but motions among the

^z Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

^a Publications of the times.

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militia of that kingdom. Though the ships of the French King remained useless in his harbours, his subjects, notwithstanding their distress at home, continued, with their usual activity, their depredations at sea. Their privateers infested the channel, and greatly interrupted the trade of the kingdom. Forming themselves into small squadrons, they carried their ravages and insults into America. They took the island of St. Thomas from the Portuguese. They made themselves masters of Fort St. John on the east coast of Newfoundland. These disadvantages, though trivial in themselves, raised some murmurs among the people. They complained, with reason, that while a numerous fleet, supported at a vast expence, lay useless in their ports at home, or were employed, with an idle parade, in carrying ineffectual succours to Spain, the trade of the kingdom was left to the mercy of a contemptible enemy^b.

DURING these transactions in the west of Europe, a signal event in the east contributed to render memorable the present year. The astonishing good fortune which had so long attended the King of Sweden, began to desert his arms in the end of the preceding campaign. But his affairs were not completely ruined till the fatal battle of Pultowa, which was fought on the eleventh of July. Having resolved to carry the war against the Czar into the heart of Russia, and encouraged by the defection of the Cossacks, he precipitately entered the Ukrain. His communication with Poland being cut off, he was reduced to the greatest distress for want of military stores and provisions. To supply himself at the expence of his enemies he sat down before Pultowa, which was full of magazines of every kind. The Czar marched to the relief of the place. The King of Sweden abandoned at once his own fate to the decision of a battle. He himself had taught the Russians to conquer. His whole army was either destroyed

The battle of
Pultowa.

^b Naval History.

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France makes
overtures of
peace.

in the action, or forced, soon after, to surrender at discretion. He crossed the Boristhenes, with three hundred of his guards. He gained Oczakow. He retired to Bender. His whole party fell as his fortune changed. King Augustus re-entered Poland. He was followed by the Czar. The Swedes retired to their own country; and King Stanislaus, deserting a throne which he could no longer hold, joined his unfortunate patron at Bender.

THOUGH the King of Sweden, during his prosperity, shewed no inclination to interfere in the war between the house of Bourbon and the confederates, the latter were relieved from a considerable degree of anxiety by the total ruin of that Prince's affairs. The French, though their intrigues had not hitherto prevailed upon Charles to espouse their cause, derived some faint hopes from his indignation against the Emperor's open breach of the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, which the former had, in a manner, extorted from the court of Vienna, by the terror of his arms. They found that their safety depended wholly on themselves; and, though the campaign had not proved so fatal to their affairs as they had reason to apprehend, their wretched state could promise nothing from a continuance of the war, but a series of misfortunes. The court of Versailles resolved, therefore, to renew their applications for a negociation of peace. This however could not be effected, either suddenly or with ease. Though the success of the allies had not answered their own expectations, the same difficulties which had frustrated the design of the former conferences continued. The very preliminary articles which France had rejected before the opening of the campaign, had become a new bond of union between the confederates; and, in some measure, a new law from which they could not recede. When, therefore, Lewis the Fourteenth demanded passes for his

* Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

commissioners

commissioners to go to the Hague, they were refused by the States-General. But they permitted Pettekum, the envoy of Holstein, to make a journey to Paris, to know what further offers the court of France were ready to make to the confederates^d.

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BUT before any progress was made in the overtures offered by France, events happened in Britain, which proved ultimately favourable to the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. The attempts of Harley in the cabinet, against the power of Marlborough and Godolphin, were rather suspended than defeated, by his removal from office. The violence of the Dutches of Marlborough, who seemed inclined to retrieve by force, the power she had lost with the Queen, contributed to confirm the influence of her rival with that Princess. Harley, through the means of the favourite, had frequent access to the closet^e. He owed no favour to the ministry; and he is said to have embarrassed their measures. But had they retained the confidence of the people, they might have been, in some degree, independent of the changed affections of the sovereign. The nation felt the grievous burden of the war, and they began to wish ardently for peace. The terms proposed to the French King, or rather imposed upon that Prince, in the conferences of the preceding May, though humiliating to France, contained no satisfaction, no concession of territory to Britain. The power that had most contributed, with troops, with valour, and with treasure, to subdue the enemy, was admitted to no share in his spoils. Cities, provinces, and monarchies, were transferred to the rest of the confederates. Britain was forced to rest satisfied, with the glory of giving kingdoms away^f.

Secret intrigues

THESE general observations, made by the people, were inflamed into complaints, by men who had an interest in opposing

and open complaints.

^d M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

^e Dutches of Marlborough.

^f Publications of the times.

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the ministry. The Tories, who had been long borne down by the splendid measures of Marlborough and Godolphin, began again to rear their heads and to rail at their conduct. Their retainers carried to the pulpit and press, such accusations of their opponents as suited their own views. Though many circumstances were exaggerated, there was certainly much ground for complaint. A want of attention to the interests of the nation, in defeating its hopes of peace, upon terms honourable to Britain and profitable to the rest of the allies, a neglect of the war in Spain, an exclusive attention to that in Flanders, the inactivity of the fleet, the decay of trade, for want of protection from the private armed vessels of the enemy, were all brought to the great account, with which the ministry were charged, with some colour of justice. To these accusations they added others, more to alarm the prejudices of the weak, than convince the sensible part of the nation. The cry, that the church was in danger, was renewed in all its force; and this circumstance was advanced with a confidence, that induced many to believe the intelligence true^f.

Parliament
meets, Nov.
15.

BUT though the current began to turn, its progress was, hitherto, slow. The success of the campaign in Flanders, had flattered the people into a kind of forgetfulness of their own complaints. They were again reconciled to a war, from which the kingdom derived so much renown. On the fifteenth of November, the parliament met at Westminster. The Queen, who, on account of the death of her husband, had not made her appearance in the preceding season, opened the present session, in person. The speeches of Princes are the echoes of the voice of their principal servants. The Queen expressed the usual sentiments concerning the war, and demanded the usual supplies. She complained that France had made use of all her artifices to amuse the allies, with false appearances and deceitful insinuations of her desire of peace^g.

^f Publications of the times. Burnet, vol. iv.^g Journals, Nov. 15.

Though the contrary was certainly the fact, the assertion was necessary to justify the continuance of the war. The commons, with great unanimity and zeal, proceeded on the supplies. More than six millions were demanded and granted; and the whole placed on good and sufficient funds ^h.

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THE unanimity of the commons was suddenly destroyed by an affair, trivial in itself, but important in its consequences. A brief detail of facts, will throw sufficient light on a subject rendered tedious and perplexed, by the zeal of contending parties. Henry Sacheverell, who kindled this new flame between the Whigs and Tories, was a clergyman, neither eminent in his character, nor obscure in his profession. Vehement by nature, a warm zealot from principle, attached to the most extravagant doctrines of the high-church, a determined enemy to Dissenters, to occasional conformists, and their abettors the whole party of the Whigs. Having distinguished himself in the country by his zeal and even by his violence, he was called, by a popular election, to a church in Southwark. Having a more extensive field for propagating his doctrines, he became soon to be generally known and followed, by those who favoured most the principles of the high-church. On the fifth of November of the present year, the anniversary of the gun-powder-plot, having obtained the pulpit at St. Paul's, he delivered a sermon, before the lord mayor and the court of aldermen, full of those expressions of complaint and jealousy, which were common to him with his whole party. In this discourse, he inveighed with passion if not with indecency, against the Dissenters, and the moderate part of the church of England; and, at the same time, conveyed severe strictures upon those in power. He inculcated also, in strong and vehement terms, the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, which, in its greatest latitude, was inconsistent with the late revolution ⁱ.

Doctor Sa-
cheverell

^h Journals, passim.

ⁱ Journals, Dec. 13.

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his extraordinary
sermon.

THE majority of the court of aldermen being attached to the principles of the low church, refused to thank Sacheverell, or to desire him to print his sermon, a compliment usually paid to those who preach before them on solemn days. The lord mayor was of the opposite party. He encouraged the Doctor, not only to publish the discourse, but to present it to him, in a dedication conceived in the same vehement strain with the sermon. The nation was composed of such combustible materials, that the least spark was sufficient to kindle the whole into a flame. The contests between leaders, for places of trust, profit, and power, had been improved into a settled principle, among their respective adherents. The two parties had been long persuaded, beyond the hopes of conviction, that their antagonists were determined to run into the most dreadful extremities, and to ruin the nation. The Tories believed, that the Whigs intended to establish a republican system of civil government, and to destroy the church. The Whigs were convinced, that the Tories were resolved to persecute the Dissenters, and to place the Pretender on the throne. The reception given to the sermon, and the opinions formed of the Doctor, were suitable to the extravagant passions of the two parties. The Tories extolled him as a person, who stood alone unsubdued in defence of the church, now on the brink of ruin. The Whigs gave him the name of a popish persecutor, an enemy to the Revolution, a devoted friend to the Pretender. The vehemence of both excited to such a pitch the curiosity of the whole people, that forty thousand copies of the sermon were circulated in the space of a few weeks^k.

He is im-
peached.

THE ministry, in an evil hour for their own power, suffered their passions, on this occasion, to overcome their prudence. The Earl of Godolphin, in particular, who was personally attacked in the sermon, was extremely irritated against the preacher.

^k Publications of the times.

The

The leaders of the Whigs, in general, shewed great eagerness to punish severely the man who attacked, with such boldness, those principles which they had held forth so long to the world. The crown lawyers were consulted. They declared, that the offence was not punishable by common law. The more moderate part of the ministry proposed, that the sermon should be only burnt, by the order of both houses, and the author confined during the session. The most violent declared, that a more solemn punishment was necessary, to stigmatize a crime of such dangerous tendency. They proposed, therefore, an impeachment, as the most dignified mode of proceeding against a man, in whose person they resolved to punish his whole party. Complaint of the sermon, was accordingly made in the house of commons¹. Sacheverell was ordered to attend, on the fourteenth of December. He was taken into custody, and instantly impeached. The high-church party flew into the most violent resentment. The whole people were roused to attention. Many were alarmed. The emissaries of the two parties spread the flame with successful zeal. They neglected their private concerns. The business of the public was neglected. All looked forward with eagerness, to this one point, as if the fate of the nation depended on the issue of Sacheverell's impeachment.

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THE year ended in the midst of the ferment, raised by this extraordinary affair. On the ninth of January 1710, the commons exhibited the articles, being four in number, against Dr. Sacheverell. They affirmed, that the Doctor suggested and maintained, that the necessary means for effectuating the late Revolution, were odious and unjustifiable. That the toleration to Dissenters was both unreasonable and unwarrantable. That the church of England was in danger, under the Queen's administration. That there were persons in office, that endeavoured to

1710.
Articles
against him.
A general
ferment.

¹ Dec. 13, 1703.

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overturn the constitution, and that through the whole management of affairs, there was a general maladministration and corruption. Sacheverell's answer was artful and judicious. He denied the charge in general, but evaded the particulars. The replication of the commons employed some time. The whole course of the proceedings was slow; and the high-church party were thus furnished with time to gain the people to their side. The clergy in general espoused the cause of Sacheverell. The pulpits resounded every where with his praise. He was called the champion of the established religion, the only person who stood in the breach, against the designs formed by the Whigs against the very being of the church. The populace were inflamed into a degree of madness against the whole party; and the enthusiasm, which they had frequently converted to forward their own views, was now turned, with redoubled fury, on themselves^m.

Feb.
His trial.

To give the more solemnity to a matter on which, according to the opinions of a majority of the people, the fate of religion depended, the commons resolved to assist, in a grand committee, at the trial. To accommodate this numerous body, Westminster-hall was prepared, at a great expence of money and time. At length, on the twenty-seventh of February, the trial began. During three weeks, the time it continued, London was a scene of riot, anarchy, and confusion. The populace daily attended Sacheverell, from his lodgings in the Temple to Westminster-hall; and rent the air with acclamations of applause. They were even animated to such a pitch of fury, that they pulled down several dissenting meeting-houses, threatened several peers of the opposite party with violence, and insulted such members of the house of commons, as were most eager against their favourite. The trial, in the mean time, proceeded. As

^m Publications of the times.

the Doctor had acknowledged himself the author of the sermon, no witnesses were produced; and the whole time was spent in altercation and argument. The managers, appointed by the commons, consisted chiefly of men in office. They distinguished themselves, by defending the late revolution, with obvious, and, at any other time, popular arguments. Sacheverell was principally defended by his council, by shewing that his expressions, without being wrested from their true meaning, could not be applied to the crimes of which he was accused. When the counsel had ended the defence, Sacheverell himself concluded, with reading a speech, in which he justified his doctrines with some energy and a great deal of heat, expressing his approbation of the Revolution, and his respect for the reigning Queen and her governmentⁿ.

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WHEN the accusation and defence were ended, the lords entered into warm debates. The arguments, on both sides, partook more of the nice distinctions of the schools, than of that manly and decisive reasoning, more to be wished for than expected among great bodies of men. None defended absolutely the doctrine of non-resistance. But several, though they avowed their concern in the late Revolution, affirmed, that those who examined it least were its best friends. A bishop said, that a veil ought to be thrown over that transaction. That men should rather call it a vacancy and an abdication, than receive its benefits, as the consequence of resistance. The Duke of Leeds improved on these puerile refinements, in a very long and laboured speech. He owned, that he had a great share in the Revolution. But he never thought, he said, that things would have been driven so far, as to settle the crown on the Prince of Orange. He affirmed, that the Prince had often told him, that he himself had no such thoughts. That a distinction ought to be made between resistance and revo-

Debates of
the lords.

ⁿ Printed speech.

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lution. That vacancy or abdication was the subject of the debates of the convention; and that resistance, a word both dangerous and odious, ought for ever to be forgot. He observed, with peculiar sagacity, that had not the attempt succeeded, it would have certainly been rebellion; and that, for his part, he knew no other but hereditary right^o.

Sacheverell
found guilty.

THOUGH the arguments, on the other side, were neither new nor, perhaps, conclusive, they were more intelligible and manly. The lords, as the result of the debate, declared, that the articles exhibited by the commons were proved. But they found it difficult to determine, what censure should be passed on Sacheverell. Those who argued most against his doctrines, seemed least inclined to be severe. The populace were already inflamed to a degree of fury. Many dreaded personal insults. Some were afraid of commotions, which the enemies of the kingdom might improve to their own advantage. A few, who thought they had gone too far, from a prudent regard to their own interest, began dexterously to fall down with the tide. The sentence, therefore, which was passed, if not unequal to the guilt of Sacheverell, was certainly unsuitable to the dignity of his accusers and the solemnity of his trial. He was suspended, for three years, from preaching, and his sermon was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The famous decree of the university of Oxford, passed upon occasion of the Rye-house plot, in the year 1683, was also burnt, by a vote of the lords. This decree, in an uncommon strain of servility, recognised the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance in the most unlimited sense of the words, owned the absolute and indefeasible rights of Kings, and the unalterableness of the hereditary succession to the crown^p.

Preliminaries
of peace
offered by
France.

WHILE the whole attention of the British nation was engaged, by the prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell, the French continued to

^o Parl. debates. Publications of the times.

^p Printed Decree.

make earnest solicitations to the allies, for the restoration of the public tranquillity. The opening made by Pettekum, the envoy of Holstein, in the end of the year, induced the court of Versailles to offer the sending plenipotentiaries, to any part in Holland or Flanders, the States General should appoint, to enter into immediate negociations of peace. They proposed, instead of the preliminaries signed by the allies, in the preceding year, to reduce their own concessions into a more comprehensive, but an equally ample form. The French King engaged himself to acknowledge Charles the Third as King of Spain, to withdraw all succours from his grandson, to forbear sending him any future assistance, to forbid his subjects to enlist in his service, to consent that no part of the Spanish monarchy should ever be united with France. To the Emperor and empire, he promised to restore the city of Strasbourg, the town of Brisac, to content himself with Alsace, in the literal sense of the treaty of Munster, to cede the town of Landau, to rase all his fortifications on the Rhine, from Basil to Philipsburg, to acknowledge the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Hannover. With regard to Great Britain, he engaged himself to acknowledge Queen Anne and the protestant succession, to restore Newfoundland, and to demolish the fortifications and to ruin the harbour of Dunkirk, to consent that the Pretender should leave the dominions of France. To the States he promised to yield the barrier specified, in their own preliminaries, to confirm his former offers, with regard to their trade. To the Duke of Savoy he granted all the demands of the allies. But, in return, he expected, that the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, should be restored to their territories and dignities⁹.

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THESE proposals being rejected by the confederates, France made additions to her concessions. Having obtained passes from the States, the court of Versailles dispatched the Marechal d'Huxelles

Conferences
at Gertruy-
denberg

⁹ De Torcy, tom. ii.

and

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and the Abbé de Polignac, as her plenipotentiaries to conclude a peace. These ministers arrived at Moerdyke, on the ninth of March. After various conferences with Buys and Vander Duffen, the deputies of the States, they opened, on the twentieth of the month, a serious negociation of peace at Gertruydenburg. During repeated conferences, with the intervention of several expressees, sent by the plenipotentiaries to Versailles for further powers, the French departed from almost all the reservations they had made, in the preliminaries sent in the beginning of the year to Holland. They agreed to relinquish every demand of an equivalent for the cession of the Spanish monarchy. They offered even a subsidy of a million of livres, a month, to the allies, till King Philip should be driven from Spain. They relinquished even Alsace to the Emperor; and, as a security for the performance of the articles of the treaty, engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders, into the hands of the allies. The haughtiness of the States, who had the management of the negociation, induced their deputies to rise in their demands, in proportion as France increased her concessions. They insisted that Lewis the Fourteenth, instead of paying a subsidy towards the war against his grandson, should assist the allies with all his forces, to expel him from the throne*.

are fruitless.

IN this untoward state of the negociation, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, at the request of the Dutch, came to give their advice concerning the object of the congress. Men who profited so much by the war, were not likely to hasten the conclusion of peace. Their influence with Heinfius, who had established a kind of unlimited power over the councils of the States, facilitated the completion of their views. Safe in a person in whom they had reason to place an unbounded confidence, they contrived to induce the Emperor and the Queen

* De Torcy, tom. ii.

of Great Britain to throw the whole negociation into the hands of the republic. The characters of the Dutch deputies, who managed the conferences at Gertruydenberg, were more calculated to embarrass any negociation, than to bring it to a happy conclusion. Buys, was a vain, confident, and tedious man. He mistook his own loquacity for eloquence; and being passionately fond of displaying this talent, involved his subject in figures and unmeaning declamation. Vander Duffen was worse than a mere cypher in the conference; as his silence, by being taken for assent, confirmed his colleague in his impertinences*. In the hands of such men, it was not likely that any negociation, however favourable the terms might have been for the confederates, could be brought to any degree of forwardness, before the season proper for commencing the operations of the campaign.

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WHILE ineffectual conferences for restoring peace continued at Gertruydenberg, the allies carried on the war in Flanders, with an appearance of vigour. The Duke of Marlborough and the Prince of Savoy, having assembled the army near Tournay, in the middle of April, entered the French lines, without resistance, and sat down before Douay, in the beginning of May. Arras would have been the shortest way to the heart of France, there being no place of strength between that city and Amiens, the capital of Picardy. But the generals of the confederates determined on the siege of Douay, as that place covered Lille and the rest of their conquests in Flanders. This city, strong in its situation, but ill fortified, was garrisoned with eight thousand men. The trenches were opened in the first week in May, and the siege was not ended till the twenty-ninth of June. The enemy, having assembled near Péronne, advanced toward Cambray, with a force sufficient to relieve Douay. But the defeat of one army might endanger the fall of the state; and, therefore, the Mare-

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Flanders.

* De Torcy, vol. i.

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Several places
taken by the
allies.

schal de Villars, who commanded the French, after having advanced to within cannon shot of the allies, thought proper to retire, leaving Douay to its fate.

HE observed the same prudent conduct throughout the whole of the present campaign. The confederates took successively Bethune¹, St. Venant², and Aire³. The long resistance made by those towns, comprehended all the operations of the war, on the side of Flanders. The allies gained three places of importance, and conquered twelve leagues of a fine country; but they lost twenty-six thousand men by the sword, and half their infantry was ruined by wounds, disease, and fatigue⁴. The French experienced but one instance of good fortune in the present summer. The garrison of Ypres cut off a convoy, with military stores, carried in boats along the Lys, under the command of the Earl of Athlone. That nobleman having gallantly defended himself for some time, his whole body of infantry, consisting of more than one thousand men, were either slain or taken. The cavalry were broken and dispersed, the boats and stores taken. The victors having carried away whatever was portable, set fire to the magazine of powder. The explosion was so violent, that some neighbouring villages were overturned. The earth trembled all the way to Valenciennes, and even to St. Quintin, and the Lys was separated into two channels, by the opening of the ground and its navigation interrupted.

Affairs of
Germany and
Savoy.

THE same inactivity which disgraced former campaigns, continued throughout the summer, on the banks of the Rhine. The French were weakened, by detachments to their army in Flanders. The army of the empire, slow as usual in its motions, and unprovided with the means of war, were either incapable or unwilling to convert to their own advantage, the opportunity offered by the

¹ August 29.² Sept. 19.³ Nov. 9.⁴ Hist. d'Angleterre.

feebleness

ness of the enemy. The Elector of Hannover, justly judging of the unprepared state of the Imperialists, by their unpardonable negligence in former campaigns, declined a command, in which nothing could be expected but disgrace. The war, on the side of Savoy, produced no action of any importance. The disagreement between the Emperor and the Duke still continuing, the latter refused to take the field in person. Count Thaun commanded the army. He was opposed, on the side of France, by the Duke of Berwick. The vigilance, activity, and conduct of the Duke, disappointed all the advantages, which the allies might have reasonably expected from their superior force. But the discontent of the Duke of Savoy seemed to have extended themselves to his army. They were cold and languid in all their motions, and hovered, throughout the summer, on the frontiers of Dauphiné, without making any effort that deserved to be named.

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THE campaign in Spain was rendered memorable, by the alternate defeats of the two pretenders to the throne of that kingdom. Philip the Fifth, with an army consisting entirely of Spaniards, took the field in the beginning of May. Having passed the Segra, he sat down, on the fifteenth of the month, before Balaguer, and raised batteries against the place. But upon the approach of Count Staremberg, he repassed the river, and retired to Lerida, where he waited for a reinforcement of troops, from every side; King Charles having, in the mean time, resolved to meet his rival in the field, joined the army near Balaguer, in the beginning of June. Philip, willing to bring the contest to a decision, passed, a second time, the Segra. The two armies directing their march to Almenara, came to a battle, in the neighbourhood of that place^y. The charge was furious on both sides. But the victory was soon decided. The cavalry of Philip were dispersed in the first shock. His infantry were driven from the field. He retired with his

Operations in
Spain, battle
of Almenara.

^y July 27.

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broken

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ragossa.

broken army, leaving his artillery and greatest part of his baggage to the enemy. His loss in men was inconsiderable; and he found means to collect seventeen thousand of the fugitives, under the cannon of Lerida^y.

THE rout at Almenara was but a prelude to a greater misfortune, which soon after fell on the arms of Philip the Fifth. That Prince, to cut off the communication between the enemy and Castile, passed the Cinca and marched toward Sarragossa. On the eighteenth of August, he fixed his camp within a league of that city. The count de Staremburg, one of the most able generals of the age, commanded the allies. The Marquis de Bay, being recalled by Philip from the province of Estramadura, was placed at the head of the Spaniards. The first fought earnestly after an opportunity of giving battle. The latter avoided it in vain. The Spaniards were again routed, with the loss of three thousand men. They, however, found means to save their artillery and baggage, though they retired in great disorder to Tudela. The British troops, under general Stanhope, bore the chief share in a victory, which threatened to decide the fate of Spain. The victors marched straight to Madrid. Philip quitted, a second time, the capital to his rival, and retired to Valladolid. The religious enthusiasm of the Castilians, together with a rooted aversion to the house of Austria, under whose feeble tyranny they had languished for near two centuries, was of greater benefit to Philip than their arms. They considered Charles the Third as a King imposed upon them by Heretics; and their attachment to his rival rose in proportion to his misfortunes^z. General Stanhope, who had possessed himself of Madrid, was better calculated to defeat an enemy, than to gain the affections of the vanquished. The army lived at large upon the people, without order, without

^y Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. iii. Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii.

^z Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii. &c.

moderation,

moderation, and without discipline. They raised contributions on private persons. They pillaged the churches, and sold publicly the utensils of the altar. The ravages of the confederates combining with the obstinacy of the Spaniards, created such a dearth of provisions in Castile, that seventeen thousand men, the number of which the victors consisted, found themselves incapable of subsisting in the kingdom *.

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VIII.
1710.

THE inconsiderate severity of the allies, contributed to increase greatly the affections of the Castilians for the house of Bourbon. On the other hand, the Duke de Vendôme, whom the caprice of the Duke of Burgundy had rendered useless to France, assumed, at the request of Philip, the chief command in Spain. The nobility crowded from every side, with their followers, round the standard of a general in whose conduct they could confide. To these were joined thirty-five battalions of French foot, with twenty-eight squadrons of horse, detached from Dauphiné by the Duke of Berwick. The army under Vendôme, before the end of October, amounted to thirty thousand men. Another army of French, under the Duke de Noailles, assembled in Roussillon, were preparing to enter Catalonia. These efforts on the side of Philip, were seconded by dissensions among the allies. The latter retreated, in a kind of confusion, toward Catalonia, whither Charles had already retired. They divided themselves, for the benefit of subsistence, into two bodies. Staremberg commanded the most numerous, and marched in front. Stanhope, with five thousand British troops, brought up the rear. The latter stopt, on the eighth of December, at a small unfortified town called Briheuga. He was ignorant that hope gives wings to soldiers as well as fear. The Duke de Vendôme had swam across the Tagus with all his cavalry. He was just at the heels of Stanhope, when that general had the imprudence to shut himself up in full security in the

Gen. Stan-
hope taken
prisoner, with
5000 British
troops.

* Hist. d'Angleterre.

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1710.

Battle of Vil-
la-Viciofa.

village of Briheuga. Stanhope was invested, without hopes of escape, before he perceived his danger. He defended himself with great spirit; but he was at length forced to surrender at discretion^b.

THE Count de Staremburg, apprized of the danger of general Stanhope, returned to his relief with his whole army. But this circumstance, instead of serving the cause of the confederates, was productive of fresh misfortunes. He came too late to disengage his friends, and he had advanced too far to retreat with safety from his enemies. The Duke de Vendôme met the allies at Villa-Viciofa, about two leagues from the place of Stanhope's misfortune. He searched for an opportunity of engaging the enemy. Staremburg could not avoid an action. The battle was fierce, bloody, and obstinate. The general of the confederates displayed all the courage of the foldier, with the talents of a consummate commander. After his left was broken and routed, he maintained the fight with a single battalion, in the midst of which he had placed himself. Night, at length, more than the efforts of the enemy, forced him to make his retreat. The field of battle, with twenty pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some waggons of provisions and ammunition, remained to Vendôme. Three thousand of the confederates were slain in the action, and as many were taken in and near the field. But it was rather a retreat than a flight. Staremburg had his trophies as well as Vendôme. The honours of victory were even disputed by the former. But the progress of the Spaniards, after the action, ascertained that their claims were better founded. The Duke de Noailles made a considerable progress in Catalonia. The efforts of the Marquis de Bay were attended with some success in Estramadura. He prevented the junction of the Portugueze with the Count de Staremburg, and extended his ravages and contributions into the very heart of the kingdom of Portugal^c.

^b Printed accounts.^c Hist. de Portugal, d'Angleterre, et d'Espagne.

THE fleets of the maritime powers, according to custom, in the present war, cost a great deal and did little service. Their chief employment during the summer, was the transporting of feeble succours to Catalonia and Portugal. To weaken, by making a diversion on the coast of France, the reinforcements destined to march from that kingdom to Spain, a descent was made upon the coast of Languedoc. On the twentieth of July, the confederate fleet, under Sir John Norris and the Dutch admiral Somersdyke, sailed from Barcelona. They arrived, on the twenty-fourth, before the town of Cette, which fell into their hands the next day. The Duke de Noailles, having, upon the alarm of the descent, marched hastily from Roussillon, with two thousand dragoons, having each a foot-soldier behind, the enemy thought proper to quit their conquests and to re-embark their troops. The French court, in the mean time, incapable of fitting out a fleet, permitted almost all their great ships to lie idle, under the protection of the forts which defended their harbours. The armed vessels of their subjects, and a few squadrons of royal frigates, interrupted the commerce of the maritime powers in a greater degree than in the preceding year. The merchants carried their complaints to the board of admiralty. But they excused themselves by alleging, that the whole navy was employed in carrying succours to Spain, and in keeping open an uninterrupted communication with the army in Flanders.

C H A P.
VII.

1710.
Naval affairs.

THE affairs of the North, which suffered so great a change by the defeat of the King of Sweden, at the battle of Pultowa, in the preceding year, continued to wear a face of importance. The Swedes, deserted by their King, were surrounded with foes on every side. The Czar made an alarming progress in Livonia. He took Webourg in Finland, on the twenty-fifth of June. Riga surrendered on the eleventh of July, the fort of Dunemunde, on the twelfth of August, and Revel, on the first of November.

Affairs of the
North.

The

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1710.

The King of Denmark profiting by the misfortunes of Sweden, had invaded that kingdom; and the calamity of a destructive pestilence was added to the ravages of war. The Swedes, assuming courage from despair, opposed the Danes with a body of militia, their regular troops being employed against the Czar. The general Steenbock commanded the new levies of the Swedes, on the side of Denmark. He had the confidence to come to battle with the enemy^d. The Danes were totally routed. They lost eight thousand men, besides wounded, on the field of battle. Their baggage, their tents, their artillery, passed into the hands of the victors; and thus Sweden rendered herself again formidable to her enemies, after a long and unfortunate war, which had deprived her of her sovereign. Charles the Twelfth continued, in the mean time, at Bender, making fruitless solicitations to the Porte for aid against the Czar his mortal enemy^e.

^d March 10.^e Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

C H A P. VIII.

State of domestic affairs.—Steps towards a change.—Imprudence of Godolphin and obstinacy of Marlborough.—Sunderland dismissed.—The allies interpose.—Leaders of the Whigs disgraced.—Character of the Earl of Wharton.—Marlborough offers his service to the Pretender.—He receives a letter from the exiled Queen.—He applies to the house of Hannover.—He accuses Harley of Jacobitism.—Uneasiness of the allies and hopes of France.—Secret views of the court of St. Germain.—Godolphin's project for the Pretender.—His character.—A total change in the ministry.—Intrigues of St. John and Harcourt.—Whigs and Tories apply to Hannover.—New parliament.—Inquiry into mismanagements.—Coldness towards Marlborough.—Immense supplies.—Harley stabbed.—He is made Earl of Oxford and lord-treasurer.—Parallel between him and the Earl of Rochester.—Schemes of the Pretender.—He writes to Queen Anne.—Endeavours to gain the ministry.—Their professions to the family of Hannover.—Death of the Emperor.—Campaign of 1711.—In Flanders.—In Germany, Savoy, and Spain.—Naval affair.—State and views of the house of Bourbon.—And of the British ministry.—Advances towards a peace.—A memorial from France.—Preliminaries of Great Britain.—Mr. Prior sent to France.—Menager sent privately to London.—Prior discovered on his return.—The preliminaries become public.—Are defended by the ministry.—They resolve upon a peace.—Intrigues of Buys, the Dutch ambassador.—Elector of Hannover opposes the peace.—Intrigues of Bothmar.—Dangerous schemes of the Whigs and confederates.—Marlborough's zeal for the Pretender.—Affair of the medal in Scotland.—A session of

of parliament.—Intrigues of the allies and Whigs.—The lords declare against a peace.—Duke of Hamilton's patent rejected.—Proceedings of the commons.—Disgrace of the Duke of Marlborough.—Cause of that measure.—Observations on his character and conduct.—Reflections.

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VIII.

1710.
State of domestic affairs.

DURING the undecisive operations of the campaign abroad, the state of affairs at home, suffered a very important change. The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, having defeated, some years before, the intrigues of Harley in the cabinet, had resolved to hold, by the means of party, the power which they despaired to possess by the inclination of the sovereign. As long as they retained the affections of the Queen, the confidence which their splendid measures had acquired from the people, was sufficient to support them against the irregular attacks of the two irreconcilable parties, that had harassed the nation for such a number of years, with their contests and their noise. But when the violence of the Dutches of Marlborough had destroyed that influence, which she had extended into a kind of tyranny over the timid mind of her mistress, they found it necessary to strengthen themselves, by forming a connexion with the Whigs. They gained, therefore, the leaders of that party, by admitting them into places of trust and profit; and, fortified, by this political alliance, they held their sovereign in chains. The Queen, unable to extricate herself from this species of captivity, affected to adopt measures which she was not permitted to guide.

Steps toward
a change in
the ministry.

THOUGH Harley and the followers of his fortune were no strangers to the state of the Queen's mind, they could form no reasonable expectations, on any exertion of that Princess for the recovery of her authority. They perceived, that a change in the sentiments of the people, was necessary to render effectual the efforts of the sovereign. The populace, for many years, had been

been uniformly gained to the views of party, by the constant alarms given, from time to time, to their zeal for the protestant religion. The Whigs, by harping judiciously on this string, had frequently taken the cabinet by storm. They had often triumphed over their political opponents, by the means of popular clamour, even when that party had formed a great majority in the houses of parliament. The Tories made repeated efforts to take possession of an engine, that had so much annoyed themselves. The opinion, that the church of England was in danger, from the Dissenters and men of levelling principles, had been propagated with great zeal, ever since the beginning of the present reign. The eloquence of the pulpit had been joined to the polemical arguments issued from the press. The established clergy themselves began, through use, to believe the doctrine which had been first propagated for the purposes of party. The vulgar gradually gave credit to what they heard so often and so vehemently urged. The Queen herself, with a credulity not unsuitable to her sex, was alarmed at a tale, which, she thought, was too often repeated not to have some foundation in fact.

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THE imprudence of the Earl of Godolphin was the means of setting fire to a train, that had been laid for several years. Persecution is always more successful than persuasion, in confirming speculative tenets in weak minds. The attack upon Dr. Sacheverell, the solemnity and length of his trial, the vast inequality between the accusers and the accused, the vehemence of the Whigs, in throwing the whole weight of government in the scale against a private person, raised the pity of the people; and that passion was improved into acts of violence, by the art, perseverance, and clamours of zealots of the high-church party. The current, which had been long changing, ran down with a force, that levelled every thing in its course. Harley and his followers added their own weight to its violence. The Queen herself, en-

The imprudence of Godolphin,

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couraged by the noise of the populace, fell gradually down with the stream. She had been long disgusted with the behaviour of Marlborough. She hated the tyranny and feared the violence of his wife. She considered herself as a kind of prisoner in the hands of a family, who had, in a manner clothed themselves with the whole authority of the crown, and struck the sceptre from her hands. With a passion natural to all princes, she was averse to the levelling principles held forth by the Whigs; and, for the same reason, she abetted those of the Tories.

and obstinacy
of Marl-
borough.

THOUGH the nation was not inflamed against the Whigs, to a degree sufficient to deprive them of power, till the solemn trial of Sacheverell, the Queen assumed some courage from the colour of the times, in the beginning of the present year. Mrs. Masham, the new favourite, had a brother, Colonel Hill, who had distinguished himself in the battle of Almanza. The influence of his sister, more, perhaps, than his merit, had recommended Hill to the attention of the Queen; and she shewed an inclination to raise him to the command of a regiment of dragoons, vacant by the death of the Earl of Essex. The Duke of Marlborough, who had uninterruptedly possessed the disposal of all military promotions, opposed, with obstinacy, the advancement of Hill, as the brother of a woman, who had rendered herself odious to himself and his family. He retired to the country. He threatened to resign the command of the army. He employed his friends to terrify the Queen and her favourite, with addresses from the parliament. The Earl of Sunderland, the Duke's son-in-law, then secretary of state, had formed a design to procure a vote of the commons, to remove Mrs. Masham from the Queen's presence and service^a. Apprized of this intended violence, Hill entreated the Queen to desist from her purpose in his favour. She complied with his request, for the time. But it became evident, that she was re-

^a Jan. 23, 1710.

solved to seize the first favourable opportunity of ridding herself of servants whom she now considered as tyrants^b.

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THE flame which had seized the nation, upon the trial of Sacheverell, soon furnished the enemies of the family of Marlborough with the means of divesting them of their power. Harley and his associates having free access to the Queen, through her favourite, turned events, as they gradually rose, to their own advantage. The changes, which soon after became general, were begun in the middle of April. The Duke of Shrewsbury, who had distinguished himself in the debates concerning Sacheverell, against the ministry, was made chamberlain^c, in the room of the Earl of Kent, who had resigned that office upon his being raised to the dignity of a Duke. The promotion of Shrewsbury was considered as a prelude to the fall of the ministry. The people were industriously prepared for an important change. The principles of the Whigs were, every where, represented as dangerous to monarchy and destructive to the church. The Tories, by possessing by far the greatest portion of the lands of the kingdom, were said to possess the best title to power. Those who formed the monied interest were called new men, that owed their very existence to the misfortunes of the state. They descended from general observations on parties, to accusations of particular persons. They affirmed, that the ministry, consisting chiefly of one family, had excluded all others from every influence and power in the state; while they held the Sovereign herself in the most abject slavery. They shewed, that naval affairs were absolutely neglected. That the war in Spain was sacrificed to the glory of the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders. That the conquests of that general produced no advantage to the nation. That his power was formidable, his wealth immense, his connexions extensive; and

hasten the fall
of the party.

^b Hist. d'Angleterre. MS. 1710.

^c April 14,

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1710.

Sunderland
dismissed.

that his excessive attachment to the interests of the States of the United Provinces, founded, perhaps, on those selfish passions to which he was subject, was sufficient to render him suspected of being capable of the worst designs^d.

THOUGH neither the Duke of Marlborough nor the Earl of Godolphin were any longer strangers to the bad terms on which they stood with the Queen, they derived some hopes of the continuance of their power from her fears. But when, on the fourteenth of June, the seals were taken from the Earl of Sunderland, neither they nor the nation could entertain any doubt, that a total change was near. The removal of the Earl from his office, elevated his enemies as much as it depressed his friends. The Tories crowded the presence of the Queen with addresses and congratulations on her conduct. They extolled her Majesty for asserting her just prerogative. They rejoiced, they said, at her having emancipated herself from the caprice and tyranny of an insolent junto, who had kept her in dependence and chains. The Whigs, on the other side, though at first they yielded to their despair, endeavoured to support themselves with the people, in opposition to the Queen. They suggested and propagated a notion, that the credit of the nation wholly depended on the lord-treasurer. They affirmed, that the success of the war had proceeded from the abilities and the astonishing good fortune of the Duke of Marlborough. To support the first of those maxims, they contrived to sink the price of the national stocks, by withdrawing their own money from the funds, with every symptom of consternation and panic. The directors of the bank of England were, at the same time, induced by the party to represent to the Queen, the danger likely to attend the changing of her principal servants.

^d Publications of the times.

WHILE

WHILE the Whigs involved the monied interest at home, in their own cause, the Duke of Marlborough endeavoured to support the tottering authority of the party, by the interposition of foreign powers. The Emperor and the States, attentive of themselves to the domestic affairs of Great Britain, listened readily to the suggestions of the Duke, and employed their good offices with the Queen. The Count de Gallas, the imperial minister, and Vrybergen the Dutch envoy, represented to her Majesty, the bad consequences which might result to the affairs of the grand alliance from a change in her servants. They affirmed, that even rumours spread of her intentions of placing the management of her affairs in other hands, had already filled the confederates with jealousies and suspicions, and raised the confidence and expectations of their enemies. Though the Queen ascribed these unusual interpositions of other States, more to the arts of the Duke of Marlborough than to their zeal for the common cause, she dissembled her resentment. She made answer to the Count de Gallas, that whatever change she might make at home, the Duke of Marlborough should continue to manage the war abroad.

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1710.
Foreign
powers inter-
pose for the
ministry.

THIS unusual effort, instead of serving the party, was turned against them, with success, by their political enemies. Severe reflections were made upon the Emperor and the Dutch, for presuming to interfere in the internal affairs of a great and independent kingdom. The Tories inveighed, with vehemence, against Marlborough, as the source from whom this fresh affront to the Queen had sprung. The Duke, on his part, was equally enraged. His passion overcame that coolness of behaviour and deliberate address, which supplied, in his character, the absence of great parts. He seemed resolved, by a sudden and great effort, to triumph over his enemies, and to revenge himself upon

Marlborough
offers his ser-
vices to the
Pretender.

* Hist. of Queen Anne. Hist. d'Angleterre.

the

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the Queen. When he received intelligence of the intended disgrace of Sunderland, he wrote instantly to the Duke of Berwick^f, and offered his services to the court of St. Germain. Though he had often disappointed, before, the hopes of the excluded family, they resolved to treat him with attention and an appearance of confidence. They thought they could trust his present professions, as he was obliged to form new engagements, for his own safety. Besides, they were afraid, that should they slight his advances, he would attach himself to the house of Hannover. The Pretender himself was, at the time, serving the campaign in Flanders, under the Marechal de Villars. The exiled Queen wrote, therefore, an answer to Marlborough; and Villars transmitted it to his adversary by a trumpet^g.

Letter to him
from the ex-
iled Queen.

IN this letter, which was written with a degree of judgment and spirit, she expressed her joy that Marlborough continued firm to the promises which he had so often made to her husband and her son. She was, however, surprised to find that he entertained thoughts of quitting his high command. "Your retreat," she said, "will render you useless to your friends, and an easy prey to your enemies. You are too large a mark to be missed by the shafts of malice. The safety of your opponents consists in your ruin. They will reduce the army, where you have such great influence. They will fill all the branches of the revenue with their creatures. The credit of the new officers, the influence of their preachers, the weight of the treasury, will not fail to return a new parliament very different from the present. Throw not, therefore, away the means of supporting yourself and of assisting your friends. You are lost if you quit your employments. But there is great difficulty in keeping them with dignity. Interest itself now declares for your honour. You cannot be in safety without doing justice, nor preserve your greatness

^f June 20.^g Stuart-papers, 1710.

without

without discharging your duty. The time is precious to you, and important to my son. You desire us to apply to Mrs. Masham, the new favourite of the Princess Anne. How can we, my Lord, apply to a stranger? Mrs. Masham owes us no obligations. She has neither pledged her faith, nor promised her assistance. You have repeatedly done both, my lord; and now it is in your power to place my son in a condition to protect yourself^b."

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THOUGH this letter had no decisive effect on Marlborough, he continued to hold a friendly communication with the Pretender. He wrote, repeatedly, concerning him, to Villars¹. He expressed, on many occasions, an anxious concern for his health and the prosperity of his affairs. His own situation became every day more critical and perplexed. Anne, supported by the vehemence of the Tories, and the counsels of Harley, no longer disguised her design of ridding herself of the Whigs. On the eighth of August, the Earl of Godolphin received a message from the Queen, to break his staff as lord-treasurer of Great Britain. The treasury was immediately put in commission. The Earl Powlet was constituted the chief at the board. But the secret of affairs was known to lie in the hands of Robert Harley, made chancellor of the Exchequer. This change in the treasury was the forerunner of alterations in the other departments of the state. The Lord Somers, the president of the council, being dismissed, was succeeded, on the twenty-first of September, in that high office, by the Earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to the Queen. Boyle, secretary of state, prevented his disgrace, by a voluntary resignation of the seals. These were placed in the hands of St. John, formerly secretary at war. The Duke of Devonshire left his place of lord-steward of the household, to the Duke of Buckingham. The

A change in
the ministry.

¹ Stuart-papers, 1710.

² Ibid.

Earl

C H A P.
VIII.

1710.

Earl of Orford, better known under the name of Admiral Ruffel, first commissioner of the admiralty, resigned. The Duke of Marlborough would have been also dismissed; but his reputation was too high with the nation to render safe his immediate disgrace^k.

Character of
the Earl of
Wharton.

THE removal of the Earl of Wharton, from the government of Ireland, was a salutary piece of justice to that kingdom. This nobleman, though possessing distinguished talents, had been uniformly obnoxious to the virtuous of both parties, on account of an abandoned profligacy of principle, which he was at no pains to conceal from the world. In a contempt of all religion, he made an idle parade of infidelity. Impatient of restraints of any kind, he avowed himself the enemy of all government. To be connected with a party was necessary, in a country where preferment was gained, like victories, by the force of numbers. He adhered, therefore, to the Whigs, as a line more suitable for the exertion of his talents. In the management of mobs, in the tumults of elections, in reconciling the inconsiderate and sanguine to his views, by baits of profligate pleasures, the Earl of Wharton had no equal. In his exhibitions in the house of lords, he possessed a ready, rather than a solid eloquence. His imagination was quick, his satire poignant, his wit fertile, but coarse. He often spoke what are familiarly called GOOD THINGS, as he was afraid of saying nothing that was bad. Having acquired the reputation of a Wit, he endeavoured to support it on every occasion; and, with an incontinence suitable to those who grasp at fame, in that way, frequently sacrificed his best friends to a joke. He was, however, so useful to his party, that he was encouraged even by the graver heads of the Whigs; and thus, with talents which could scarce gain him bread in any other line, he became considerable in politics. To repair his fortune, which he had

^k Hist. of Europe, 1710.

squandered,

squandered, he alleged, in the service of the party, he was sent to Ireland; and if his purpose was not answered, it was rather for want of time than assiduity.

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VIII.

1710.

The Duke of Marlborough, of his whole party, remained alone in office. But notwithstanding this complaisance toward the person of Marlborough, he was not capable of suppressing his resentment against Harley, his mortal enemy. Though he himself was in the most intimate correspondence with the court of St. Germans, he accused the new ministry to the Elector of Hannover, as fully determined to restore the Pretender. In a letter to his Electoral Highness, on the thirteenth of August, he professes his attachment to his family; "with which," he said, "I consider those of my country and of all Europe inseparably connected. I hope the English nation will not permit themselves to be imposed upon by the artifices of Harley and his associates. Their conduct leaves no room to doubt of their design of placing the pretended Prince of Wales on the throne. We feel too much already their bad intentions and pernicious designs. But I hope to be able to employ all my attention, all my credit, and all my friends, to advance the interest of the Electoral family, to prevent the destructive counsels of a race of men, who establish principles and form cabals, which will infallibly overturn the Protestant succession, and with it the liberty of their country and the safety of Europe¹." These assurances derive their importance from the present circumstances of the person by whom they were made. When Marlborough accused Harley of Jacobitism to the Elector, he himself was busy in making professions of attachment, through the Mareschal de Villars, to that very pretended Prince, whose succession to the throne was to have enslaved Britain and ruined Europe^m.

Marlborough
accuses Har-
ley of Jaco-
bitism.

¹ Original letter. Hannover-papers, 1710.

^m Stuart-papers, 1710.

C H A P.
VIII.

1710.
Uneasiness of
the allies, and
hopes of the
French.

THE total change of the British ministry alarmed the allies, and encouraged the house of Bourbon. The States, in particular, entertained no doubt but that the Queen, in changing her councils, would change also her measures. Her ambassador, the Viscount Townshend, assured them, in vain, that his mistress reposed the same confidence in the Duke of Marlborough, and continued the same firmness with regard to the common cause. The jealousy and apprehensions of the confederates were too strong to be removed by assurances. The Dutch regretted sincerely the opportunities they had lost, by which they might have obtained great advantages to themselves, and have the honour of restoring peace to Europe. The French were as little able to conceal their gladness, as the allies were to disguise their uneasiness. They flattered themselves with the prospect of an immediate peace; as the Tories, who now ruled every thing, had long declared themselves averse from an unprofitable war. The court of St. Germain, and particularly the Earl of Middleton, represented to Lewis the Fourteenth, that he was mistaken in his expectations from the Tories. He told him, that it was a matter of indifference to Lewis, whether high-church or low-church prevailed. Both, he said, were equally the enemies of France; and he even affirmed, that the Jacobites themselves were highly averse from the interests of a court, who made no efforts in favour of the person whom they deemed their lawful sovereign.

Views and
secret propo-
sals

THESE discouraging insinuations of the court of St. Germain, though just, proceeded from the sanguine hopes which they themselves had formed, on the state of opinions in Great Britain. They affirmed, in their memorials, that the two parties concurred in principles suitable to the restoration of the excluded family. The church held forth, avowedly, that the crown was unalienable and hereditary. The Presbyterians followed, they said, the argu-

^a Stuart-papers, 1710.

ments of their opponents, with a plain inference, that the Revolution itself was a rebellion. The two parties, they affirmed, seemed to agree, that the Princess Anne, for so they called the Queen of Great Britain, had no title to the throne. They urged, therefore, that this was the proper time for the King, for such was the high title they bestowed on the Chevalier de St. George, to make his appearance in Britain^o. The Duke of Marlborough advised them, in vain, against any hostile attempt on Great Britain: a measure, he affirmed, which could not fail to unite the parties^p. He averred, that the inveteracy exhibited by every parliament, and the union which appeared among the people upon the intelligence of any invasion, proceeded from a rooted aversion to France, more than from want of affection to the excluded family. He considered the removal of the Chevalier de St. George from France, as a great step toward his restoration; and that circumstance, he said, was one of the advantages which the pretended Prince would derive from a peace^q.

THE Chevalier himself coincided in opinion with Marlborough. He perceived, that France had scarce ever any serious intention to restore his family. He knew, that at present, she was incapable of serving him to effect, had she even been willing. He, therefore, earnestly wished for peace; and no article, he said, could please him more, than the requisition of Great Britain, to remove him from the dominions of France^r. His minister, the Earl of Middleton, was of a different opinion. He endeavoured to argue the court of Versailles to undertake another attempt upon Scotland. "The Scots," he said, "in general, favoured the hereditary line. None had deserted the party, after the bad success of the last enterprise. No secret had been ever better kept. No accusers appeared, no witnesses could be found to condemn."

of the court
of St. Ger-
mains.

^o Stuart-papers, Aug. 2, 1710.
tom. i.

^p Ibid. 1710.

^q Stuart papers. De Torcy,

^r Chev. de St. George to Middleton, July 25, 1710.

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He observed, "that in England two parties were animated, to an extreme, against each other. That the high-church maintained non-resistance, as a tenet of religion; and that the hereditary descent of the crown is a law so fundamental, that it cannot be changed by act of parliament. That the low-church, instead of arguing against these principles, affirmed, that the consequence of the first is, that the government, ever since the Revolution, was an usurpation; and that the Pretender must be acknowledged lawful King, is the inference to be drawn from the second. The people," he continues, "are mere spectators of this polemical contest. They conclude, that both are in the right; and that the Queen herself, by favouring the high-church party, is manifestly in the interest of her brother."

Project of an
invasion.

ALL the friends of the excluded family, as well as the Duke of Marlborough, assured the court of St. Germain, that patience only was necessary to re-establish them on the British throne. They wished them to detach themselves from France, as the only means to reconcile thoroughly the nation to their claims. Middleton, notwithstanding, solicited a second invasion of Scotland. He demanded only three thousand men from the court of Versailles, and that consisting entirely of the Irish in the French service. They were the best calculated for the enterprise, he said, as they spoke the language of the Highlanders, and were accustomed to the hardy manner of living, peculiar to the inhabitants of mountainous countries. The number of troops demanded, could, he continued, create no jealousy. They were only sufficient to protect the person of the Pretender, till a treaty for his eventual succession to the throne, after the death of his sister, should be established with the British court. The court of France, either incapable of sparing any force, or unwilling to risk their troops and their ships in an enterprise which appeared uncertain in its consequences, paid little attention to these suggestions. Middle-

ton

ton was suffered to amuse himself, in secret, with the visions of future advantage to his master, which he formed on the speculative arguments of the contending parties in Britain'.

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THOUGH the court of St. Germain's placed little faith in the professions of the Earl of Godolphin, they lost the chief support of their cause, when that minister was forced to retire. His attachment to the family of Stuart, though cautiously and successfully concealed from the world, was certainly, next to his inherent timidity, the ruling passion of his mind. He is said to have only regretted his disgrace, as it deprived him of the power of serving effectually the excluded line. He declared to his intimate friends, that he had been always in unhappy circumstances. That, being first distressed by the Tories, he was forced to throw himself into the hands of the Whigs. That his whole ministry had been spent in a struggle with the latter party; and when he saw himself entirely master of his measures, he was turned out of his office, by an event as trivial as it was unexpected. He hoped, however, he said, that Harley would restore the King, for so he called the Pretender. "But HE will make France necessary to that measure. I designed to have done the business alone; and to shew the French how poorly they had treated that unfortunate Prince, and how little they deserved at his hands'."

Attachment
of Godol-
phin to the
Stuarts.

CONCERNING Godolphin's project for the restoration of the Stuarts, some judgment may be formed, from the papers and proposals of that family. The Duke of Marlborough had signified to the Marquis de Torcy, in the negotiations for peace in the year 1709, that it was for the interest of the Pretender to remove from France. He proposed, at the same time, to procure for him, from the British nation, a sum equal to that which he received, for his support, from the court of Versailles; and to make

His supposed
project in fa-
vour of the
Pretender.

* Stuart-papers, Aug. 29, 1710.

† Ibid. 1710.

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1710.

stipulation with the allies, for his secure retreat, either in Holland or Flanders. Provided with a kind of revenue, separated from the influence of a nation whom the subjects of his ancestors abhorred, and divided only by a narrow channel from Britain, the Pretender would have found little difficulty in transporting himself into Scotland, and in appearing in that country at the head of a numerous body of his adherents. The reduction of the army to a small number, upon the re-establishment of peace, would have left the kingdom in a state sufficiently defenceless to justify the minister, in entering into a treaty with a person, whose claims were favoured by a very great party in the nation. The natural moderation of his own character, his want of ambition, his prior engagements with Marlborough and Godolphin^u, and even the improbability of his prevailing by force alone, would have induced the pretended Prince to accept such terms, as the Queen and the nation might choose to impose. He was, by no means, so jealous as his father, with regard to the hereditary descent and indefeasible rights of the crown. He would have been well pleased to have received it as the gift of the people. He would have been contented to accept of the throne of Scotland, or to have his name joined with that of Anne, in the royal title of Great Britain^w; while the whole authority should remain, during life, in her hands. He would, perhaps, have rested satisfied with an acknowledgment of his title as Prince of Wales, and the eventual succession of the crown upon his sister's death^x.

His character.

HAD his secret designs and intrigues remained unknown to the world, the Earl of Godolphin might have been transmitted to posterity with an unblemished character. He was born with extensive talents. A long experience had, in a particular manner, qualified him for the great line of business. He understood the interests of the kingdom, the genius of the people, the secret views

^u Stuart-papers, 1702.^w Ibid.^x MSS.

of particular men, as well as the disposition of parties. In his public capacity, he was frugal of the money of the nation, without cramping its exertions with penury. An œconomist of his private fortune, without the least tincture of avarice. Though forbidding in his address, through the stern gravity of an habitual silence and an ungraceful manner, he gained mankind by the apparent sincerity of his character. He never kept suitors in an unprofitable suspense. He promised nothing that he was not resolved to perform. He considered dissimulation as an unmanly breach on veracity. He refused, with frankness, where he could not serve with generosity. In the common line of business, he shewed such undeviating attention to justice, that those who were disappointed by his decisions, could not withhold their esteem from his impartial conduct. Though he found it necessary to disguise his own principles, he never affected to possess those of others, to gain either their support or their favour. Political timidity was the greatest defect of his mind. That passion overcame frequently, in his public transactions, that sincerity which he uniformly observed in his private conduct. The weakness which induced him to adhere, in his opinions, to the excluded branch of the house of Stuart, was a kind of virtue. He was first placed in the line of fortune and ambition by that family; and their confidence in his fidelity and attachment, contributed to continue that gratitude, which he owed for their many and great favours.

THOUGH the timidity of Godolphin was highly unfavourable to the family of Stuart, it was also productive of bad consequences to his country. That weakness being generally known to the leaders of the two parties, their clamour and presumption rose in proportion to their hopes from the minister's fears. The views of the Whigs and Tories being the same, though their professions to the world were different, they had both recourse to the same arts

Observations.

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arts to possess themselves of emolument and power. The prejudices of the vulgar, that ready and obvious engine, for the hands of designing men, were turned, with peculiar success, against a minister destitute of courage. Though government had acquired, from the very misfortunes of the people, the means of quieting their turbulence with ease, few men in office knew their own strength, in a degree sufficient to remain steady and unmoved, amidst the noise of an offended populace. Godolphin, yielding to his fears, neglected to procure an honourable and advantageous peace for his country, already staggering under the very weight of her victories. He knew, that a measure so important, would furnish the discontented with the means of inflaming the nation; and this, together with his subserviency to the views of the Duke of Marlborough, induced him to neglect an opportunity of closing, with splendour, a successful war.

A total
change.

THE disgrace of the Earl of Godolphin was considered, by his party, as the certain prelude of their own total fall. Their spirit seemed to have vanished with their good fortune. Few had the courage to continue in office. Fewer still had the boldness to retire with dignity. They quitted, one by one, their places, without any concert of opposition, or even design of revenge. They carried their resignations further than their enemies either expected or wished. The Queen signified her inclination, that the Lord Cowper should continue chancellor. He derived, perhaps, this favour from his insignificance. But he also retired. The Tories pursued their victory, through every branch and department of government. All the relations, creatures, and dependents, of the former ministry, were dismissed every where. The Revolution itself, it was with justice observed, had not made such a total change among the servants of the crown. The Duke of Marlborough remained alone of his whole party. But he owed this

† Sept. 23.

mark

mark of distinction to his own high reputation, more than to any forbearance of his enemies. They had already determined on his fall. Time was only wanting to reconcile the people to the dismissal of so great a commander^z.

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1701.

THE total change in the servants of the crown, ought not, however, to be altogether ascribed to Harley. His maxim of government was evidently to trim between the parties. To gain the Tories, but not to lose entirely the Whigs. But such was the inveteracy, which a long series of animosities had created on both sides, that neither would be content with any thing less than the whole power and influence of the state. His own friends were, upon the present occasion, likely to become Harley's greatest enemies. He had resolved to place St. John and Harcourt, in the offices they had formerly lost. To make the first secretary at war, and the last attorney-general. But St. John insisted upon being made secretary of state, and Harcourt would be content with nothing less than the great seal. Harley, willing to retain the Whigs in these offices, refused to comply. They threatened to retire to the country, and to leave him to the mercy of his enemies. Some leaders of the Tories interfered. They represented to him, that his trimming conduct would deprive him of his best friends. He yielded, at length, to their desire. But he was so much offended, especially with Harcourt, that though he raised him to the place of chancellor, he never admitted him into the secret of affairs*. He would probably have done the same with St. John. But the latter understood the French language, and was necessary in the expected negotiations of peace.

Intrigues of
St. John and
Harcourt.

BUT the people, now, were entirely on the other side. The flame, which Sacheverell's trial had raised, was kept up, with great address. The clergy considering his cause their own, made the pulpits resound with his praise, while they thundered ven-

A general
ferment.

^z Publications of the times.

^{*} Stuart-papers, 1714.

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geance against his enemies. In a progress, which he made to Wales, perhaps with a design of continuing the ferment against the Whigs, he was followed, every where, by the whole country, on horseback. Mayors, magistrates, whole corporations attended him, in their robes and formalities, in the towns through which he passed. The populace met him on every road, with white knots in their hats, with sprigs of laurel gilt with gold, while the hedges, on either side, were dressed with flowers. Though no design of calling a new parliament was as yet made public, the reception given to Sacheverell was considered as a kind of preparation for that event. The people being, at length, prepared for the measure, the parliament was dissolved, on the twenty-first of September. The elections were carried on every where with unusual violence and noise. The mob, encouraged by the new ministry and the Tories, became outrageous in the cities and boroughs. The general cry was raised so effectually against the Whigs, that they were excluded, wherever the votes depended either on the inclinations or caprice of the populace.

Assurances of
the new mi-
nistry,

THOUGH the new ministry derived their success, in a great measure, from the principles of the high-church party, in favour of the hereditary descent of the crown, they resolved to reconcile the house of Hannover to their own elevation. The letters of their leaders to the electoral family, form a curious instance of the insincerity of the professions of party-men. The Earl of Rochester, whose principles in favour of the Stuarts were known, avowed, with vehemence, an inviolable attachment to the parliamentary settlement of the crown. The Duke of Buckingham, who held an uninterrupted communication and correspondence with the court of St. Germain and their agents, affirmed, with peculiar modesty, to the Elector, that he had been persecuted by the Whigs, for his attachment to the protestant succession^b. The Duke of Leeds, who, in the debates concerning Sacheverell, had

^b Buckingham to the Elector, Sept. 2, 1710. Hannover-papers.

almost

almost in express terms, called the Revolution a rebellion, and declared that he knew no right but an hereditary right, made the warmest professions of regard to the interests of the family of Brunswick^c. Harley himself considered as the head of the new ministry, in adhering to the principles of presbytery, in which he was bred, was, perhaps, more sincere, though not less servile, in the advances which he made to the presumptive heirs of the crown. St. John, in a convenient absence of attachment to both sides, followed, to avoid singularity, the example of his associates in office.

THE Duke of Shrewsbury, naturally timid and provident of the future, wrote^d to the Elector, with warm professions of zeal and attachment. He was at the time, through the means of his wife, in actual correspondence with the court of St. Germain, and, from principle, a friend to the family of Stuart^e. All assured his Electoral Highness, that the new ministry were zealous for supporting the grand alliance to its utmost extent; to prosecute the war, to obtain an honourable peace, and to secure effectually the succession in the house of Hannover^f. They employed their creatures to confirm, to the Princess Sophia, the assurances which they made to her son. A Doctor Hutton contained their arguments, in a series of tedious letters of his own^g. The Queen herself, though her attachment to her brother was then suspected, and now is known, joined her servants in assurances of zeal for the protestant succession. To prevent every inquietude in the electoral family, she appointed the Earl of Rivers, her ambassador to the court of Hannover, to assure them, that the changes which she had made, would prejudice, in nothing, the acts passed for securing the succession in the protestant line^h.

^c Leeds to the Elector, Nov. 1, 1710.
papers, passim.

^f Hannover-papers, 1710.

^d Hannover-papers, 1710.

^g Ibid.

^e Stuart-

^h Ibid.

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to the house
of Hannover.

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VIII.1710.
The Whigs
apply to that
family.

THE agents of the new ministry had the address, to render their predecessors suspected, by the electoral family. The free principles of government, which they had advanced in the debates concerning Sacheverell, had been industriously represented to the court of Hannover, as irrefragable proofs of their aversion to monarchy. The Whigs were alarmed at the credit given to their adversaries, in a matter which must hurt their own influence, with a family that was one day destined to wear the crown. The Earl of Sunderland and the Lord Halifax were employed, by the party, to undeceive the Elector of Hannover. The avenues to the court of that Prince were so beset with the emissaries of the Tories, that the two lords were obliged to write their thoughts in cypher. They endeavoured to explain, that they had been always for a parliamentary right to the crown. They disclaimed with a degree of scorn, all republican or antimonarchical principles. They affirmed, that the high maxims of the Tories, prepared the way for the Prince of Wales to mount the throne. That the Whigs opposed these maxims, with arguments suitable to republicanism, merely to serve the family of Hannover; whose rights could not be so well maintained, on any other ground¹.

Nov. 25.
New parlia-
ment.

DURING these secret intrigues of the two parties, the new parliament assembled at Westminster. The Queen, coming to the house of peers, on the twenty-fifth of November, Sir Simon Harcourt, now lord-keeper of the great seal, signified to the commons her Majesty's pleasure, that they should choose a speaker. Their choice, as was expected from their principles, fell on William Bromley, a person remarkably attached to the high-church party. The Queen having signified, in her speech, the resolution she had taken of prosecuting the war with the utmost vigour, especially in Spain, demanded suitable supplies. To remove every jealousy that might arise in the nation, she resolved, she

¹ Hannover-papers, Nov. 14, 1710.

said,

said, to set forth plainly her intentions. She was determined, she assured her parliament, to support and encourage the church of England, to preserve the constitution according to the Union, to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to scrupulous consciences; and that to transmit effectually these benefits to posterity, she was resolved to employ none but such as were heartily for the protestant succession in the house of Hannover^k. This popular speech was echoed back, as usual, in the addresses of the two houses of parliament. Men who formed their opinions upon such fallacious grounds, thought they perceived a degree of coldness in the address of the lords. But that of the commons was warm, vehement, and suitable to their principles, in favour of monarchy.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the species of madness that had seized the nation, and the utmost efforts made by the new ministry in favour of the Tories, more than one hundred reputed Whigs were returned to the house of commons. Few of these were permitted to take their seats in tranquillity. Petitions were offered against the most of those who were supposed to favour the old ministry; and they complained, that their principles were more an object of examination, than the justice of their cause. In such a state of parties in the house, the deliberations of that assembly must have assumed the appearance of great unanimity. The Tories had so effectually taken the ground of the Whigs, in their public professions, that the latter, had they even been more numerous, could not, with any decent consistency, oppose the measures of the ministry. Though the Queen, in her speech, had insinuated, that she was desirous of peace, her servants shewed every attention to the vigorous prosecution of the war. The commons voted, without hesitation, the supplies. The debts provided for and the sums raised in the course of this session, amounted to more than fourteen millions^l. But the navy and other offices had been

Proceedings,
Great supplies.

^k Journals, Nov. 27, 1710.

^l 14,573,319l. 19s. 8½d.

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Inquiry into
the manage-
ment of the
war in Spain.

left, by the former ministry, under a burden of debts, which greatly obstructed the service.

THE new ministry shewed an inclination to censure their predecessors in office. They were soon furnished with an opportunity of pursuing their design, by receiving intelligence of the disasters, with which the campaign closed in Spain. The war, on the side of that kingdom, though the first object of contest, had been strangely neglected. The conduct of the allies, when most successful, contributed to ruin the cause which they endeavoured to support with their arms. Licentiousness and a want of regular discipline, never, perhaps, properly observed in the hurry of hostilities, had been carried, by the confederates, to a degree calculated to ruin the interest of the house of Austria, in the hearts of those whom they wished to reconcile to their government. The Earl of Galway, habituated to rapine in the Irish war, was at no pains to check the natural inclination of all soldiers, for plunder. General Stanhope himself, mixing a commendable aversion to popery with a decent affection for bullion, had permitted his troops to pillage the altars of their sacred utensils, in the city of Madrid and its neighbourhood. The part of the army which was in the pay of the Dutch republic, shewed, in the same manner, their zeal for protestantism¹.

Peterborough
applauded,
and Galway
censured.

THE Spaniards, bigotted to enthusiasm in their own system of faith, had some reason to abhor such ravenous heretics. The unfortunate Charles the Third, was loaded with all the sins of his army. The whole affection of the people was thrown into the scale of his rival; and that Prince found himself, after a war of nine years, capable to defend his crown against the united efforts of the allies. The victory at Sarragossa, being ill-pursued, opened a way for the defeat and great loss at Briheuga. The Queen laid the disastrous intelligence, which she had received

¹ Hist. d'Angleterre.

before

before the two houses, who promised to support her, with all their power, to retrieve the fortune of the Spanish war. They, at the same time, entered upon an inquiry into the conduct of the late ministry, and those employed by them in Spain, in the command of the troops in that kingdom. In their approbation, as well as in their censures, on the subject, the parliament appear to have yielded, in some degree, to the spirit of party. They applauded, in a high strain, the Earl of Peterborough. But on the faults and errors of the Earl of Galway, they were, perhaps, too severe. The lords carried their animadversions from the general, to the conduct of those by whom he was employed. They addressed the Queen, to free the cabinet-council from their oath of secrecy, that a full account of their consultations might be laid before the house. The result of the whole might have been easily foreseen. A vote passed, that the former ministry were highly to be blamed, in their neglecting the Spanish war. That by their advising an offensive war, in the year 1707, they had been the cause of the loss of the battle of Almanza, and, in consequence, of the miscarriage before Toulon^m.

DURING the course of debates, which seemed to reflect on the measures of his party, the Duke of Marlborough distinguished himself in favour of the Earl of Galway. Though he himself had been well received by the Queen, upon his arrival from Holland, in the end of December, he found that his power had totally vanished. He had assisted at a committee of the council. But this was a matter of mere form. He was no favourite with the new ministry. He had no longer the command of the parliament. A motion of thanks having been made by his friends in the house of lords, it was opposed, with such vehemence, by the Duke of Argyle, that a censure was more likely to pass, than a vote of approbation. Notwithstanding these mortifications, he

Coldness toward the Duke of Marlborough.

^m Journals of the lords.

resolved

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resolved to retain his command. In this he yielded to the request of the allies; or, perhaps, to his love of money. Finding, however, that the aversion of the Queen to his Dutcheſs was not to be overcome, he carried a ſurrender of all her places to the foot of the throne. On the anniversary of the birth of the Queen, he did not, as uſual, appear at court. He had retired to the country; and, on the eighteenth of February, he embarked for Holland, to concert, with the States, the operations of a very early campaignⁿ.

Immense ſup-
plies.

THOUGH the inquiry of the miniſtry into the conduct of their predeceſſors, was attended with no dangerous conſequences to the latter, ſome facts were brought to light that argued an extreme negligence in the Earl of Godolphin. Upon an examination of the public accounts, and the ſtate of the public debts, it appeared, that vaſt ſums remained unprovided for in the different departments of the war. The moſt innocent motive to which the conduct of the late miniſter can be aſcribed on this head is, that he wiſhed to conceal from the nation the inſufficiency of the immense ſupplies that had been granted, to prevent a relaxation in the public ardour for the continuance of a war, which it was the chief object of the party to prolong. The enemies of the late treaſurer affirmed, that it was to prevent an inquiry in parliament, he had encouraged the ſolemn proſecution of Sacheverell, as the certain means of diverting the attention of the two houſes from his own conduct. The debts of the navy alone amounted to more than five millions; and near the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds was found neceſſary to diſcharge the incumbrances of the ordnance and army^o. Over and above theſe prodigious ſums, the commons granted to the Queen an extraordinary ſupply of five hundred thouſand pounds, for re-eſta bliſhing the affairs of Spain and Portugal; four hundred and fifty thouſand for

ⁿ Life of Marlborough, vol. ii.^o Journals of the Commons, March 10.

giving

giving currency to exchequer bills, near three hundred thousand pounds for the extraordinary contingencies of the war, one hundred thousand for indemnifying the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christophers, for the damage done by a French invasion of those islands; three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for building new churches; and nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds, being a subsidy due by the late King William to the Elector of Hannover ^P.

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THE Whigs had endeavoured to raise an opinion among the people, that the credit of the nation was ruined by the removal of the Earl of Godolphin from the treasury. The new chancellor of the exchequer soon convinced them, that these surmises were ill-founded. He provided for the debts left on the different departments by his predecessor, by funds settled on very judicious imposts. On the second of May, he proposed a grand project to the commons, for satisfying all the public debts, and for making good all deficiencies of supplies. The whole debt unprovided for was thrown into one stock. To pay an interest of six per cent. funds were established, which, however, were not to commence till the end of five years. The funds being so distant, the parliament engaged themselves to make an annual provision for the interest in the intermediate time. Together with this interest, the monopoly of a supposed trade to the South-Sea or coast of Peru in America, was granted to the proprietors. The possessors of the navy-bills, and other public securities, were incorporated for this purpose. This scheme, which was received with eagerness by the commons, flattered extremely the vanity of Harley himself. In his attention for the house of Hannover, he advised the Elector to take stock for the nine thousand pounds, due to his family of King William's subsidy. His Electoral Highness excused him-

Rise of the
South Sea
company.

^P Journals passim. Hannover-papers.

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self from being concerned in a mercantile company, as inconsistent with his dignity. He, at the same time, insinuated to Harley, that ready money would suit better with the state of his affairs, than any concern in public stocks and commerce; subjects which he neither studied nor understood^a. The proposal seems to have raised some doubts, in the mind of his Highness, whether Harley intended, ever to pay the money. He, therefore, sent particular instructions to Kreyenberg, his resident at London, how to proceed with the chancellor of the exchequer in that affair^b.

Affair of the
Abbé de la
Bourlie,

THOUGH Harley had rendered himself, in some degree, popular by his conduct in the treasury, his seeming backwardness in turning all the Whigs out of office, had disoblged the high-flying part of the Tories. A kind of opposition was ready to be formed against his measures, when an accident, which threatened to be fatal, raised him beyond the reach of the enemies of his power. The Abbé de la Bourlie, a Frenchman who had assumed the title of Marquis de Guiscard, had made his escape from his own country, for some crime, which merited the ultimate animadversion of the law. Having passed, some years before, into Britain, he had the address to persuade the servants of the Crown, that he could form an insurrection in France, that might greatly favour the operations of the confederates against that kingdom. This profligate fellow, pretending a zeal for public freedom, was encouraged, either through the vanity or credulity of the Whig-ministry, and gratified with a regiment which served in Spain. The professed design of this needy adventurer was to restore his country to her ancient liberty. To contribute to the execution of his purpose, he was placed on board the English fleet, in the year 1706, when a descent, under the Earl of Rivers, was intended to be made on the coast of France. This assertor of the

^a Hannover-papers, 1710.

^b Elector to Kreyenberg. Hannover-papers, 1710.

cause of freedom was, however, found to be such a tyrant in command, that Sir Cloudsley Shovel thought it necessary to set him on shore before the expedition was laid aside*.

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THE regiment assigned to the pretended Marquis having been cut off, in the battle of Almanza, his pay, as colonel, soon after ceased. He long solicited a settled pension in vain. His profligacy having recommended him to Mr. Henry St. John, they lived together, for some time, in mutual confidence and a community of pleasures. A dispute about a mistress, or rather concerning a child, which neither chose to own, had interrupted their intimacy, before St. John had been advanced, through the fall of the Whig-ministry, to the office of secretary of state. The latter, therefore, was hardly prevailed upon, by his French friend, to recommend him as an object worthy of the generosity of the crown. He, however, mentioned the case of Guiscard; and five hundred pounds a year was ordered for him, by the Queen. Harley not only reduced the pension to four hundred pounds, but even declined to place it on any fixed establishment. The pretended Marquis endeavoured to obtain redress, from the Queen. But all access to her person was denied. Reduced to distress, by his profligacy, and offended at men who had been once his friends, he endeavoured to reconcile himself to his own country, by betraying to the court of France the counsels of the British ministry. He entered into correspondence with one Moreau, a banker at Paris. To cover his design he sent his letters to Portugal, inclosed to the Earl of Portmore, who commanded the British troops in that kingdom. The Earl suspecting some treachery, opened the packet, and finding that it contained some dangerous intelligence, sent it, through the hands of his lady, to Mr. Harley†.

or Marquis
de Guiscard.

* Publications of the times.

† Ibid.

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VIII.1711.
He stabs
Harley.

THE Marquis was apprehended in St. James's park, on the eighth of March, by virtue of a warrant from St. John, as secretary of state. Ignorant of the laws of the country, and conscious of his own crime, he thought he could not escape a death of ignominy. He fell into a fit of despair. In the midst of his disorder, he was carried to the cock-pit, before a committee of the council. Having possessed himself, unobserved, of a pen-knife, he resolved to be revenged on those whom he deemed accessory to his ruin. When he found himself completely discovered, by his own letters, he requested to speak aside to St. John. But the secretary suspecting his design, from the violence of his aspect, refused to comply. The Marquis approaching furiously towards the table, stabbed Harley, right in the breast, with the pen-knife. The point meeting, by accident, the bone, the blade broke short, near the handle. Guiscard insensible of this circumstance, redoubled his blows. St. John starting, in the mean time, from his chair, drew his sword and wounded him, in several places. The messengers, rushing in at the noise, threw the assassin on the ground; and having bound him, carried him to Newgate, where he soon after died of his wounds^u.

Harley made
Earl of Ox-
ford, and
lord trea-
surer.

THOUGH Harley's wound was but slight, the very attempt on his life raised a kind of pity that disarmed his enemies. The commons addressed the Queen, upon the occasion, in terms highly flattering to the minister. When, after his recovery, he came first to the house, he was congratulated, at their desire, by the speaker, in a speech expressive of their high sense of his power, if not of his merit. To these testimonies of affection from the commons, the Queen added favours of a more substantial kind. She raised Harley to the double title of Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, on the twenty-fourth of May; and on the twenty-ninth day of the same month, he received the white staff, as

^u Hist. d'Angleterre, 1710.

lord-high-treasurer of Great Britain. Though his lordship was considered in the double capacity of favourite and minister, before this period, these new honours and promotions, rendered him still more an object of the public attention. The adulation of men in office kept pace with his good fortune. When he took the oaths, in the court of chancery, on the first of June, Sir Simon Harcourt, the lord-keeper, addressed him, in a set speech, paying him great compliments on the antiquity of his family, his love and encouragement of letters, his great abilities in managing the finances of the kingdom, and in restoring and preserving public credit *.

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THE death of Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, which happened on the second of May, was said to have facilitated the sudden rise of Harley to the rank of a peer and the office of lord-treasurer. Though Rochester, on account of his high principles in church and state, was, by no means, agreeable to Harley; the latter found it necessary to fortify himself against the Whigs with his lordship's abilities and influence. Their characters, however, were so dissimilar, that those who knew best the secrets of the cabinet, thought they already perceived a mutual coldness. Rochester was an avowed enemy to all dissimulation. Harley threw a veil of secrecy, importance, and reserve, even upon trifles. The first avowed his attachment to the Tory principles. The latter suppressed his zeal for Whiggism, as it might defeat his ambitious views. Rochester loved monarchy, and the government of the few over the many, and avowed it to the world. Harley had a bias toward republicanism, but carefully concealed it, even from his friends. The one was haughty and overbearing, though a man of sense, experience, and abilities. The other was sensible of his own talents; but he was rather conceited than proud. Though the first complied with the government, ever since the

Parallel between him and the Earl of Rochester.

* Printed speech.

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Revolution, he openly called that event such a breach upon the constitution, as would justify, for ever, alterations of every kind. Though the last opposed King William, throughout his reign, he approved, in secret, of the means which placed that Prince upon the throne. Both were vain of their knowledge in finance. Both jealous of their favour with the Queen. No permanent cordiality was likely to subsist between such men; and, had not death interfered, their contests would probably have given an advantage to their common enemies, which might prove fatal to their power^x.

Coldness between Harley and St. John.

BUT though the death of the Earl of Rochester delivered Harley from one dangerous friend, he was still connected with another, who endeavoured to supplant him in his influence and power. This was Mr. Henry St. John, then secretary of state. St. John was hated by Mrs. Masham, and detested by the Queen, for the profligacy of his life. But he found means to render Harley uneasy, even in the height and plenitude of his credit and power. The slenderness of the tenure upon which he held his office, had hurt his pride. The minister having resolved upon the scheme of a peace, St. John became necessary to the accomplishment of his views. He was the only person about the court that could speak the French language^y. There was, therefore, a necessity for retaining him in office, to serve in the capacity of interpreter. This slight advantage had created in his mind a contempt of Harley, suitable to his own vanity and pride. An incident had happened, in the month of April, which placed St. John in a kind of independence on the minister. An expedition being planned, in the cabinet, for the conquest of Quebec, and the reduction of Canada, Harley refused to gratify Mrs. Masham, in some affair relating to the expedition, which she meant to turn to her own advantage. She resented Harley's refusal. St.

^x Menager's Negotiations, passim.

^y Stuart-papers, 1714.

John dexterously improved the moment. He gratified her in her views, without either the communication or assistance of the minister. Her objection to St. John's character was obliterated by his politeness; and she, ever after, supported his ambition^z.

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WHILE Harley was rising rapidly in influence and credit in Great Britain, the court of St. Germain's, grasping, as usual, at every shadow of hope, formed expectations upon the outward appearance of his conduct. The principles expressed by his party, were so favourable to their views, that they could scarce suppose he could be greatly averse from their interest. Their friends in Great Britain being better acquainted with Harley, endeavoured to turn their thoughts to means more likely to serve their cause. They assured the servants of the Pretender, that they ought to expect more from the temper of the times, than the disposition of the minister. They recommended a second attempt on Scotland. They said, that the inclinations of the Scots for the excluded family, was apparent from their sending to parliament those very persons who had been carried prisoners to London, on account of the invasion threatened two years before. They affirmed, that the kingdom was left naked of troops. That, upon the first news of an invasion, the bank would stop and the funds fail. That no tax could be raised, no money obtained, on the securities established by parliament. That, should the Pretender land, with any considerable force, the want of resources in government, and the opinion of a great part of the nation in favour of his right to the throne, would crown his attempt with success, without drawing a sword*. They hoped that the Queen and ministry would, by these means, be induced to enter into a treaty, which might end in the repeal of the act of settlement, and the full assurance of the Pretender's mounting the throne upon the demise of his sister.

Views.

^z MS. Anecdotes.

* Stuart-papers, April, 1710.

SHOULD

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SHOULD France, in her present distressed condition, decline, or appear incapable to execute any bold attempt, in favour of the Pretender, the Jacobites had provided themselves, in their arguments, with another scheme. They wished to accomplish a double marriage, between the family of Sweden and the excluded branch of the house of Stuart. They proposed, that Charles the Twelfth should take to wife, the daughter born to James the Second, in his exile. That the Pretender should espouse Ulrica Eleonora, then Princess, and afterwards Queen of Sweden. Charles had continued in Turkey ever since the unfortunate battle of Pultowa. But he communicated his own fire to his subjects, at home. Though pressed on every side with powerful enemies, the Swedes retained their martial spirit, and even obtained victories. The Jacobites proposed to the court of France, to offer five thousand men to the regency of Sweden, to replace an equal number, which they hoped the government of that kingdom might be induced to transport to Scotland. They argued, that a scheme, which might be executed with the greatest facility, would inevitably be crowned with success. The preparations of Sweden against Denmark, they affirmed, would cover their design. The Pretender, they said, by placing himself at the head of Protestant invaders, would effectually prevent that religious jealousy, which they deemed the only obstacle to his mounting the British throne*.

court of St.
Germain's,
and their
friends.

VIOLENT measures were deemed dangerous, by the Duke of Marlborough and others, who affected to be attached to the excluded family. They said, that the very appearance of force might reconcile the two parties, and terrify the Queen. That Princess, they affirmed, was favourably inclined to her brother's interests. But she was extremely timid by nature, and knew not in whom she could place her confidence. The Duke of Leeds

* Stuart-papers, April, 1711.

undertook

undertook to sound her upon the subject^b. Though she knew his principles, she was afraid of explaining herself, upon a point so delicate. The more violent Jacobites, however, continued to urge, that it was the interest of Anne, and of her ministers, to invite her brother to England. They proposed that, during the recess of parliament, she should write to the Pretender to convey himself privately to London. That, upon his arrival in that capital, she should present him to the privy council, and own, which was all he wanted, his title as Prince of Wales. They affirmed, that his presence would intimidate his enemies, and greatly encourage his friends. That, amidst the consternation of the first, and the joy and elevation of the latter, the act of settlement, they said, could be easily repealed. That every thing might be, at once, adjusted to the satisfaction of the Queen, and the complete security of the people; and that, to accomplish this important work, the Pretender declared that he was ready to throw himself into the hands of the British ministry, accompanied only by a single page^c.

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ENCOURAGED by the state of opinions in Britain, or yielding to the advice of his friends, the Pretender himself wrote a letter to Queen Anne, in the month of May. He put her in mind of the natural affection, which ought to subsist between a brother and sister. He recalled to her memory her repeated promises to their common parent. "To you," he said, "and to you alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God and of nature are loud in your ear. The preservation of our family, the preventing unnatural wars, the prosperity of our country, combine to require you to rescue me from affliction and yourself from misery. Though restrained by your difficult situation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, the last male of an ancient line, to the remotest relation we have in the

Pretender
writes to
Q. Anne.

^b Stuart-papers, April, 1711.

^c Ibid.

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Endeavours
in vain to
gain the
ministry.

world. Neither you nor the nation have received any injury at my hands. Therefore, Madam, as you tender your own honour and happiness, as you love your family, as you revere the memory of your father, as you regard the welfare and safety of a great people, I conjure you to meet me, in this friendly way of composing our difference. The happiness of both depends upon your resolution. You will deliver me from the reproach, which invariably follows unfortunate Princes, and render your own memory dear to posterity^d.

BUT whatever effect the warm representations of her brother might have had on the mind of the Queen, the solicitations of his agents made no impression on her servants. The Earl of Oxford seems to have been, hitherto, entirely ignorant of the sentiments of his mistress, on the subject of the succession to the crown^e. He knew, that with a natural attachment to the continuance of her own authority, she was equally averse from the appearance of either of the candidates, in the kingdom. But her very silence, with regard to her brother, induced him to conclude, that she wished to leave the sceptre, at her own death, in his hands. This consideration, together with the necessity of accommodating himself, in some degree, to the wild projects of the high-flying Tories, his only support against the Whigs, forced this minister to oppose his own opinion, in the great line of his conduct. Bred up in the notions of the Presbyterians, the principles of that sect adhered throughout to his mind; though his own ambition, and, perhaps, the necessity of his situation, stamped his measures with a contrary character. He was reduced to the same difficulties with his predecessor in office. The Earl of Godolphin, a Tory and a Jacobite, appeared in the light of a Whig to the world. The Earl of Oxford, a Whig, and, perhaps, tinctured with re-

^d Stuart-papers, May, 1711.^e MS. in his own hand, 1710.

publican

publican principles, was accused of abetting the hereditary descent of the crown, and all the maxims of arbitrary power.

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THE lord treasurer and his associates in office, sensible of their own difficult situation, endeavoured to remove the jealousy of the Electoral family, with vehement and repeated professions of zeal for the protestant succession. But the servile flattery of their letters contributed to render their sincerity suspected. St. John assured the Elector, that, in a life sufficiently agitated, he had been uniformly devoted to his service. That as he gloried in these sentiments, he took every opportunity of discovering them to the world. That should he be capable of changing his inherent principles for the house of Hannover, he would believe himself unworthy of the character of a good Protestant, a good Englishman, and a faithful subject to his sovereign¹. Harley, for he had not then been raised to the peerage, beseeched his Electoral Highness to accept his most humble assurances of the utmost fidelity to his family, and the most inviolable attachment to their interest. "To this," to use his own words, "I am obliged to adhere, as well by my duty to the Queen, as by the common good of my country and of all Europe." St. John might have no difficulty to express himself in such terms, to any race of Princes. Harley, though not over scrupulous in his principles, might be considered, in some measure, sincere. The Duke of Shrewsbury was more provident than either of his brethren in office. His professions were equally warm to the two candidates for the succession of the crown. While he assured the court of St. Germain's of his zeal for their cause, he "flattered himself," he said, "that the house of Hannover formed no doubt of his fidelity. He earnestly wished for an opportunity of giving proofs of the violence of his affection for the protestant line; and he assured the Elector, that his Highness had not in England, no

Their professions to the family of Hannover.

¹ St. John to Robethon, Jan. 9, 1711. Hannover-papers.

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Death of the
Emperor,

not in the whole world, any person more devoted than himself to his service^s.

DURING these secret transactions in Britain, the face of public affairs in Europe suffered a very important change. The Emperor Joseph died at Vienna, of the small-pox, on the sixth of April, in the thirty-third year of his age^b. Without regarding his two daughters, he left his brother Charles King of Spain, his universal heir in all the dominions of the house of Austria. Joseph possessed more activity and fire, than the most of the Princes of his family. But that temper of mind subjected his counsels to all the inconveniencies resulting from precipitation and violence. An obstinacy, that bore the appearance of firmness, ran through his whole conduct. He was, however, a Prince possessed of virtue; and his reign was one continued series of success and good fortune. He saw all Lombardy conquered by his arms, Piedmont delivered, Hungary pacified, Naples and a great part of the Netherlands reduced to obedience. His death suddenly changed the whole state of affairs. The war undertaken by the grand alliance, for preserving the balance of Europe, was now likely to destroy it for ever; and men, who judged of the future by the past, began to dread the revival of the irresistible power of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in the person of a Prince of his family¹.

creates a de-
sire of peace.

THOUGH the new ministry of Great Britain had, hitherto, carefully concealed their sentiments, the restoration of the public tranquillity had been the principal object of their counsels, ever since they possessed themselves of power. The nation, ceasing to be amused with unprofitable victories, began to feel the weight of the war. The public debt had grown to a magnitude that terrified speculative men with the approach of public ruin. The

^s Hannover-papers, 1711.^b Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.¹ Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. iii.

appro-

appropriation of the produce of severe imposts had deprived the people of every prospect of relief from their present burdens. To prevent the increase of these burdens was all that could now be expected. Men, therefore, in general, began to wish sincerely, that an honourable end might be put to the war. But though the ministry were sufficiently apprized of this disposition in the nation, they were afraid of the violence of their political opponents. They knew, that France, encouraged by the death of the Emperor, would recede from the terms offered to their predecessors; and they were no strangers to the advantage which their enemies would derive from such a circumstance. They began, therefore, to feel the ground as they went, with great caution and address. The Queen, in an extraordinary message, informed her parliament of the death of the Emperor, and of her own resolution to make the election fall upon his brother, the King of Spain. She told, at the same time, to the two houses, that she hoped to be soon in a condition to put a happy end to the war, by a lasting and honourable peace^k.

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THE intentions of the Queen were well understood by her parliament. They promised, therefore, to support her in all her measures, for the restoration of the public tranquillity. The news of the Emperor's death had not raised the same pacific disposition in Holland. A resolution was formed, on the contrary, to prosecute the war, with still greater vigour. The minister of the late Emperor, those of Savoy, Portugal, and the German Princes, were all eager for a continuance of hostilities. The emoluments derived from the war, were greater than their expectations from peace. The generals and those who furnished the troops, were equally interested, upon this subject. The first were swayed by glory, and, perhaps, the less dignified motive of advantage. The latter yielded to profit alone. The interest of both was another

The allies
bent on war.

^k Journals, April 20.

name

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name for the common cause. This was the great chain, which kept together the confederacy; and not the preservation of the balance or the liberties of Europe. The money of the maritime powers, and chiefly of England, more than the territories of the house of Bourbon, was the grand object of those pretty tyrants, who fed on the blood of subjects whom they let out for slaughter.

Campaign of
1711.
Flanders.

BUT though Great Britain had discovered an inclination towards a peace, the war was carried on with a degree of vigour, on every side. The Duke of Marlborough, having left the Hague in the end of April, assembled his army near Douay, in the beginning of May. The project of the allies, on the side of Flanders, was to open the campaign with the siege of Arras and of Cambray. The taking of those two important places would have laid open Picardy to the banks of the Somme. The army destined, at first, for the service, might have been sufficient to accomplish that great design. But the death of the Emperor, while it hastened the approach of peace, obstructed the operations of war. A well-grounded fear, that the French and the partisans of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, might endeavour to disturb the election of a new Emperor, obliged the Prince of Savoy to march, with the greatest part of the German troops, to the banks of the Rhine. The Mareschal de Villars, strongly posted behind his lines at Arleux, disappointed all the efforts of Marlborough, for bringing things to the decision of a battle. The Duke, on bad terms with the ministry, foresaw that his own disgrace was near. He, therefore, wished earnestly, either to overwhelm his political enemies with the splendour of a great victory, or at least to retire, under the shelter of an action of renown. The strong position of the French, the resolution of their general, not to abandon the fate of the kingdom to the event of a battle, deprived the Duke of the opportunity which he so much

much desired. Having possessed himself of Arleux, a place considerable only from its commanding the Scarpe; he was driven from thence by the enemy. But he sat down before Bouchain, in sight of the enemy; and took that important place, on the thirteenth of September. The armies remained in the field, till the month of October; when the Duke closed, at once, his own military exploits and the campaign.

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NOTHING important happened on the side of Germany¹. The Duke of Berwick, without any effort of consequence, defended Dauphiné and Provence against the allies, commanded by General Thaun^m. In Spain, the taking of Gironne, by the Duke de Noailles, formed almost the whole operations of the present campaign. The Spaniards and Portuguese hovered, throughout the summer and autumn, without any action, on the frontiers of Estramaduraⁿ. A general languor prevailed, on every side of the war. Both parties, fatigued with fruitless hostilities, seemed willing to transfer their contests from the field to the cabinet. As the death of one Prince of the house of Austria had roused all Europe to arms, so the demise of another was destined to restore it to peace. On the first of October, Charles the Third, King of Spain, was chosen Emperor, by the unanimous consent of all the electors. The wretched situation of France prevented her from making the least effort against the elevation of her greatest enemy. But, had she even had the power, she ought not to have the inclination to frustrate the election. The Imperial crown seemed actually to exclude the new Emperor from that of Spain. The great motive of the war was removed, from all the confederates. It was not the interest of the German Princes to place in the hands of their master, the power of oppressing themselves. It was not to be supposed, that either Britain or the States, after

In Germany,
Savoy, and
Spain.

¹ Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

^m Hist. de France, tom. iii.

ⁿ Hist. de Portugal, tom. ii.

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Naval affairs.

having expended their blood and treasure, in breaking the power of one family, would raise that of another on its ruins.

THE operations by sea were less important, if possible, than those by land°. The combined fleet of the maritime powers was, as usual, numerous, inactive, and expensive. The extraordinary charge of the navy of Great Britain, during the war, had amounted to twenty millions sterling. Little advantage was derived from this expence, except the reputation of commanding the seas. But the glory of a nation, it must be confessed, can never be purchased at too high a price. An expedition, intended against Quebec and Canada, failed, because the navigation of the river St. Lawrence was then unknown. The squadron employed in that service, was persecuted throughout by misfortunes. They lost ten transports on the coast of America; and the admiral's ship was blown up, by accident, at St. Helen's upon their return, with four hundred seamen on board°. The fleet in the Mediterranean was employed in the usual service of transporting succours to Spain. They conveyed the German forces and ammunition from Vada to Barcelona, and enabled Charles the Third to retain a kind of footing in Catalonia.

Condition
and views of
the house of
Bourbon.

THE languor with which the war was carried on by the confederates, seemed to indicate a disposition towards peace. No open advances were, however, made by either side, for establishing conferences to restore the public tranquillity. France had derived nothing but an increase of demands from all the proposals she had hitherto laid before the allies. The death of the Emperor Joseph, an event of the utmost importance to the house of Bourbon, had induced the court of Versailles to remain on the defensive during the campaign, and to trust their fate to the favourable circumstances, which might arise in the course of time.

° Naval History.

P Gazette.

Though

Though the barrier had been broken, in a great measure, in Flanders, they found that the progress of the enemy could be still checked by a judicious position of their army, behind their lines. In Spain, the aversion of the people to the house of Austria, and their consequent affection for Philip the Fifth, had raised a domestic force sufficient to check, if not to disappoint all the efforts of the allies. The nation, in an uninterrupted series of hostilities for ten years, had caught a martial fire from their very misfortunes. The very poverty, to which they had been reduced by their own exertions and the depredations of the enemy, had rendered them more indifferent about terms of peace, as they had nothing to lose by the war.

THOUGH the ministry of Great Britain had provided ample supplies for continuing at present the war, they became anxious concerning the future means of restoring peace. The Earl of Oxford, in his late exertion in providing funds for the debts of the nation, had, by appropriating so much of the revenue, deprived himself of resources. There was a necessity, therefore, to fall back, with loss of reputation, into the state in which he had found the nation, or to extricate himself and the kingdom from the war, by an immediate peace. A secret jealousy of the power of the Duke of Marlborough, perhaps contributed more than the state of public affairs, to forward the pacific measures of the Earl of Oxford. Though the ministry had determined to abridge a part of the Duke's power, as he was provoked beyond measure, he was an object of terror. To conclude a peace was the only means to reduce, to the rank of a private subject, a person who had gained such credit, in the course of the war. He was himself no stranger to the delicate situation in which he stood. He knew that his whole consequence to himself and his party would instantly vanish, when he ceased to command the army; and he resolved to disregard mortifications, and to retain in

and of the
British mi-
nistry.

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Advances
made by
them

his hands the only means that could render him formidable to his opponents.

THE British ministry had very early become so eager for peace, that scarce any obstacle remained to obstruct their views, but a safe, secret, and sufficient way to communicate their sentiments to the French King. During the embassy of the Marechal de Tallard to King William, one Gaultier, a priest, attended him to England, and read mass in the ambassador's chapel at London. This man, having insinuated himself into the family of the Earl of Jersey, whose lady was a Roman-catholic, remained in Britain after the departure of Tallard, with a professed intention of becoming an useful spy for France, during the war which was then apprehended on account of the Spanish succession. Gaultier, regarding his own safety more than the interest of his country, gave no intelligence of consequence. He continued, therefore, without being suspected, in London, and divided his time between the duties of his function, in the Imperial ambassador's chapel, and his attention to the family of the Earl of Jersey. That nobleman being connected with the new ministry, recommended Gaultier, as a man whose discretion they could trust, and whose obscurity was sufficient to prevent all suspicion of their design¹.

towards a
peace.

THE ministry having agreed to the proposal of Jersey, employed that Earl to give verbal instructions to Gaultier, and to send him immediately to France. They signified their own inclinations towards a peace. They affirmed, that they thought the restoration of the public tranquillity highly necessary to the welfare of Great Britain. They, at the same time, explained the impossibility of their entering into private and separate negotiations with France. But they promised, that should proposals be made by the French King for renewing the conferences with the States-general,

¹ M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

the

he British ambassadors should receive such orders, as should deprive the Dutch of the power of hindering the conclusion of a general peace. The Abbé Gaultier having left London in the first week in January, arrived in a few days at Versailles. His proposals were received with an eagerness suitable to the distresses of France. But the servants of Lewis the Fourteenth, justly judging, that they had more to hope from the facility of the British ministry, than from the haughty obstinacy of the States, returned a prudent answer. They charged the Abbé Gaultier to inform the Earl of Jersey, that the King would hear no more of peace by the way of Holland. But that he should be extremely glad to put an end to the war, by the interposition of Great Britain.

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The Abbé having brought back to London this answer, the ministry agreed to grant the request of the court of France. They, however, signified their hopes, that Lewis the Fourteenth would not offer conditions to Great Britain, less advantageous than those he had proposed to the States-General, at the late conferences of Gertruydenberg. A memorial was accordingly drawn up in form, by the court of Versailles. The British ministry received it in the end of April, and transmitted it to the States, as a foundation for a general peace. The cession of Spain to the house of Austria was neither promised by France nor insisted on by Great Britain. The death of the Emperor had given a new turn to the opinions of the speculative, with regard to the balance of power. Besides, the Spaniards found themselves capable to defend themselves against the efforts of the allies, after the advantage at Baheuga and the battle of Villa-Viciosa. The terms offered by Philip the Fifth were equally advantageous to Britain, with those promised by Charles the Third; and the nation was in no condition to continue wantonly a war, that ceased to have an important object.

A memorial
from France.

* M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

* State of the times, MS.

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VIII.1711.
Preliminary
demands

THOUGH the British minister was eager for peace, the negotiations were, in some measure, suspended, by the demands of his own ambition. When he obtained the title of Earl of Oxford, and the staff of lord-treasurer, his new dignities, while they added weight to his measures, became motives for his accelerating the restoration of the public tranquillity. The States having complained, that the memorial of the court of France was too general to be admitted as a proper foundation for the renewal of the conferences, Mr. Prior was sent, in company with the Abbé Gaultier, to the court of Versailles. He was directed only to communicate the demands of Great Britain; which, pursuant to the new method lately introduced by the allies, were called preliminary articles. The memorial, which he presented, contained the pretensions of the confederates in general, and the advantages expected in particular by the British nation. Sufficient barriers were demanded for the Empire and the States, on the side of the Rhine and in Flanders. The Dutch were to receive security for their commerce. The strong places taken from the Duke of Savoy were to be restored; and that Prince was to be permitted to possess himself of such towns and districts in Italy, as were particularly mentioned in the treaties between him and the allies^t.

of Great
Britain.

THE particular demands of Great Britain consisted in the acknowledgment of the title of Queen Anne, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, the demolition of Dunkirk, a new treaty of commerce, the cession of Gibraltar and Portmahon, the Negro-trade in America, some towns, as refreshing places for the ships employed in the transportation of slaves to that part of the world. The British ministry also demanded, that the advantages in commerce already granted, or hereafter to be allowed by Spain to the most favoured nation, should be extended to the subjects of Great Britain.

^t M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Hist. of Europe. Publications, MSS. passim.

That

That France should either restore or cede the island of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay and Streights. These articles were, by particular desire, to remain a profound secret, not to be revealed but by the mutual consent of the contracting parties. Three other conditions, of a more general nature, were prefixed, as absolutely essential to the conclusion of peace. A security, that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head. That satisfaction should be given to all the allies in their just demands. That commerce should be thoroughly re-established and permanently maintained^u.

THE powers granted to Prior were extremely confined. He was only to communicate these preliminary demands to the French ministry, and to bring back their answer. He insisted, therefore, on a positive answer, in writing, containing an absolute consent or a downright refusal. To grant either, was deemed equally dangerous, by France. A consent would ruin the trade of that kingdom. A refusal might break off the negociation, and involve the house of Bourbon in all the miseries of a war which had already been unfortunate, beyond the example of former times. To avoid those inconveniences, the French King proposed to transfer the negociations to London. He informed Prior, that since he was not sufficiently authorized to treat in France, he intended, on his own part, to send a person, thoroughly instructed, to Great Britain, to treat directly with the ministry, under the immediate inspection of the Sovereign. Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen, was the person to whose prudence and knowledge the court of France resolved to trust this important business. The terms which Menager was instructed to grant, were to be confined, with regard to the Empire, to a bare renewal of the treaty of Riswick. But the French King demanded, as an essential condition, the restoration of the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria.

Menager sent
privately to
London.

^u Report of the secret committee,

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to their dominions, honours, and dignities. He pretended, for himself, to the restitution of Lifle, Tournay, Aire, Bethune, and Douay^w.

The negotia-
tion becomes
public,

THE journey of Prior, as well as its object, remained a secret from the public till he returned to England, accompanied by Menager, in the first week of August. Having landed, from a small vessel at Deal, he was detained by the custom-house officers, till he was released by orders from London. One Mackay was the person, whose intemperate vigilance made this unseasonable discovery. This busy man, having imposed himself upon King William, as a spy upon the court of St. Germain, had been gratified with a commission to direct the packet-boats at Dover. In gratitude for what he had received, and, perhaps, in expectation of more, he held a constant correspondence with the secretary of state's office, mixing a great deal of conjecture with a small portion of intelligence. When Prior passed clandestinely from Dover to Calais, Mackay wrote to Mr. Secretary St. John, that an English gentleman had taken his passage to France. St. John, to conceal the affair from the public, desired Mackay to keep the thing a secret, and to watch the man's return.

by accident.

THESE instructions were better followed by Mackay than St. John intended. That officious servant employed all his people, between the Forelands, to watch the return of Prior. He at length had advice that a vessel had landed at Deal, three persons with Secretary St. John's pass. He made haste to Canterbury, and met there his old acquaintance, Matthew Prior, under a feigned name. Mackay dispatched immediately an express to the Duke of Marlborough, then besieging Bouchain, with this important intelligence. He informed also the Earl of Sunderland of what he had heard and seen; and that nobleman communicated to the Impe-

^w De Torcy, tom. ii.

rial and Dutch ambassadors, his fixed opinion, that negotiations of peace were begun. Marlborough sent a copy of Mackay's letter to Secretary St. John. The informer was dismissed from office. But the mischief was already done. The Imperial minister expostulated with the ministry, concerning the secret negotiations which were suspected to subsist between Great Britain and France. He was told, by way of answer, that he had no reason to be alarmed. That the Queen was resolved never to hearken to any terms of peace that might derogate from her engagements with her allies. The intercourse between the two courts being no longer a secret, the substance of the projected treaty of peace was carried to the press by the opposing party, and eagerly defended by the friends of the ministry. The famous Dr. Jonathan Swift employed his abilities in favour of the measures of the crown. Prior was not an indifferent spectator of a contest, in which he himself was personally concerned*.

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OBVIOUS arguments were introduced, with a vehemence and rhetoric that made a great impression on the minds of a people already labouring under the heavy burdens of an unprofitable war. They affirmed, that the death of the Emperor had changed the whole face of affairs. That the dangers which the war was intended to prevent, were now likely to arise from its success. That a Prince of the house of Austria succeeding to the Empire and the hereditary dominions of his family, and possessing already the Spanish territories in Italy, would be a more formidable King of Spain, than any Prince of the house of Bourbon, when excluded from the succession of France. That the balance of power in Europe would be effectually destroyed by such a measure. That the only thing to be expected, from a peace that should place Charles the Third on the Spanish throne, would be a renewal of hostilities. That to restore the balance which such a measure

It is defended
by the mi-
nistry.

* Publications of the times.

must

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must inevitably destroy, the whole fabric, built at the expence of so much treasure and blood, must be destroyed by the same hands by which it was raised. To reconcile the nation to the cession of Spain to the house of Bourbon, they affirmed, that the dependence of Philip the Fifth on French counsels, would certainly cease at the death of his grandfather, an event not far distant, considering the great age of that Prince; and they closed their arguments with observing, that the total cession of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, was now a thing impracticable, as that monarchy was actually dismembered, by the cessions made to the Duke of Savoy, and the conquests of the British and Dutch nations^r.

Their caution.

THOUGH political timidity formed none of the faults of the Earl of Oxford, he observed a degree of caution in treating with Menager. He entered, with great freedom and an apparent zeal, into conferences with the French minister. But he, as well as other plenipotentiaries named by the Queen, declined to become an ostensible party in the treaty. The special preliminaries in substance the same that had been offered through Mr. Prior, by the court of Great Britain, were signed by Menager, on the twenty-seventh of September. They were, however, accepted and signed only by the Earl of Dartmouth and Mr. St. John, by virtue of a warrant granted for that purpose by the Queen. It was also observable, that neither the warrant nor any one paper in the whole transaction, was countersigned by any of the Queen's servants. The ministry knew that they were watched by their enemies on an occasion so critical; and they resolved to prevent the very fear of danger, should the negociation prove abortive, and they themselves lose their power. But though the servants of the crown observed such caution in the negociation, they seemed determined to support the preliminary articles. On the ninth of

^r Political Pamphlets, 1711.

October, a copy was delivered to the Imperial ambassador, Count Galas. That minister, with a precipitation more suitable to his zeal for his master than to common prudence, published the articles in a news-paper, with a view of appealing from the government to the people^z.

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THE publication of the preliminary articles changed, in some measure, the current of public opinion, which had hitherto run favourably for the minister. Though the people in general wished for peace, they expected very splendid conditions, after such uncommon successes in the war. The usual jealousy of the populace was inflamed, by the arts of the excluded party. The preliminaries were called captious, insidious, and insufficient, the peace to be expected from them unsafe and dishonourable. But neither Oxford nor his associates were now to be intimidated, from the prosecution of their pacific designs. To testify at once to the world their resolution to adhere to the preliminaries offered by France, they ordered the Imperial minister to come no more to court, and to make preparations for quitting the kingdom. The precipitate vehemence of that minister rendered, in some measure, necessary a proceeding which was as unusual as it was severe. He spoke in open and high terms against the measures of the ministry. He held clandestine and nightly meetings with their political enemies; and thus, by joining intrigues to insolence, rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the Queen as well as to her servants^a.

They resolve
to proceed.

THE preparations which the ministry had made to extricate themselves from the war upon any decent terms, were neither lately begun nor pursued without prudence. They had sent the Abbé Gaultier to France in the beginning of the year; they removed

The Earl of
Strafford sent
to the Hague.

^z Publications of the times, passim. Burnet, vol. iv.
d'Angleterre.

^a Ibid. Hist.

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the Viscount Townshend, on whose attachment to themselves they could not much depend, from the office of ambassador to the States-general. The Lord Raby, who had for several years served in the like capacity, at the court of Prussia, succeeded Townshend, in the month of March. This nobleman's chief recommendation to such a distinguished office, was his high Tory principles, and his known aversion to the interests of the Duke of Marlborough. His parts were feeble and uncomprehensive. No knowledge of books, no just observations on mankind, enlightened a mind which nature had left confused and obscure^b. His most splendid virtue was personal courage, which he displayed upon various occasions, before he quitted the field for the business of the cabinet. But his attachment to his party was more to be considered, than his abilities in discharging the duties of the office to which he was raised. Having been created Earl of Strafford, in the beginning of September, he was ordered by the Queen to repair to Holland, to lay before the States, the preliminaries which she had accepted from the court of France. Strafford having arrived at the Hague, communicated to the pensionary Heinfius, the preliminary articles settled between Great Britain and France. The States having had several secret conferences, declared to the British ambassador, that they found the articles so general and obscure, that they were afraid they were ill-calculated for serving as a foundation to a formal treaty. That, for this reason, their High Mightinesses had appointed M. Buys their envoy extraordinary, to explain to the Queen of Great Britain their sentiments and their fears upon that subject. Buys accordingly arrived in London, on the eighteenth of October. But neither the representation of the States, nor the vehemence and intrigues of their envoy, were capable to change, or even to shake the resolution formed by the Queen. She ordered her ambassador

^b Hannover-papers. Swift's Notes on Mackay, MS.

to press the States to determine on a proper place for holding the congress. She required, at the same time, that passports should be sent immediately to the plenipotentiaries of France; and she referred Buys, upon the whole, to the orders already transmitted to the Earl of Strafford, at the Hague^c.

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THIS firmness of the Queen and her servants may, in some measure, be ascribed to the insolence and imprudence of the Dutch minister himself. He hoped to kindle such a flame against the pacific intentions of the court, as might terrify them into a continuance of the war. He scarce observed common decency in his declamations against the Queen and her ministers. He represented them as traitors to their country, as enemies to the confederates, and pensioners of France. He invited all malecontents, whether British or foreigners, to his table. He used all the means which either passion or malevolence could suggest, to ruin the servants of the crown in the opinions of the nation. His chief and most intimate connexion was with the Baron de Bothmar, the envoy of the Elector of Hannover. That minister having passed from Holland to London in company with the Duke of Marlborough, entered into all the schemes of Buys. To increase the rising clamour of the people, he presented a strong memorial against the preliminaries in the name of his master^d. This paper, probably penned, or at least suggested by the Whigs themselves, gave great satisfaction to that party. But it was extremely impolitic; as it might contribute to throw the ministry in the scale of the Pretender.

Intrigues of
Buys, the
Dutch envoy.

THE Elector himself, in a letter to the Earl of Oxford, expressed his highest disapprobation of the projected peace. He affirmed, that the fruits of a glorious war would be lost, should Spain and the Indies be abandoned to the Duke of Anjou. That

The Elector
of Hannover
opposes the
peace.

^c Hist. d'Angleterre. M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

^d Printed Memorial.

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France would soon give laws to Europe, and frustrate all the wise measures taken by the Queen, to secure a permanent and solid prosperity for her people*. He, therefore, conjured his lordship to use all his credit to prevent such a misfortune. The Emperor, who hoped to gain most by the war, shewed the greatest vehemence against the peace. He sent letters to all the circles of Germany, requesting and requiring all the Princes to adhere to his cause. He wrote in strong terms to Queen Anne herself. The solicitations of foreign powers were aided, with all their addresses, by the Whigs at home. In imitation of the famous Earl of Shaftesbury, they prepared to inflame the people, with an expensive pope-burning, on the seventeenth of November. But the ministry were neither to be intimidated nor swayed from their purpose. The States, perceiving their obstinacy, yielded to a current which they could no longer oppose. Buys produced at length passports, in their name, to the plenipotentiaries of France. Utrecht was appointed for holding the congress, which was to be opened on the twelfth of January†.

Secret and
dangerous
designs

BUT though the States, in their public conduct, affected to yield to the inclinations of the British court, they were forming secret measures, that seemed to threaten a second revolution in the government of the kingdom. Under the supposition, that the Queen was resolved not to furnish her usual proportion of the force employed in Flanders, the Dutch, in concert with the Emperor, intended to seize the British troops in the Netherlands. France, informed of this design, communicated the intelligence to Queen Anne. But her servants were already apprized of all the clandestine machinations of their enemies. They knew that the whole behaviour of the Count de Galas, and his stay in Britain, after he had been excluded from the privilege of appearing at court, were founded on a conspiracy formed at London.

* Elector to Oxford, Nov. 7, 1711. Hannover-papers.

† Publications of the times.

The

The real motive of his delay was to see the result of the mobish procession, for burning the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender, which the Whigs intended to render subservient to the exciting an insurrection. The success of the project being uncertain, Galas, by the advice of the Earl of Sunderland, wrote for Prince Eugene, as the last resort. Under pretence of paying their respects to that distinguished general, the party were to conduct him to London, with two thousand horse. His public entry was to have been on the day of the burning of the Pope and his associates. It was from their being apprized of this circumstance, that the ministry seized the figures, destined to be carried by the populace in the intended procession^s.

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DURING those secret machinations, the Earl of Sunderland and the lord Halifax, the most active of the leaders of the malecontents, endeavoured to engage the people, in their own cause. They boldly affirmed, that the chief view of the present administration, was to restore the Pretender. The Queen, they said, was already betrayed. The nation were ready to be also deceived. There was a necessity, they averred, for sending for the Elector or his son. Otherwise, the protestant succession, they said, was in imminent danger. The Queen was in a declining state of health. She was kept alive, they affirmed, by art, by cordials and strong medicines, prescribed by her physicians. Anne herself was no stranger to these conspiracies formed by her subjects. She knew the countenance given by the allies, to the designs of the malecontents in her kingdom. Her eagerness for peace increased in proportion to her fears. The French king was not insensible of the difficulty of her situation. But, as the re-establishment of peace had long employed all his wishes and thoughts, he complied with all her demands. Her servants were equally eager with herself, for an immediate restoration of the public

of the Whigs
and the con-
federates.

^s M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers.

tranquillity.

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tranquillity. A time of suspense was to them a period of danger. Their domestic enemies were on the watch for their errors; and the confederates were prepared to support the Whigs with vigour^h.

Marlborough
communicates

WHEN his party were forming schemes to support his power, the Duke of Marlborough yielded to that political despondence to which he was frequently subject. Disappointed in his views at home, he began, according to custom, to turn his eyes toward the court of St. Germain. He admitted their agents to his privacy and conversation. He signified his unalterable attachment to the Pretender, and his zeal to obtain her dowry for the exiled Queen. He regretted that he was not likely to be employed in concluding the peace, as he might have done, in that case, essential service to the old cause. He assured them, that he considered the payment of the dowry, as a great point toward the re-establishment of the excluded line. "The eyes of the people," he said, "will be gradually opened. They will see their interest in restoring their King," for so he called the pretended Prince of Wales. His cause, he affirmed, had gained so much ground of late years, that he solemnly swore, it could not but come to a happy issue. Both sides, he averred, would find themselves obliged to have recourse to the excluded Prince, for solid peace and internal happiness: "Not from any true principles of conscience or honesty," the Duke was pleased to say; "for I do not believe that either party is swayed by any of theseⁱ."

his vehement
zeal, and
offers

THE Duke descended from these observations to articles of information and advice. "The French King and his ministers," he said, "will sacrifice every thing to their own views of peace. The Earl of Oxford and his associates in office to take, as usual, the ground of their adversaries, will probably insist upon THE

^h De Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1712.

ⁱ Stuart-papers, Nov. 3, 1711.

KING's retiring to Italy. But he must never consent. He must yield neither to the French King, nor to the fallacious insinuations of the British ministry, in a point which must inevitably ruin his cause. To retire to Italy," the Duke swore, "by the living God, is the same thing as to stab him to the heart. Let him take refuge in Germany, in some country on this side of the Alps. He wants no security for his person. None will touch a hair of his head. I perceive such a change in his favour, that I think it impossible but he must succeed. But when he shall succeed, let there be no retrospect toward the past. All that has been done since the Revolution must be confirmed. His business is to gain all by offending none. As for myself, I take God to witness, that what I have done, for many years, was neither from spleen to the ROYAL FAMILY, nor ill-will to their cause; but to humble the power of France; a service as useful to the KING, as it is beneficial to his kingdom."

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"PEACE," he said, "must certainly happen. The people stand in need of tranquillity on both sides. The current of the nation now seconds the views of the minister. But peace and all that has been done, favours the cause of THE KING. God, who rules above, seems visibly to dispose all for the best. But neither Whigs nor Tories can ever be depended upon, as parties. Their professions are always different. Their views precisely the same. They both grasp at the possession of power. The Prince who gives them the most is their greatest favourite. As for me, I have been treated unworthily. But God has blessed me with a great deal of temper and forbearance of mind. I have taken my resolution to be quiet. I have determined to wait my time. But if Harley will push me further, he shall know of what metal I am made. As for the King's affairs, occasion is only wanting to my zeal. God Almighty has placed matters in such a train, that he must at any rate succeed. I know perfectly his sister's disposition of mind.

his advice to
the Pretender.

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mind. She is a very HONEST PERSON, easily won, and without difficulty swayed. She is extremely cautious, as she is to the last degree subject to fear. At bottom she has no aversion to her brother's interest. But she is one that must not be frightened. An external force would terrify her, and alienate the minds of the nation. Leave us, therefore, to ourselves, and all your hopes will be crowned with success¹.

He arrives in
England.
Affair of the
Scottish me-
dal.

A FEW days after the Duke of Marlborough had made these vehement assurances to the Pretender, he embarked for England, accompanied by the Baron de Bothmar, the minister of the Elector of Hannover. He had undertaken, in the same warm manner, to support the interest of his Highness; and scarce any doubt can be formed of his being instrumental in persuading Bothmar to present the memorial which made so much noise in the kingdom. The insinuations of the Whigs had made an impression on the minds of the electoral family, which all the asseverations and servile professions of the Tories were not capable to remove^k. The compliments of the Earl of Oxford and his associates, were lost on a court, who formed their opinions of the principles of the servants of the crown, upon those of the party to whose influence they owed their power. An incident, which happened in the course of the summer, in Scotland, contributed to increase the jealousy of the presumptive heirs of the crown. The majority of the Scots being persuaded, that the union of the kingdoms had been accomplished by bribery and corruption, had retained their aversion to that treaty in all its original force. The change of the ministry, the admission of several known Jacobites into office, and into both houses of parliament, had added the hopes of more important alterations, to the ill humours of the discontented. The adherents of the excluded family fondly imagined, that the time was now arrived for avowing their own principles, and for

¹ Stuart-papers, 1711.

^k Hannover-papers, 1711.

founding the inclinations of government, with regard to their cause.

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IN this disposition of the minds of the Jacobites, even a trivial incident was likely to be seized with eagerness. The Dutchess of Gordon, a Roman-catholic, sent a medal to Mr. Robert Bennet, dean of the faculty of advocates, in Edinburgh. This piece of silver, which had been distributed in Flanders, in the preceding year, among the officers of the British army, by one Booth, a page of the Pretender, had, on the one side, the profile of a head, crowned with laurel; and, on the reverse, a kind of map of the British isles. A legend surrounded the whole insinuating, that the kingdom should be restored to the owner. The Dean having presented the medal at a meeting of the members, on the thirtieth of June, they voted, sixty-three against twelve, that their hearty thanks should be returned to the Dutchess, for her very valuable present. Dundas of Arniston, who had distinguished himself in the debate upon that subject, was appointed, together with Horn of Westhall, to present the thanks of the faculty. The words used by Dundas upon the occasion, were to the last degree seditious and bold. "We thank your Grace," he said, "for a medal of our sovereign lord the King. We flatter ourselves, that your Grace will soon have an opportunity of presenting to the faculty of advocates, a second medal, struck upon the restoration of our lawful King and the royal family, and for the finishing of rebellion, the usurpation of the crown, and the tyranny of whiggery¹."

Seditious
conduct of the
advocates.

DUNDAS, whose principles of Jacobitism overcame his prudence, carried to the press a vindication of himself, more violent and seditious, if possible, than the expressions used in the speech, which he made to the Dutchess of Gordon. The copy, however, having been carried to the provost of Edinburgh, was suppressed,

Suspicious
lenity of go-
vernment.

¹ Publications of the Times.

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before it was printed. The faculty of advocates, perceiving that their zeal had carried them too far, made a public recantation of the error, as they called it, committed by some of their members. The affair of the medal, however, made a great noise. The Whigs complained vehemently of the Tories. The alarm spread to the court of Hannover. The Baron de Kreyenberg, the Elector's resident in London, laid, by the express orders of his master, a memorial before the Queen, containing pressing instances for the prosecution of the offenders. The ministry granted his request, in a manner that rendered them more suspected. They removed from the office of Queen's advocate, Sir David Dalrymple, whose principles, when they opposed not his own interest, were inclined to the Protestant succession, under a pretence of his being remiss in the prosecution of the medalists. But notwithstanding this appearance of severity against the negligence of Dalrymple, his successor in office was scarce less remiss. The whole affair was gradually dropt by the government of Britain. But the jealousy of the court of Hannover continued^m.

Parliament
meets.

THE parliament, which had been from time to time prorogued, was suffered by the Queen to meet, on the seventh of December. The ministry having resolved to carry their great object the peace, were willing to have some account of the progress of that important measure to lay before the two houses, when they should first assemble. The speech with which the Queen opened the session, was more suitable to the known design of her servants, than in itself sincere. She told her parliament that notwithstanding the arts of those that delight in war, both place and time were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. That her allies, especially the States, had expressed their intire confidence in her conduct. That her own chief concern was to perpetuate the Protestant religion and the laws and liber-

^m Publications of the Times, passim. Hannover-papers.

ties of the nation, by securing the succession of the crown in the house of Hannover. That she was resolved to improve and enlarge their interest in trade and commerce, by the advantages to be obtained by the peace. That she would not only endeavour to procure all reasonable satisfaction to her allies, but unite them in the strictest engagements to render permanent the public tranquillity. That the best way to treat, with effect, about a peace, was to make an early provision for carrying on the war. She, therefore, demanded the usual supplies; and concluded with earnestly recommending that unanimity which was necessary to the discussion of a business of the last importance to all Europe, as well as to themselves^a.

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THE foreign and domestic enemies of the ministry, despairing to gain a majority of the commons, had applied themselves to the lords. Buys, the Dutch ambassador, had extended his intrigues, with success, to several members^o. The Duke of Marlborough suffered his love of money to yield to his hatred to Oxford, and his apprehensions from his measures. He was said to have bribed eight of the Queen's servants, in the upper house^p. The ministry were no strangers to these secret intrigues, and their threats increased in proportion to their anxiety and fear. They talked of nothing but the beheading of the corruptor, should the corruption itself be sufficiently proved. France became afraid of the eagerness of the court of Great Britain, lest her own hopes of peace should be baffled in the concussion of the two parties. The court of Versailles were, at the same time, no strangers to the secret views of the allies, with regard to the measures of the British ministry. They knew that the States, notwithstanding their late acquiescence in the proposal of appointing a time and place for a congress for a treaty of peace, were willing to come to extremi-

Intrigues of
the allies, and
Whigs.

^a Journals, Dec. 7, 1711.

^o M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

^p Ibid.

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The lords
against the
peace.

ties, with a view to continue the war. They were ready to use more effectual means than representations with the Queen of Great Britain. They were at no pains to conceal, that they intended to fit out a fleet to assist the Elector of Hannover to strike the scepter from her hand. The common conversation in Holland turned upon the design of the States, to treat Queen Anne as they had treated her father; and to exhibit another scene, as that in the year 1688; but probably more bloody, and perhaps more decisive¹.

THE disposition of a majority of the peers was well known, before the session was opened. The Queen, either to awe or to gain some members of the opposition, with her presence, disrobing herself, in an adjacent room, returned to hear the debates in the house of lords. The Whigs had used every measure that prudence could suggest, to strengthen themselves, by weakening their enemies. They had the address to gain the Earl of Nottingham, and some other lords, equally attached to the principles of the high church, to aid their party in opposing the projected peace. When a motion was made, and seconded, for an address of thanks to the Queen, Nottingham endeavoured, in a long and laboured speech, to shew the insufficiency of the terms of the late preliminaries. He concluded with offering a clause, to be inserted in the address, that no peace could be safe or honourable, should Spain and the Indies be continued to any branch of the house of Bourbon. The ministry opposed, with the whole weight of government, a motion calculated to break all their measures. But neither their arguments nor their influence could prevail. Several lords in office, as had been apprehended, joined the opposing party. The previous question, on Nottingham's clause, was carried by his own casting vote. The adherents of the Earl of Oxford opposed the main question with still worse success. The

¹ M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1712.

address,

address, with the addition, was carried, by a majority of six voices'; and, on the eleventh of December, it was presented to the Queen. Her answer was ambiguous, and more suitable to the character of the minister than to her own. She should be sorry, she said, that any one could suspect that she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the Indies from the house of Bourbon*.

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To obtain this victory over the ministry, the Whigs sacrificed, in one instance, their own principles. The disgust of Nottingham, for not having been comprehended in the changes made in the preceding year, together with a late disappointment in his views on the privy-seal, had thrown him into opposition against the court. He, however, made his terms with the Whigs, before he consented to espouse their cause. The bill of occasional conformity had been always the darling object of this Earl. Having thrice miscarried, it had lain dormant for seven years. The leaders of the Whig-party had agreed to concur with Nottingham in his favourite bill, should it be brought in by another title, to save appearances with the world. The bill was accordingly passed, without difficulty, by the lords. The known principles of the commons prevented all opposition, in the lower house, to a law so favourable to the church. The Dissenters, throughout the kingdom, were alarmed. They applied in vain to parliament. They presented a petition, to no purpose, to the Earl of Oxford. Though his lordship and his family had joined almost uniformly in communion with the Presbyterians, he sacrificed, upon the present occasion, his religious professions to his political views. The inconsistency of the Whigs was highly blamed by the most sincere of their own party. They affirmed, that to serve their own views upon power, they made no scruple of deserting their principles. To recommend themselves to the presumptive heirs

Bill of occasional conformity passed.

* 61. against 55.

* Journals of the lords.

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of the crown, they had repealed all the limitations laid upon the royal prerogative, by the act of settlement. To carry a question, in the house of lords, they made a sacrifice of the Dissenters, whose religious and political opinions had been their own chief support with the nation^u.

The Duke of
Hamilton's
patent.

WHILE the Whigs departed from their principles, to render themselves more capable of harassing the ministry, they found a fresh opportunity of triumphing over the court-party. The Duke of Hamilton, one of the sixteen peers for Scotland, having been created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Duke of Brandon, claimed his place in that quality in the house of lords. His former attachment to the excluded family had rendered Hamilton obnoxious to the Whigs. His desertion of the Jacobites, at the Union of the two kingdoms, was not calculated to recommend him to the Tories. The court, however, were obliged to support a question, which seemed to strike at the prerogative of the crown. Lawyers were heard upon the patent^w. The right of the Queen to grant honours was admitted by all. None doubted that all the subjects of the united kingdoms were capable of being created peers. It seemed, therefore, extremely hard, that the nobility of Scotland should be debarred from a privilege, to which the rest of the natives of that part of the kingdom had an undoubted title. But it was urged, on the other side, that the prerogative of the Crown could not operate against an act of parliament. That the treaty of Union had made all the peers of Scotland peers of Great Britain, in every respect, except in voting in the house of lords, or sitting in judgment on a peer. That having transferred their right of voting to sixteen of their own number, they had all the portion of the legislature they had a right to possess; and that their being received into the house in any other way than by election, was to give them the

^u Publications of the Times.

^w Journals of the lords, Dec. 20, 1711.

double privilege of being present, at once, in their own persons, and in those of their representatives^x.

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THE Scottish peers had surrendered their own privileges in a manner that seemed to entitle them to no indulgence. But these conclusions were neither convincing nor decisive. The apprehensions expressed by some lords, in the course of the debate, were better founded than their arguments. They said, that considering the dignity and antiquity of the peers of Scotland, together with the known poverty of many of that order, the minister would have no difficulty of securing a majority in the house of lords, by calling them to that assembly by the means of new patents. Anne herself was present at a debate which seemed to abridge her prerogative. Though the whole influence of the court was exerted, when the matter came to a final vote, the opposition carried the question^y. The Queen and the ministry were much disappointed. The Scottish peers were enraged. They met together and framed an address to the throne. They complained of a breach of the Union, and of the mark of disgrace put upon their whole order. They promised to support the prerogative of the crown, whether they should continue united to England, or revert to their original state. The Queen answered them in a strain that shewed her displeasure at the decision of the lords. She sent a message to the house, complaining of the distinction made with regard to the peers of Scotland. She demanded their advice, in vain, concerning an affair, which, at once, touched the prerogative of the crown and the privilege of a part of her subjects^z.

rejected by
the lords.

DURING these refractory proceedings of the lords, the commons supported, with great unanimity, the measures of the crown. They echoed back the Queen's speech, with a very

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

^x Burnet, vol. iv.

^y 57 against 52.

^z Journals.

favourable

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favourable address. They granted, without either difficulty or reserve, the demanded supplies. To support the ministry, they extended their animadversions to their enemies. Having ordered the commissioners for the public accounts to lay before them their proceedings; their report was made, on the twenty-first of December^a. In this report was contained the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina, charging the Duke of Marlborough, and one Cardonnel, his secretary, of various peculations, with regard to the contracts for bread and bread-waggons for the army in Flanders. Marlborough endeavoured to defend himself, in vain. His passion for money was known; and his pretensions to disinterestedness produced no effect on the minds of the commons. The report of the commissioners was published. It was followed by accusations of various kinds. The press teemed with publications and pamphlets, as the Duke's friends, as well as his enemies, made their appeal to the world. The cause of the latter prevailed. On the thirtieth of December, the Queen declared, in council, her resolution to dismiss Marlborough from all his employments. An information, she said, having been laid before the commons, against the Duke, she thought fit to dismiss him from her service, that the charge might be more impartially examined^b.

Disgrace of
the Duke
of Marl-
borough.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ostensible pretence, the Duke owed his disgrace to a more secret cause. His own conduct, since his arrival from Holland, was full of offence and liable to suspicion. Though extremely subject, like his friend Godolphin, to political timidity, he had lately abandoned his usual caution. His party having calculated their numbers in the house of lords, had filled him with a confidence of success, before the parliament met. The address of the peers, against the peace, increased his courage and inflamed his hopes. He thought he acted with security to himself, as well

^a Journals, Dec. 21.^b Minutes of council, Dec. 30, 1711.

as with advantage to his party. He threw his whole weight into the scale against the ministry. He caballed with Buys. He courted Bothmar. He herded with the discontented of all nations. Neglecting that government of his passions, for which he had been admired by the world, he fell into all the impotencies of rage and resentment, upon every party-debate. He left to the Queen her choice of two alternatives. To stop the progress of the peace, to dismiss the ministry, and to dissolve the parliament, or to rid herself of a person, who, from a servant, was likely to become a tyrant. She determined to adopt the latter measure, and she wrote to the Duke, that she had no farther occasion for his service.

THE fears of the ministry, or the designs of the Duke of Marlborough, justified the dismissal of the latter on other grounds. The Earl of Oxford, perceiving the refractory spirit of the house of lords, framed suddenly an expedient for gaining a majority in that assembly. On the last day of December, twelve gentlemen, devoted to the court, were created peers. The leaders of the Whigs finding that the treasurer was resolved to carry his measures in parliament, are said to have resolved to appeal to the sword. The Duke of Marlborough having his commission under the great seal, the order of the Queen was not sufficient to dissolve his power. His friends advised him to assemble, by his authority as general, all the troops in London, in the different squares, and to take possession of St. James's and the person of the Queen. Oxford, apprized of this design, suddenly called together the cabinet-council. Though he probably concealed his intelligence, to prevent their fears, he told them of the necessity of superseding Marlborough, under the great seal. This business was soon dispatched. His dismissal, in form, was

Cause of that
measure.

^c Swift's four last years.

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sent to the Duke. The Earl of Oxford, no stranger to the character of Marlborough, knew that he would not act against law, by assembling the troops^d. The natural diffidence of his disposition, had made him unfit for enterprises of danger in a degree that furnished his enemies with insinuations against his personal courage^e.

Observations.

THUS fell the Duke of Marlborough, a man as singular in the disposition of his mind, as he was in the extraordinary fortune of his life. The high sphere in which he moved, rendering him the object of envy, as well as of applause; he has been censured with virulence, by some writers, and by others extravagantly praised. The secret intrigues, and the history of his public transactions, have furnished both sides with an ample field for declamation; and there is even a peculiarity in his character, that scarce admits of that happy medium which lies between the opposite limits of detraction and admiration. Though he was born with very considerable talents, he was far from possessing those extensive abilities, which are deemed, perhaps very erroneously, essential to men who acquire the first fame in war. Neglected in his education, when young, his mind was not imbued with the least tincture of letters. He could not even spell his native language^f. He neither spoke with ease, nor attempted, at all, to write, in any foreign tongue^g. This unhappy defect may, in a certain degree, form an excuse for some parts of his conduct, which might otherwise appear profligate. Excluded from every knowledge of the virtues of former times, he fell in with the vices of his own. He judged, perhaps, of human nature, from the unprincipled manners of the court in which he was bred; and the selfishness that has contributed to stain his name, found an excuse in the profligacy of other men.

^d MS. Anecdote, 1712.^e Swift's four last years, p. 15.^f His original letters. Stuart and Hannover-papers, *passim*.^g Original letters to Robethon. Hannover-papers.

THERE is, however, great reason to believe, that Marlborough improved considerably on the vicious example of several of his cotemporaries. His defection from King James might, in some measure, be excused by its utility. But his design of placing that unfortunate Prince a captive in the hands of his rival, is utterly inconsistent with the common feelings of mankind^b. With regard to HIM, he was a benefactor, a friend, and even a father. He raised HIM from obscurity, to independence, to fortune, and to honour. He placed HIM in that only state, that could render his desertion destructive to his own affairs. If his misconduct had rendered James unworthy of the returns of gratitude due to other men, why was King William also deceivedⁱ? If no measures were to be kept with either of those Monarchs, why was England betrayed to her mortal enemy^k? Though these questions can scarce be answered to satisfaction, they admit of alleviation. In the characters of mankind some allowances must be made for their passions and frailties. The attention to interest, which passed through the whole conduct of Marlborough, might suggest to his prudence, to quit the fortunes of a man apparently destined for ruin. His spirit might induce him to oppose King William, as the cold reserve, neglect, and aversion of that Prince, might offend his pride. In this state of mind, his Lordship could hardly separate the interest of the kingdom from that of the King; and he informed the French court of the expedition against Brest, more with a design of being revenged on William, than with a view to serve France at the expence of England.

BUT if the virtues of the Duke of Marlborough were neither many nor striking, he supplied the defects of his mind with the decency of his outward carriage and the dexterity of his conduct. He possessed a solid understanding, a degree of natural elocution,

^b Original-papers, 1688.

ⁱ Stuart-papers, passim.

^k Stuart-papers, 1694.

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an irresistible manner, an address which rendered mankind pleased with themselves. If not modest by nature, he assumed its appearance, with ease and dignity. He reconciled mankind to his fame, by affecting to be indifferent about applause; and, by coming upon men in general, through their vanity, they were willing to give back the praise which he so liberally bestowed. Though he was perfectly master of his temper, and able to govern, or effectually to disguise his passions, he threw a kind of pleasing vehemence into his conversation, that gave it the appearance of sincerity. The great vice of his mind, and, perhaps, the root of all the manifest defects of his character, was an ungovernable love of wealth. This passion, deemed inconsistent with any greatness of soul, betrayed him into meannesses, that raised a contempt, which could scarcely be obliterated from the minds of men, by the uncommon splendour of his actions in the field. Though, perhaps, never man was more hated, he owed more to favouritism than to fortune. The affection of King James had first made him an object of attention to his country. The supposed attachment of Queen Anne to himself and his family, procured for him that influence in Europe, which was the great foundation of his success^k.

of the Duke
of Marl-
borough.

THE malevolence that persecuted Marlborough through his actions in civil life, pursued the most splendid of his operations in the field. No modern general obtained greater victories, yet his conduct has been much less praised than his good fortune. Some affirmed, that he was not fond of exposing his own person, in action^l. Others said, that his apparent perturbation of spirits, in the hour of battle, was as little consistent with his usual carriage, as it was with true courage. But neither of these charges seem to be well founded. An uninterrupted chain of success, through a course of many years, cannot justly be ascribed to

^k MSS. passim.^l Swift's four years.

chance

chance alone; and personal courage can never be denied, with justice, to a man who has been accused by his enemies to have delighted in war^m. In his political capacity the Duke was certainly timid. His misfortunes proceeded from that very defect of his character. In his principles, for notwithstanding what his enemies affirm, he had some, he was certainly a high Tory. He possessed a subserviency of manner, a habit inseparable from men bred in courts, that suited the most extravagant pretensions of royalty. To this circumstance, more, perhaps, than to gratitude, ought to be ascribed his manifest attachment to the excluded branch of the family of Stuart. To a sincerity, in this respect, was owing, in fact, his continual professions to the court of St. Germain. They were, in themselves, neither an object of hope nor of fear; and, therefore, they were little calculated to gratify either ambition or avarice. He was distrustful by them, perhaps, more than he deserved. Had he been possessed of a daring boldness, suitable to his great influence, fame, and power, he might, probably, have placed the Pretender on the throne. All his passions, at length, were either subdued or extinguished by the love of money; and to that unhappy circumstance must be ascribed the ruin of his reputation. Upon the whole, if Marlborough is less to be admired than some other distinguished statesmen and generals, it is, perhaps, because his secret intrigues and actions are better known.

THE fate of his reputation, after his fall, may be considered as a kind of proof, that too much was known, even THEN, of his private conduct. The news of his dismissal was received like a common occurrence. No tumults, no clamours, excepting the complaints of the writers of some pamphlets, succeeded that event. The greatest subject in Europe sunk into a private station, without the sound of his fall being heard. His consequence with his own

Reflections.

^m Publications of the times. Queen's speech, Dec. 7, 1711.

party

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party vanished with his commission. His own usual good temper forsook him with his good fortune. He became querulous, wrathful, violent, revengeful. From directing the affairs of Europe, he sunk into an inferior tool of a faction. The pre-eminence which he possessed, when in office, ceased when he became a private man. His wealth, his former reputation, his splendid actions, only contributed, by their contrast, to render his present condition more abject. The vulgar, tho' sometimes more generous than their superiors, instead of applauding his conduct, persecuted him with insults²; and he had the mortification to see the Prince of Savoy, the only rival of his military fame, received with the loudest acclamations of joy. It must, however, be confessed, that the arts of his enemies fomented the prejudices of the vulgar. The best writers had been gained to the side of the ministry. Pamphlet followed pamphlet, and essay was succeeded by essay. When the shafts of poignant satire fly, without intermission, even the most invulnerable fame must give way. Besides, the Duke himself was conquered in his own mind. Instead of that dignified coolness, that was deemed a part of his character, he was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune. He discovered, upon every occasion, an impatience and a resentment, more apt to amuse than to terrify his political enemies³.

He is unjustly censured for prosecuting

THOUGH Marlborough shewed less apathy than was expected from his former character, his enemies furnished him with sufficient reasons for his resentment. The accusation which chiefly ruined his credit with the nation, now appears to have been malicious and unjust. He was said to have sacrificed the war in Spain, to his own operations in Flanders, to gratify his ambition, and to glut his inordinate avarice. His enemies in parliament, alluding to the strength of the French barrier, made use of a vulgar phrase, which made a great impression on a people who were heartily

² Stuart-papers, 1712.

³ Swift's four years, p. 67. Stuart-papers. Hannover-papers.

tired

tired of the war. They said, that to endeavour to subdue France, by attacking her strong towns on the side of Flanders, was taking the bull by the horns. That, instead of expelling Philip the Fifth from Spain, the troops and treasure of the confederates were thrown away on unimportant sieges, and attacks upon almost impregnable lines. That the Prince of Savoy, himself, as he profited, like Marlborough, by hostilities in Flanders, had contrived to unite with him in influencing, through the pensionary Heinsius, the councils of the States; and that all the three meant nothing by the undecisive campaigns in Flanders, but to protract their own power, which was likely to terminate with the war.

THERE is nothing, however, more certain, than that to push France, on the side of Flanders, was the infallible way of depriving the house of Bourbon of the crown of Spain. The war, in the latter kingdom, had been carried on, always, with a degree of spirit, and often with great success. But, at the end of ten years, Philip the Fifth was more firmly established on the throne, than at the beginning of the contest. The distance of the confederates from the place of action, the necessity of conveying every thing by sea, the sterility of the country itself, the indolence of the inhabitants, which deprived their enemies, as well as themselves, of the necessities of war, the religious prejudices of the native Spaniards, against a Prince, supported by troops whom they called Heretics, had all combined to confirm the knowing and judicious in the opinion, that Spain was not to be conquered within its own limits. On the other hand, though the strong barrier of France in Flanders, must necessarily have cost, to the confederates, much time, a great deal of treasure, and a multitude of lives, the work was at length almost finished. Another campaign would probably have enabled the Allies, had they continued united, to penetrate into France, and even to advance to Paris. The fate of the French monarchy itself must have depended

the war in
Flanders.

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ended, perhaps, on the issue of a single battle. Lewis the Fourteenth, to save his crown, would have been obliged to pull his grandson, in a manner with his own hands, from the throne of Spain. The French King was no stranger to this circumstance, no more than the Duke of Marlborough¹. If, therefore, the object of the allies was to recover Spain from the house of Bourbon, the Duke was certainly right in making the principal effort in Flanders.

¹ M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

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Views of the lord treasurer.—Dangerous schemes of the Confederates and Whigs.—Twelve new peers created.—Arrival and character of Prince Eugene.—His schemes.—Projects of Marlborough and Bothmar.—Prince Eugene's violent proposal.—He is disgusted with the Whigs.—His plot discovered.—Consternation of the Queen and ministry.—Lord treasurer's prudent conduct.—Proceedings of the commons.—Their animadversions on the Whigs.—They censure the barrier-treaty.—They examine the conduct of the allies.—Prince Eugene returns to the Continent.—Congress at Utrecht.—Death of the Princes of France.—Alternatives offered by Great Britain.—King Philip renounces his title to the French crown.—Anxiety of the Queen for peace.—Her attachment to the Pretender.—He writes to the Queen.—Artifice of the Earl of Oxford.—He deceives the Jacobites.—The Queen lays the terms before parliament.—Arguments for and against the peace.—Proceedings.—Campaign of 1712.—Inactivity of Ormond.—Consternation of the allies.—Intrigues of Marlborough.—A suspension of arms.—Affair of Denain.—The allies defeated.—Rapid progress of the French.—Bolingbroke sent to France.—He settles terms with M. de Torcy.—The States eager for peace.—The Queen interferes for them.—Her views in favour of the Pretender.—He declines to change his religion.—Intrigues and proposals of the Tories.—Designs of the Whigs.—Oxford pays court, in vain, to Hannover.—Death of the Duke of Hamilton.—Marlborough quits the kingdom.—Shrewsbury sent to France.—Affairs of the North.—Progress of the peace.—Secret schemes of the Whigs.—
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Projects of the house of Hannover.—They distrust the Queen and ministry.—The Elector indifferent about the succession.—Marlborough a spy on the Pretender.—Views of that Prince.—Peace of Utrecht.

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Awkward
situation and
views of the
Earl of Ox-
ford.

THOUGH the Earl of Oxford acquired the reputation of spirit, from the dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough, that measure ought rather to be ascribed to his fears. He was in the same awkward predicament with his predecessor in office. Both were forced to adopt a line of conduct diametrically opposite to their principles and views. The Earl of Godolphin, though a Tory and a Jacobite, was obliged, from the circumstances of the times, to place himself at the head of the Whigs. The present treasurer, though a Presbyterian and attached to the house of Hannover, was considered as the leader of the Tories, and a favourer of the claims of the Pretender. The bulk of mankind, ever deceived by outward show, judged of the two ministers by their own passions and prejudices. Godolphin, when in correspondence with the court of St. Germain, was violently praised by many, and as extravagantly condemned by others, for his attachment to the Protestant succession. Oxford was still more unfortunate than his rival. He was supposed, by the court of Hannover itself, as well as by the people, a determined friend to the excluded family; even when he used all his efforts against their eventual restoration, and laid himself in the dust at the feet of the parliamentary heirs of the crown. His professions were considered as so many baits to deceive. But, in a happy enthusiasm for his own religious opinions, or perhaps, ultimately to gain the favour of the family most likely to succeed, he seemed determined to exclude all resentment; and to shew that he was a much more sincere friend than his adversaries to the succession of the Electoral family.

He discovers,
by an acci-
dent,

IN this disposition of mind, the Earl of Oxford was as much afraid of the Tories, as he was of the principal Whigs. His

great

great desire, when he assumed the administration of affairs, was to retain the most moderate of the low-church party in office. The violence of his friends, as well as the rage of his enemies, put an end, for a time, to this trimming scheme. To balance, in some degree, the vehemence of the high-church party, he wished to keep Marlborough at the head of the army^a. An incident, however, defeated all his present schemes, while it proved fortunate for his future conduct. Though he had entered, with such an appearance of firmness and zeal, into the scheme of making peace with France, his courage failed him when the Whigs began their clamours against the preliminaries. He therefore endeavoured, by large promises, to gain the Emperor to his measures, through his ambassador at London. That minister, however, construing Oxford's advances to his inability of supporting himself, advised his master to reject his proposals, and to adhere to the Whigs. He affirmed, that there was no reason to apprehend the Tories durst conclude a separate peace with France, or offend the populace by giving jealousy to the confederates. He proposed, at the same time, that, to amuse the people of Great Britain, large promises should be made by the Emperor, for continuing, with redoubled vigour, the war. This measure, he said, would either persuade or terrify the British ministry to put an end to the negotiations of peace; assuring his master, that ways and means could be afterwards found for evading his engagements, with credit^b.

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ONE Plunket, an Irish Jesuit, bred at Vienna, resided then at London. This person was on a footing of the greatest intimacy with the secretary of the Imperial ambassador. He had the address to procure from his friend, copies of most of the ambassador's dispatches to the States-general and the court of Vienna. Being known to one Netterville and to Pen, the noted Quaker, he

the designs of
the confede-
rates

^a Stuart-papers, Feb. 112.

^b Stuart-papers, 1712. Roger's dream, 1713. M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

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informed the Earl of Oxford, by their means, of the discoveries he had made. He placed the papers, to the number of twenty-four, in his hands. Among other matters of importance, they contained the resolution of the Duke of Savoy to adhere to the pacific measures of Queen Anne; together with a letter from the King of Portugal to the Emperor, importing, that he was resolved to put an end, on his part, to the war. They contained also a scheme for dethroning the Queen; and another, in case that should fail, for continuing the war for two years. These papers being laid by the treasurer before her Majesty, made such an impression, that she immediately resolved to conclude a separate peace with France.

and Whigs.

THE Earl of Oxford, apprized opportunely of these intrigues, paid no attention to the complaints and representations of the Count de Galas. Plunket finding that minister dejected, on account of his being flighted by the Queen's ministers, endeavoured to gain him over to the interests of the Pretender. But the Whigs having formed many visionary projects for disappointing the peace, the Count resolved to adhere to their party. Plunket having failed in gaining his favour, resolved to alarm his fears. He told him, that a design was on foot for marrying the Pretender's sister to Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. That Charles, from a prospect of the succession to the British crown in the right of his intended spouse, would assist the Pretender with a Protestant army. That there would be no difficulty in transporting troops from Sweden to Scotland; and that a Prince of Charles's high military reputation and genius, would find little difficulty in establishing his brother-in-law in a kingdom where he had so many and so zealous friends. The ambassador carried this intelligence to the Whigs. They were alarmed, beyond measure. They sent to the court of Hanover for an agent capable of supporting, in concert with them-

• Stuart-papers, 1712. Roger's dream, 1713. M de Torcy, tom. ii.

felves, the interests of the Electoral family. The Baron de Bothmar arrived, accordingly, in London, in the month of November, in company with the Duke of Marlborough; and the memorial, presented in the name of the Elector, against the peace, was the result of conferences between the ministers of that Prince and the leaders of the Whig-party.^a

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HAD not the attachment of the Earl of Oxford to the Electoral family interfered, this measure might have proved fatal to the succession, according to the act of settlement. The whole body of the Tories, the house of commons, and, above all, the Queen herself, were to the last degree offended. The Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, together with the majority of the cabinet-council, proposed to send Bothmar, in the custody of a messenger, out of the kingdom. The Earl of Oxford, perceiving the danger of this resolution, opposed it with address and effect. He represented, that the peace was not sufficiently advanced, to trust the terms to the court of France. That the mob, alarmed by their habitual fears of popery would become clamorous and join the Whigs. That the Jacobites would turn insolent; and that, in short, the whole kingdom would become a scene of anarchy and confusion. The Whigs perceiving that Bothmar's memorial produced no effect, flew, with the usual vehemence of party, into another scheme. They sent to the Prince of Savoy to come immediately to London. The object of his journey was to lay before the Queen and the parliament, the necessity of continuing the war. He was also to provide himself with proofs, that France had bought peace from the British court, for money. Upon this accusation the Whigs, having a majority in the house of lords, were to send two or three of the cabinet-council to the Tower. Plunket, having received intelligence of these schemes, from his friend, the Emperor's agent, then at the Hague, conveyed the whole to the Earl of Oxford.^b

Oxford's prudence.

^a Stuart-papers, 1713. MSS. passim, *penes me.*

^b Stuart-papers, 1713.

^c Ibid.

THOUGH

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Whigs fend
for Prince
Eugene.
His charac-
ter.

THOUGH the intelligence furnished by Plunket, was the principal reason for the resolute measures of the Earl of Oxford, he owed the preservation of his power, and, perhaps, ultimately his life, to the happy, but unaccountable delay of Prince Eugene. Though a caution, which his enemies called political timidity, might prevent the Duke of Marlborough from adopting violent measures, there was no security against the schemes of the Prince : A man of great abilities, unconfined by principle, sanguine in his views ; as determined in the execution of his designs, as he was bold in undertaking the most desperate measures. He kept one great object, his own ambition, perpetually in view. He pushed forward, in one direct line, to that distinguished point. He regarded obstacles only as to their difficulty of being removed. He valued little the means he used ; as he was taught by his pride that every thing calculated to extend his own greatness was allowable, if not just. In this disposition of Eugene's mind, the only safety of the ministry consisted in his absence from London. But the slow counsels of the house of Austria proved, according to custom, highly favourable to their enemies. The Prince was detained at the Hague, till the season of his being useful in London was past. The Earl of Oxford, apprized of the designs of his enemy, had time to fortify himself against his attacks ; and, thus, by the incontinence of a secretary, and the address of an obscure Jesuit, much mischief was prevented, and Europe ultimately restored to tranquillity.

A majority
m^aj^ority in the
house of lords.

THE Earl of Oxford, long perplexed with difficulties, became at length resolute, through his very fears. He dismissed the Duke of Marlborough from all his employments. But this measure was not sufficient to secure him against the designs of the Whigs. Though the house of commons were subservient to his wishes, there was also a necessity of gaining a majority to the measures of the court in the house of lords. The excluded party had

had acquired courage, as well as reputation, under the approbation of one branch of the legislature. To deprive them of that advantage, was to pursue with effect the victory already gained by the ministry, by the removal of the Duke. A sudden resolution was taken to command the deliberations of the house of lords, by the creation of twelve new peers. The measure was deemed arbitrary and dangerous; but it could not be called illegal. It served only to shew the party, that an opposition is formed in vain against the crown, in an assembly whose number of members depends on the will of the Prince. The lords having met on the second of January, the new peers were introduced. They had scarce taken their seats, when they were called upon service. A motion was made to adjourn the house to the fourteenth of the month, the day to which the commons had adjourned. Upon a division, the majority for the court appeared to be thirteen^f. The violence of the party increased with this reverse of fortune. Though the means used to defeat their efforts in the house of lords were obvious, and might have been foreseen, they had derived hopes that the prerogative could not be exerted, from the timid character of the Queen^g.

THREE days after the untoward discovery made by the Whigs of their own weakness, the Prince of Savoy, so long and so eagerly expected by the party, arrived in London. The ministry, knowing his designs, resolved to watch his motions. The Earl of Oxford sent one Drummond, a dependant of his own, to meet him in the river. St. John dispatched, upon the same service, a Mr. Brinsden, an oculist, an agent in whom he could confide. The Prince obtained an audience of the Queen; but he was coldly, though politely, received. She referred him for business to Oxford and St. John, the only persons present at their interview. The Whigs were much elevated at the arrival of his Highness, in a conjuncture so

Prince Eugene in London.

^f 81. against 68.

^g Stuart-papers, 1711.

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critical to their affairs. Even such Tories as carried their principles to the height of Jacobitism were not displeased. They were no strangers to the principles, or rather the views, of the Earl of Oxford, in favour of the family of Hannover. They knew, that to defeat the peace was to ruin the minister. Nothing, but the fear of falling into the hands of the Whigs had induced them to support the court. Had the leaders of the latter party followed a more moderate line of conduct, the Earl of Oxford must have fallen by the hands of his supposed friends. In the preceding autumn, the adherents of the excluded family had discovered, that they could form no hopes to their cause on the favour of the lord-treasurer. Neither the Queen, nor her favourite, now Lady Masham, were ignorant of this circumstance; but both dreaded what they called the tyranny of the Whigs, should the lord treasurer, by the desertion of the Tories, be forced to resign.

His projects.

THE Prince of Savoy had formed no doubt of being able to defeat the treaty of peace, by embarrassing the British ministry with splendid offers of advantage for continuing the war. He had resolved to propose, in the name of the Emperor, to leave Great Britain in absolute possession of the commerce of Spain and America; to induce the King of Denmark and the Czar of Muscovy to join in the grand confederacy; to make up the Imperial forces in Spain to thirty thousand men; to pay one million of crowns, out of four, to be expended in the military operations on that side. Should either house of parliament accept these terms, in opposition to the ministry, the Elector of Hannover was to have passed into Great Britain with an army¹. A revolution to be made in favour of that Prince would enable him to carry on the war to the last extremity against the house of Bourbon. But when Prince Eugene perceived, that the commons were firm in their support of the

¹ De Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1713. MSS. *penes me.*

ministry;

ministry; that a majority had been secured in the house of lords; that the Duke of Marlborough was disgraced, and rendered incapable to second his views; that the Whigs, though obstinate in their opposition, were divided in their councils; that men of influence and property were inclined to a peace; that the mob of London were only clamorous for war; he resolved to spare no sort of violence to accomplish his views.

IN forming his measures, the Prince of Savoy resolved to consult chiefly the Duke of Marlborough and the Baron de Bothmar, the Hannoverian envoy at the court of London. The Duke, at their first interview, chided the Prince for the unfortunate delay in his journey. His arrival, he said, might have been of great advantage to the party, about a month before. He ascribed his dilatoriness to that Austrian gravity which had been often fatal to the affairs of the Imperial family. He told him, that, at the opening of the session, their friends had a majority in the house of lords. That they could have sent two or three of the opposite party to the Tower, without any difficulty. That their vacant places might be supplied with men willing to continue the war. That now the whole state of affairs was changed; that twelve new peers had been created; that the Scottish peers were arrived; that they must have recourse to violence, or drop altogether their design; that three or four persons, together with the lord-treasurer, who possessed the confidence of a silly woman^k, and governed her at pleasure, must be removed. That the Prince must, in the mean time, behave himself with great moderation and discretion. That he should endeavour to gain the good opinion of the minister, and induce the commons to grant ample supplies; and that the whole party should watch such accidents as might arise in the progress of time^l.

Schemes of
Marlborough

^k Hannover-papers, 1712.

^l M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1712.

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and of the
Baron de
Bothmar.

THE Duke descended from these particular facts to reflections more general. He affirmed, that the state of the kingdom at present resembled its situation at the late Revolution; that the disorders were similar, and demanded the same remedies; that should a Prince of the Electoral family appear in Great Britain, under the cover of a manifesto, setting forth, that the Pretender was coming with a Popish army, the mob might be deceived, and Queen Anne, like her father, would steal away to France. That then the crown might be settled by the Whigs, and the war be carried on with redoubled vigour. These observations devolved the discourse on the Baron de Bothmar. He averred, that though the disorders might be the same, the same remedies were impracticable; that the nation was not sufficiently prepared for a revolution; that the prejudices of the vulgar, the great engine in such daring enterprises, were still upon the side of the enemy; that though the Queen was suspected of favouring a Popish successor, she herself was a strict Protestant; that the jealousy concerning religion was too feeble, on account of the distance of the danger; that though circumstances had even been more favourable, the experiment would be extremely dangerous; that a miscarriage would inevitably ruin the undertaking, load the family of Hannover with the public hatred, and exclude them from the succession to the crown. The Duke of Marlborough suffered himself to be argued out of his observations by the eloquence of the Baron de Bothmar. But he is said to have proposed another project, more safe, and equally effectual. He suggested, that bands of ruffians should be sent through the streets by night, to insult the inhabitants, to raise disturbances, and to excite mobs. That, should people become accustomed to these nocturnal alarms, there would be no difficulty in assassinating such persons as the party might wish to remove, and to throw the whole blame on a licentious band^m.

^m Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1713.

THOUGH

THOUGH Prince Eugene rejected this project, his own was not distinguished with more humanity. He proposed to set fire to London, in different places, in the night; particularly to the palace of St. James's, where the Queen resided. He shewed, that the proper time for the execution of this design was when the guards on duty were commanded by an officer whom the party could trust. That, in the midst of the confusion, the Duke of Marlborough should appear at the head of a party in arms. That he should first possess himself of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer. That then he should seize the person of the Queen, force her to dissolve the parliament, to call a new representative, to make a free inquiry into the clandestine correspondence with France, to punish the guilty with death". The Lords Somers, Cowper, and Halifax, were consulted upon this scheme. They refused at first to declare their own opinion; but they at last absolutely rejected the violent proposal of the Prince. They signified their inclination to proceed in the legal and ordinary way. They advised Bothmar to present a second memorial, in the name of his master, more clear, more positive, and more comprehensive, than the former. But though Bothmar agreed to all the schemes, in which the Whigs were only concerned, he shrunk back when it became his own part to act. He told them, that, by presenting such a memorial, without the express orders of the Elector, he should risk his head. That, therefore, he was resolved to extend his aid no farther, than to compose a writing, containing the strongest expressions against the peace; and that this anonymous paper should be printed in Holland, and published and dispersed in London°.

CHAP.
IX.

1712.
Prince Eugene's violent proposal.

DISAPPOINTED in his views, by the caution of the Whigs and the timidity of Bothmar, the Prince of Savoy laid before his party another plan. He proposed, that the Elector of

His further schemes disappointed.

^a Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. MSS. passim.

• Ibid.

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Hannover should be appointed commander in chief of the troops in Flanders, and governor-general in the Netherlands; that to strengthen the Whigs, the Electoral Prince should pass into England, to awe the ministry, by appearing at the head of their enemies. Marlborough and Godolphin opposed this measure with great vehemence. They affirmed, that the Tories, to a man, were enemies to the Electoral family; that, should the Prince of Hannover come over whilst they are in possession of the government, the abrogation of the act of settlement would be the necessary consequence; and that a civil war might arise, perhaps as fatal to the nation as that between the houses of York and Lancaster. But the Duke of Marlborough was urged by stronger motives than the miseries to be entailed on his country. The credit of his enemies daily increased. His own declined. He had already felt a change of fortune. He was afraid of further vicissitudes. The Emperor had provided him with an estate in Germany, out of the spoils of the Elector of Bavaria. He had dignified him with the title of Prince. But though this settlement had secured a quiet retreat, it was not sufficient to satisfy his ambition. He had turned his eyes to the command of the Imperial troops in Flanders, with the title of Vicar-General of that country. He, therefore, could not approve of a project that placed the Elector in a station which he wished to obtain for himself^p.

Disgusted
with the con-
duct of the
Whigs.

THE Prince, enraged at the difficulties raised against all his projects, declared, that he perceived the Whigs were no more friends to the house of Hannover, than the Tories. That they were enemies to all regal government, and biased in favour of a republic^q; but that, if he judged aright, they were as unfit for establishing that form of government, as they were incapable of supporting it with patriotism and unanimity. That their proposal

^p Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. MSS. passim.

^q Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers.

o enable the Emperor to carry on the war, by a loan on the revenue of his hereditary dominions, was either captious or visionary. That their schemes throughout were either speculative or impracticable; that the ideal fabric raised by one was sure of being overturned by the objections of another; that they seemed to him like those vain men who were reported of old to employ themselves in building the tower of Babel. That there were not three among them that agreed either in sentiment or in language; that sometimes they would have the Prince of Hannover; that, at other times, they were averse from all sovereigns, whether by succession or election to the throne. That he perceived the greatest number longed more for power and emolument, than for any change of measures. That, without any attachment either to the families of princes or forms of government, they wished to manage the nation by a factious aristocracy. That, for his own part, he was only vexed that they obliged the Emperor to make demands, from which he should be forced to desist.

THE ministry were minutely informed concerning the particulars discussed in these consults. They were sufficiently acquainted with their dangerous tendency. On the anniversary of the Queen's birth, they took every precaution for the security of her person. The guards were doubled. The gates of St. James's were shut. Several parties of horse were stationed in the neighbourhood. Some troops were appointed to attend Prince Eugene, under a shew of defending him against the pressure of the mob; but, in reality, to watch his motions. They were informed, that, under the pretence of a tumult among the populace, some persons, employed by the Prince and his party, were to force their way to the Earl of Oxford, and to assassinate him, together with Mr. St. John, and the lord-keeper, Sir Simon Har-

Conse-
ration
of the
Queen
and
ministry.

¹ Letter from Prince Eugene, Feb. 15, 1712. Stuart-papers, 1712.

² Stuart-papers, 1712. MSS. 1713. M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

³ Feb. 17.

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court. The Queen was terrified beyond measure. Oxford, to protect himself and to encourage his mistress, occupied apartments in the palace. The lord-keeper and the secretary took care not to venture abroad after it was dark. But, amidst this alarm, the minister and his threatened associates conducted themselves with commendable prudence, in concealing their apprehensions of danger. Had they carried the intelligence they had received to the council at large, or, above all, had it been laid before the parliament, the nation might have been kindled into a degree of frenzy against the projectors of such dangerous schemes. The imprudence of the Baron de Bothmar, in being privy to these consults, might have even endangered the succession in the Protestant line. Men would scarce take time to distinguish the assiduous folly of the servant, from a settled design in the master to obtain the throne by unjustifiable means.

The Jacobites
wish to lay the
whole before
parliament.

THE Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, in their attachment to the excluded branch of the Stuarts, were very unwilling to suffer a discovery so favourable to their principles to pass without being laid before the parliament. Though the proofs furnished by Plunket and others were sufficient to convince mankind of the reality of a conspiracy, they were not deemed complete, in the eye of the law. Oxford endeavoured to conceal even from the cabinet-council the informations he had received against the Prince of Savoy. He subjected them, however, to the inspection of the Queen. Plunket, thinking that Eugene should be committed to prison, had sent a detail of the whole, by the hands of the Earl of Yarmouth, to the Duke of Buckingham, and to Harcourt, the lord-keeper. They laid it instantly before the rest of the cabinet. The Earl of Oxford was alarmed. He knew their principles, and he was afraid of their violence. He entreated them to make no motion in the business. They affirmed, that the thing concerned them too nearly to be dropt without

without examination. They ordered Plunket to appear; but Oxford carried him first to Queen Anne. The Duke of Buckingham brought him before the cabinet. He was examined with strictness. They promised to provide for him, during life, for his services. They ordered him to repair to Holland, to induce, by promises, the friend from whom he had received the Prince of Savoy's papers, to come to London, to lay the whole proceedings of the confederates and Whigs before the parliament and the nation¹.

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THE Earl of Oxford opposed this measure with various arguments. He said, that to employ a Roman Catholic upon that service, would furnish the Whigs with a popular ground for clamour. That the scrutiny into their conduct would offend the Allies, in a degree that might prove extremely dangerous. That a court that would expose such secrets to parliament could never afterwards be trusted. That the differences which must ensue between the confederates and the court of London would enable France to prescribe her own terms; and that Great Britain, from being the umpire of the affairs of Europe, would sink into contempt. These solid reasons were, however, rejected. The principles of Buckingham overcame the art of Oxford. Plunket was sent to Holland. He prevailed with his friend to consent to come to England, upon the promise of a provision for life: but he insisted to have that promise under the hand of the secretary of state. Though the affair belonged properly to the secretary's office, the Earl of Oxford took the whole into his own department. Plunket informed him of the German agent's demands. But he kept the letter from the inspection of the cabinet-council. He, in the mean time, amused Plunket, and contrived to employ him in Holland, as the only means to prevent the cabinet-council from making public this disagreeable and dangerous affair².

They are prevented by Oxford.

¹ Stuart-papers, 1713. MS. passim.

² Ibid. passim. Stuart-papers, 1713.

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His artful and
cautious con-
duct.

THE Earl of Oxford, through the whole of this trying scene, behaved like a man whose passions lay subdued by his principles. Though he was no stranger to the designs of his enemies against his mistress, though he was informed of their schemes against his own person, though those who supported his measures upbraided him for his conduct, he proceeded, considering his situation, with great moderation and circumspection. The violence of the Whigs, more than the vehemence of the Tories, had forced him into the measures, of which the first of those parties so much complained. He was unwilling to disgrace Marlborough. He was equally averse from persecuting that nobleman in parliament. When the commons, swayed by Tory-principles, animadverted upon the Duke and his adherents, the Earl of Oxford had proofs in his hands against them, that would infallibly ruin their reputation with the people, and might even endanger their lives. Though insulted, stigmatized, and persecuted by the Baron de Bothmar; though liable to the violence of that imprudent resident, and subject to his secret and dangerous conspiracies; though distrusted by the Princess Sophia, suspected by the Elector, and hated by the whole Electoral family; he seemed to place himself above resentment, and to encourage hopes that his conduct would ultimately contradict the misrepresentations of his enemies, and gain the confidence and even the gratitude of the presumptive heirs of the crown. To accomplish a purpose laudable in itself, he made afterwards use of a deception, less consistent with honour than with true, or perhaps necessary, policy*.

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

DURING these secret intrigues, dangerous conspiracies, and clandestine designs, the parliament proceeded along the obvious line of public business. The two houses having met on the fourteenth of January, were required, by a message from the Queen, to adjourn themselves further to the seventeenth of the month.

* MSS. passim, 1712. Stuart-papers. Hannover-papers.

Her Majesty ordered the secretary of state to acquaint the commons, that her plenipotentiaries had arrived at Utrecht, and had already opened the conferences for the speedy re-establishment of the public tranquillity. That, to secure the conclusion of peace, by appearing provided for war, all preparations were made for opening an early campaign. She therefore requested the house to give the necessary dispatch to the supplies. She concluded with complaining of the licence of the press, which was become too great to be restrained by the laws in force; and she recommended to the house to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The answer of the commons was suitable to their principles and their usual obsequiousness to the views of the Queen. They thanked her for her promise to communicate to them the terms of the peace. They reflected on such persons as had spread groundless and malicious reports against her councils. They promised dispatch in the supplies. They assured her that they would take the most effectual course to stop the licentiousness of false and scandalous libels^x.

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To these assurances to the Queen, the commons added animadversions on those who opposed the measures of the crown. Having taken under consideration the report of the commissioners of public accounts, they found that Mr. Robert Walpole had been guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption. Upon the oath of one of his agents it appeared, that Walpole had received five hundred guineas and a note for five hundred more for two contracts, made by him when secretary at war, for supplying the troops in North Britain with forage. Though the shameful venality of this man deserved punishment, his connexion with the former ministry was more the object of resentment than his offence. He was expelled from his seat in the house and committed to the Tower^y. The commons passed from the affair of Robert Walpole to a censure on the Duke of Marlborough. Upon examining

Animadver-
sions on the
Whigs.
Walpole
expelled.

^x Journals, Jan. 17.

^y Ibid.

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the charge against that nobleman, for having taken money of the contractors for bread and bread-waggons, and for deducting for his own use two and one half per cent, from the pay of the foreign troops in Flanders, in the pay of Great Britain, they came to a resolution, that the Duke, in receiving those sums, had been guilty of unwarrantable and illegal practices. Their vote was laid by the whole house before her Majesty. The attorney-general was directed to prosecute the duke. But either no prosecution was ever commenced, or it was carried on with a languor that defeated its design. To throw disgrace on Marlborough was more the object of the minister, than the refunding of the public money. To accomplish the first, the commons extended their animadversions to his family and servants. Adam Cardonnel, his secretary, was soon after expelled the house for practices similar to those of his lord^z.

The barrier
treaty ex-
amined,

DURING these animadversions on the former ministry, the conduct of the commons was calculated to facilitate the present measures of the crown^a. The Viscount Townshend, whom Marlborough had associated with himself in the negotiations for peace in 1709, had concluded a treaty with the States of the United Provinces, with regard to a barrier in Flanders for the Dutch at the end of the war. In concluding this treaty, Townshend, in a compliance with the views of his party, had exceeded his instructions. Lille, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and several places on the Lys and the Scheld, were guaranteed to the States. The most of those cities were in themselves an essential barrier to France. It could not therefore be supposed, that she would yield, for the protection of her enemies, what was necessary for her own security. An obstruction to the peace, which might ultimately defeat the design of the congress, threatened to rise from this circumstance. Besides, the engagements of the States, in return

^z Feb. 18.^a Jan. 25.

for the barrier, were now deemed inconsistent with the safety of the Queen of Great Britain and her friends^b. They undertook to guarantee the Protestant succession, to aid with their ships and armies the presumptive heirs of the crown, whenever that succession should appear to be in danger. The ministry were not ignorant that the Whigs, and perhaps the States themselves, pretended that this perilous period was already arrived^c.

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THE barrier treaty, and the instructions upon which it had been concluded by Townshend, with all the letters that had passed upon the subject, were successively laid before the commons. The Baron de Bothmar, with his usual imprudence, made his master a party in favour of the treaty. He wrote in vehement terms to Mr. Secretary St. John^d. He threatened several members of the lower house with the resentment and vengeance of the Elector, should they proceed to censure the persons concerned. Though this conduct could scarce be supposed to proceed from instructions from Hannover, the enemies of that court improved the circumstance to favour their own views. The more credulous part of the commons were induced to believe the suggestions of an intended invasion, and the reports of a designed revolution. The most spirited were offended at this unseasonable interference with the resolutions of a body who had a right to be independent of every external power. When therefore the affair of the barrier came to a vote, the commons resolved, that several articles of the treaty were destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain. That the Lord Townshend had neither orders nor authority to conclude these pernicious articles. That therefore he who negotiated and signed the treaty was an enemy to the Queen and kingdom. The States interfered in vain in a letter to the Queen herself^e. The ministry having resolved on a peace, were determined to remove every obstacle that stood in the way.

and its au-
thors cen-
sured.

^b M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

^d Printed letter.

^c Stuart papers. Debates in parliament.

^e Ibid.

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Inquiry into
the conduct
of the allies.

IN prosecution of this design, the commons were encouraged to examine the conduct of the allies with regard to their furnishing their respective quotas for the war. This inquiry opened a scene which contributed to increase the great desire of the people for peace. It appeared that not one of the confederates except Great Britain had fulfilled any one of their engagements. That the Emperor, in particular, who had most to gain by the war, contributed the least towards its expence. That the States of the United Provinces had not come up in any article to the terms of their treaties. That the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy made a lucrative trade of the war, by extracting from their friends the advantages which they ought to conquer from their enemies. The commons came to various resolutions on this important subject. The Princes and States who composed the confederacy were treated with great freedom in the debates. The complaints of their respective ministers were joined by the clamours of the excluded party. They affirmed, that the Emperor, who was the acknowledged head of the alliance, was attacked with unbecoming disrespect. That the Duke of Savoy, to whose spirit and activity the allies owed the conquest of Italy, was unworthily treated. That the States, the faithful allies, and even the benefactors of the British nation, were insulted; and all this to facilitate a dishonourable treaty, to please a faithless enemy, who presumed to dictate the terms of peace, after having been almost totally subdued in the war.

The Whigs
carry an ad-
dress in the
house of
lords.

WHILE the ministry carried forward with safety their measures, under the protection of the commons, an unexpected incident gave to their enemies a transitory superiority in the house of lords. The Queen, in a message of the seventeenth of January, had recommended the reconsideration of the Duke of Hamilton's patent. The peers having adjourned the business from day to day, seemed

^f Hist. d'Angleterre. Hist. of Europe, 1712. Debates.

at length, by dropping their debates without coming to a decision, to adhere to their former resolution. The lords who represented the peerage of Scotland, resolved to sit no more in an assembly that refused to acknowledge what they deemed their undoubted right. The Whigs improved this secession to their own advantage. The specific offers received at Utrecht, by the plenipotentiaries of France, on the first of February, having found their way into the Dutch news-papers, were laid before the peers, by the Lord Halifax, on the fifteenth of that month. He moved, that an address should be presented to the Queen, signifying the indignation of the house against the terms offered by the French King; and promising to stand by and assist her Majesty, with their lives and fortunes, in prosecuting the war with the utmost vigour. The motion was carried, by a considerable majority. But this good fortune of the Whigs was not destined to last long. The Scottish peers were induced to resume their seats; and their weight turned again the balance in favour of the ministry^s.

THE address of the lords, obtained surreptitiously by the Whigs, was the last parliamentary effort of the party against the conclusion of the peace. The Prince of Savoy, whose negotiations with the ministry had languished into formal memorials and official answers, relinquished all hopes of the object of his voyage to London. To preserve appearances, Mr. Secretary St. John was commanded to lay before the house of commons, a proposition made by the Prince, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, for the support of the war in Spain. The message represented, that the Emperor judged forty thousand men would be sufficient for that service. That his imperial Majesty offered to make up his troops, in that kingdom, to thirty thousand men; and to take upon himself one fourth part of the expences of the Spanish war^b. To the great mortification of the Prince, not the

Prince Eugene, disappointed, departs.

^a Publications. Annals of Queen Anne, 1712.

^b Journals, Feb. 15.

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least notice was taken by the house of his proposal. The message lay, disregarded, on the table. He himself made preparations for returning to the Continent. But he remained some weeks after this event in London. The Queen, informed of his secret intrigues with the Whigs, gave way to all the terrors incident to her sex. She considered herself in the utmost danger, as long as the Prince remained in England. Repeated messages were sent, that the Yacht ordered to transport him to Holland was ready to sail. She at length became so uneasy, that she is said to have resolved to send away by force a person so dangerous to her repose¹. But the Prince prevented this disgrace, by embarking at Greenwich, on the seventeenth of March^k.

Congress
opened at
Utrecht.

DURING these transactions in the British parliament, the conferences for restoring peace to Europe were opened at Utrecht. The plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France, together with those of the States, met, in form, for the first time, on the eighteenth of January. Though the Earl of Strafford and the Bishop of Bristol had received orders to hasten the great work of peace, they were not sufficiently instructed with regard to the article of Spain, which must necessarily form the foundation of the treaty. This secret was reserved by the ministry for Mr. Prior, who was expected in quality of third plenipotentiary from Great Britain. The British plenipotentiaries, confined in their powers, conversed still with those of France, in the stile of enemies. They declared, that the articles signed by Menager ought rather to be considered as propositions than preliminaries. That they were neither binding on the Queen, nor considered, in the least, as binding on the allies. This declaration composed, in some degree, the spirits of the confederates. The Emperor himself consented to send plenipotentiaries to Utrecht. The peace depended not on that Prince, though the war had been undertaken in his cause. The confederates, as

¹ Stuart-papers, 1712.^k Public intelligence.

well

well as the French, perceived, that the fate of the treaty was involved in the resolutions of the Queen of Great Britain. But an unexpected incident threw, to an uncertain distance, the tranquillity that was suddenly expected by all the belligerent powers.

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IN the month of April of the preceding year, the Dauphin of France, the only son of Lewis the Fourteenth, died, at the age of fifty. He was a Prince of a limited capacity, fond of tranquillity, and averse from business, as he was unequal to its toils. He was succeeded in the title of heir of France, by his son, the Duke of Burgundy; a man of more fire, greater vivacity, and better abilities, than his father. But he also died, on the eighteenth of February, having survived, only six days, his wife, the Dauphiness, Mary Adilaide of Savoy. These events, so fatal to the royal family of France, were followed, in a few days more, by the death of the Duke of Britany, the last Dauphin's eldest son. They were all buried together in the same grave. This uncommon mortality was ascribed by the vulgar to the ambition and intrigues of the Duke of Orleans. This perhaps was but an idle report. But the profligate pleasures of that Prince had induced mankind to form the worst opinion of his morals. Out of three sons born to the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Anjou, a sickly infant, only remained. The misfortunes of France raised the courage of such of the confederates as were eager for continuing the war. The Emperor rose in his hopes, and increased his demands. The States grew more obdurate. The British ambassadors became more cool in their zeal. The ministry either did not chuse or durst not send Prior, as third plenipotentiary, to Utrecht. They concurred with the rest of the confederates, in demanding new precautions for the stability of the peace, and for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being joined on the head of the same Prince¹.

Death of the
Princes of
France.

¹M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Swift's four years.

NOTWITH-

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Alternatives
offered by
Great Bri-
tain.

NOTWITHSTANDING these demands, on the part of Great Britain, the ministry made no secret of their resolution to conclude a peace. The lord-treasurer dispatched a Mr. Harley, a relation of his own, to Utrecht. He directed the Abbé Gaultier, who still resided in London, to propose different alternatives, out of which the French King might form a proposal, that ought to satisfy the allies of Great Britain. Harley was charged with the like commission. The plenipotentiaries stopt the progress of the conferences. They said, that he had brought such orders as would break off all negociation, unless the court of France should agree to one of the alternatives offered by the Abbé Gaultier, in the name of the Queen of Great Britain. The memorial of Gaultier represented the just alarm of Europe, should the person who was actually King of Spain ever ascend to the throne of France. He shewed that this danger was far from being chimerical, as this Prince was so near the succession of the latter kingdom. That the only way to prevent the danger apprehended by the confederates, was for Philip the Fifth to transfer his right to the Duke of Berry. That, without this expedient, neither the British nation, nor their allies, would ever consent to a peace which would be, in that case, not only unsafe but impracticable^m.

May.
Arguments of
the French
King.

THE French King was embarrassed by an incident which he had actually foreseen. He endeavoured to elude the demands of the court of Great Britain. To accomplish his purpose, he advanced all the trite arguments used by casuists, in defence of the hereditary descent of the crown. In a letter to the British ministry, he affirmed, that the King, though supreme lord of his dominions, has not the power of altering their fundamental laws. That the prince next to the crown was the necessary heir. That his right is an inheritance which he receives neither from his predecessors nor the people, but from the law. That, when one

^m Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. Swift's four years.

King

King dies, another succeeds, without asking the approbation or requiring the consent of any person. That he succeeds, not as heir, but as master of the kingdom; the sovereignty of which belongs to him, not by choice, but by birth-right. That he is obliged, for his crown, to no will of a prior king, to no edict, to no liberality in another person, but to the law. That this law is esteemed the work of HIM who establishes monarchies. That God alone can break this first link in the chain which binds together the community. That this law can neither be invalidated by agreement, nor rendered void by renunciation. That, should the King of Spain renounce his right, for the sake of peace, that act would only deceive himself and disappoint his allies^k.

MR. Secretary St. John corresponded with the court of Versailles upon this subject. He returned an answer less complicated and more decisive. He admitted, that the French nation might hold, that God alone can abolish the law of succession. But that in Britain most men were of another mind. That the most scrupulous, on this delicate subject, believed that a prince might forego his right, by a voluntary resignation. That the person in whose favour the renunciation was made, might be justly supported by the princes who should happen to be guarantees of the treaty. That, in short, the Queen of Great Britain would put an end to all negotiation, unless the French should accept of the expedient proposed. That it was neither her design nor inclination to deprive Philip either of the title or power of King. That she wished, upon his resignation of the crown of Spain, to preserve his right to that of France, and to place him on another throne. That Naples, the territories of Savoy, the duchies of Montferrat and Mantua, should be erected, for him, into a kingdom. That Spain and the Indies should be conferred on the Duke of Savoy, in

concerning
hereditary
right.

^k De Torcy, tom. ii.

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June,
King of
Spain re-
nounces his
title to the
French
crown.

place of his own dominions; and that, upon the event of Philip's accession to the throne of France, the island of Sicily should be given to the house of Austria.¹

THOUGH the French King amused St. John with arguments in favour of hereditary right, he wrote to his grandson to desire him to accede to the proposals of Great Britain. That Prince, after a delay suitable to the gravity of Spanish councils, resolved to renounce his precarious prospect of the crown of France, for the certain possession of the throne of Spain. The Queen of Great Britain, impatient, for various reasons, for peace, ordered the Earl of Strafford to return to London. The avowed object of his journey was to receive his ultimate instructions to conclude the treaty, as soon as the King of Spain's answer should be received. When his answer was, accordingly, received, in the beginning of June, the Queen agreed to a suspension of arms. The conditions of this indulgence to France, was the immediate delivery of Dunkirk to the British troops; and the punctual execution of the article concerning the union of France and Spain. She proposed, at the same time, that a Dutch garrison should be introduced into Cambray. The French King, deriving spirit from her eagerness, rejected this demand, with a degree of disdain. He declared, that he would rather refuse the cessation of hostilities, and put an end to all negotiation, than admit a clause so contrary to his own honour and the interest of his kingdom. The Queen, anxious for peace, receded from her demand. St. John wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, that, to accomplish the cessation of arms, he had only to transmit the act of renunciation to the Duke of Ormond, who had succeeded Marlborough in the command of the army in Flanders^m. That the Earl of Strafford had just set out for Utrecht. That all restraint, with regard to the confederates, should be laid aside; and that the British plenipotentiaries should act, in concert

¹ De Torcy, tom. ii.^m Ibid.

with those of France, in prescribing laws to such as should refuse to submit to just and reasonable conditions of peace.

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FRANCE owed a change so great and so unexpected, to favourable accidents more than to her own policy and intrigues. Though the British ministry had long perceived, that they must either relinquish their power or conclude a peace, their late vehemence, in carrying on the negotiations, proceeded from their fears rather than from ambition. The Queen, herself, frightened at the real or supposed conspiracies of the Whigs, was anxious to end the war. The support given by the confederates to a party whom she dreaded, threw her inclinations in the scale of France; and she seemed even willing to derive protection from a prince whose power had been so lately broken by her arms. The same attention to her own safety raised her resentment against the presumptive heirs of the crown. She was no stranger to the dangerous intrigues of the Baron de Bothmar. She knew that she had been long distrusted by the family of Hannover. The apprehensions incident to her sex had taken entire possession of her mind. Though she probably entertained little affection for a brother whom she had never seen; though, with a zeal suitable to her family, she was utterly averse from his system of religious faith, and wedded to her own; though she was as much afraid of his presence in Britain as she was terrified at the coming of a prince of the electoral family; she seems to have entered with a degree of warmth into his cause^a.

Cause of the
anxiety of
Anne for
peace.

THE violence of the Whigs and the imprudence of the Baron de Bothmar might have precipitated the measures of Anne in concluding the peace; but there is reason to believe, that her schemes in favour of the Pretender were prior to her late fears

Her attachment to the
eventual suc-
cession

^a Stuart-papers, 1712. Hannover-papers, 1713.

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from the house of Hannover. When Mr. Menager, in the preceding September, had finished the business of his master, he is said to have endeavoured to serve the views of the court of St. Germain. He first opened himself to Mr. Secretary St. John. He was introduced, by his means, to Mrs. Masham, the Queen's favourite. Two articles of importance were settled in this conference. The Queen desired to be permitted to disown her brother, to satisfy the confederates. But she agreed, that the treaty should not be understood to preclude France from aiding the Pretender, in case of her own decease. Mrs. Masham is said to have declared, with freedom, the secret sentiments of her mistress. She told Menager, that the Queen reckoned it an unhappiness to possess the throne of her brother. That she had a secret uneasiness on that head. That this was not all her misfortune. That she was obliged, against her disposition and principles, to promote measures calculated to exclude her own family, for ever, from the throne; and that she would be inexpressibly happy to be delivered from the necessity of doing so much wrong^o.

of the Pre-
tender to the
throne.

Mrs. Masham, at the same time, declared, that though the Queen wished to promote her brother's interest, she could fix upon no measure of serving, effectually, his cause. That though a majority of the better sort were attached to the hereditary descent of the crown, the common people entertained a mortal aversion to a Popish successor. That it was utterly impossible to enter into any treaty, without confirming the settlement of the crown in the Protestant line. That she had no hopes but such as arose from the most Christian King. That she wished to relieve that Prince from every obligation of not assisting her brother, in case of her own demise. That she could not trust her plenipotentiaries. "But sure," said she, "some reserves may be made, for the time to come^p." Sentiments expressed with so little

^o Stuart-papers,

^p Ibid.

reserve,

reserve, to a foreigner, could not have remained a secret to the Queen's servants. Such of these as had principles of the same kind were impressed with fears like her own. An intelligence so favourable to their views was soon conveyed to St. Germain's. The Pretender instructed his adherents, in both houses of parliament, to forward the measures of the crown. He was no stranger to the principles of the Earl of Oxford. But he hoped, that the bad treatment he daily received from the agents of the court of Hannover, would, at length, induce him to oppose their views, or, at least, soften the opposition of that minister to his interest⁹.

THE Queen was extremely sensible of the service rendered to her measures by the Pretender's adherents¹. Though she had created twelve new peers, the majority for government in the house of lords was so slender, that every vote was liable to accidents. When, upon rejecting the Duke of Hamilton's patent, the peers of Scotland absented themselves, the Whigs carried a disagreeable address from the upper house to the throne. The efforts of the treasurer, though he was supposed to have offered weighty arguments upon the subject, was not sufficient to recall the refractory Scots to their duty in parliament. Many of them were, from principle, attached to the Pretender. Resentment had roused others to a determined resolution of opposing all the measures of the Whigs. A kind of rescript from the court of St. Germain's sent them back to the house of lords²; and the opposing party lost all the benefit which they hoped to derive from their short-lived victory. The same influence was extended to the house of commons, where it was less necessary³. The Earl of Oxford was no stranger to the support he received from the Jacobites. He resolved, therefore, to encourage outwardly their views. He admitted the agents of the court of St. Germain's into his conversation and intimacy. His mysterious character

His party assisted the ministry.

⁹ Stuart-papers, 1712.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

gave

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gave an air of importance to his very nods and insinuations. He could, therefore, deceive a race of men blinded by an enthusiastic zeal for their own cause. The Lady Masham, adopting the inclinations of her mistress, was much in the interest of the Pretender. Her friendship for Oxford had long since declined. She wrote to M. Menager, on the second of March, that the affairs of the court of St Germain's had fallen into the hands of the treasurer; and that he would value himself upon deceiving their hopes, and disappointing all their views*.

He writes to
the Queen.

THE Pretender himself, it must be confessed, never believed that the Earl of Oxford was sincere. But he knew, that to oppose that minister was to throw the whole into the hands of the Whigs. The lord-treasurer stood on a dangerous precipice. He was detested by both sides. The Whigs talked of assassination and death. The Tories threatened to deliver him over to the rage of his political enemies. In the midst of this secret ferment, the Chevalier de St. George wrote to the Queen. He told her, that, in the present situation, it was impossible for him to remain longer silent. He put her in mind of the honour and preservation of her own family. He assured her of his eternal gratitude, should she use any efficacious measures towards his eventual succession to the throne. He promised, he said, the best to himself from her good-nature and humanity. He was ready to agree to whatever she might chuse to propose for her own interest, which he reckoned inseparable from his own. The Queen was too prudent, or, perhaps, too timid, to make any answer to this letter. But her inclinations were sufficiently known. She even expressed her terror, that France would not let him escape from her hands. The example of M. Fourbin, who refused to land him in Scotland in the year 1708, was produced as a presumption

* MSS. passim.

that

that the French King was resolved never to part with a person who might hereafter favour his own designs.*

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NOTWITHSTANDING this anxiety in the Queen, her fears from the court of Hannover seem to have weighed more with her mind, than her affection for her brother. The intelligence, which had been industriously conveyed to her ears, concerning domestic conspiracies and foreign invasions, had even removed, for a time, her objections to the Popery of the Pretender. Urged by the Jacobites, and the most violent of the high-church party, she is said to have resolved to lay before the parliament the secret practices of Prince Eugene, and the dangerous schemes of the Baron de Bothmar. The principles of the Earl of Oxford had been highly serviceable to the interests of the Electoral family. Though the idle project of an invasion proceeded from the indiscreet zeal of his minister, the Elector himself had avowed openly his disapprobation of the conduct of the British court. The designs of the Whigs, if these could be proved, might, by implication, be carried home to his highness by his enemies. Whatever the event of the inquiry might have been, the discussion of a matter so delicate would prove extremely disagreeable to the Electoral family. A nation ever subject to extraordinary panics, from plots and conspiracies, might be roused to a dangerous resentment, upon very weak grounds. The Earl of Oxford foresaw these difficulties, and he dexterously prevented the scheme proposed, for laying an account of his discoveries before the parliament. To soothe the violence of the Pretender's adherents, he made a shew of entering, with some zeal, into his cause; and, by insinuating that his succession to the throne could not be prevented, contrived to serve effectually the interests of the house of Hannover.

Artifice of
the Earl of
Oxford.

* Stuart-papers, 1712.

* Stuart-papers, April 1712.

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He deceives
the Jacobites.

THE Earl of Oxford, not content with having judiciously prevented an inquiry in parliament concerning the intrigues of the confederates and Whigs, had made every use of his discoveries to hasten the great work of peace. Though he disappointed Plunket, in not encouraging his intrigues in Holland, he had the address to render that Jesuit subservient to his views. He was no stranger to the circumstance, that Plunket's vigilance in detecting the schemes of his enemies proceeded from views of serving the cause of the Pretender. He therefore employed him in communicating to the court of France the discoveries which had been made, and the consequent resolution of Queen Anne to conclude a separate peace. To please the Jacobites, he held forth a specious tale to that impatient and credulous race of men. He insinuated, that the Pretender could not be immediately served, on account of the watchfulness of the Whigs, and the unsurmountable prejudices of the vulgar against his family, and especially his religion; but that there was a fixed resolution formed of keeping a good correspondence with France, to enable that kingdom to favour his pretensions to the British throne. That it was now in the power of the French King, by closing with the wishes and demands of the Queen of Great Britain, to impose what terms he pleased upon the confederates, of whose ingratitude and conduct she had just grounds to complain².

The Queen
eager for
peace.

DURING these secret transactions in Britain, the daughter born to James the Second, in his exile, died of the small-pox at St. Germans. The Pretender himself had fallen ill, with such dangerous symptoms of the same disorder, as deprived his friends of every hope of his life. The fears of Queen Anne for her own person and authority increased in proportion to his danger. The proofs which she had received of the designs of the Whigs and confederates had made a deep impression on her mind³. She thought

² Stuart papers, May 1712.³ Stuart papers, passim, 1712.

herself

herself defenceless and alone, should the check of a pretender to the crown be removed, from the supposed views of the family of Hannover, whom she was taught to regard in the light of enemies and rivals. But though these were her inclinations, the same happy timidity which gave rise to her anxiety, prevented her from entering, with effectual eagerness, into her brother's cause. She rested all her hopes upon the court of France. She hoped, from the gratitude of Lewis the Fourteenth, for the repose which she alone could bestow, a support against the schemes of the confederates and Whigs. Urged by these and similar motives, she could no longer hide her anxiety for peace. In the moment that fortune, by the demise of the Dauphin and his son, threatened to throw back the house of Bourbon into all the perils of a disastrous war, they were suddenly relieved, by the timidity of the Queen of Great Britain. The ministry, roused by terrors for themselves, were equally eager for breaking, by a separate peace, the power of the confederates. Thus every thing conspired to extricate France with advantage, and a degree of reputation, out of a war that once threatened the dissolution of her monarchy.

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ON the sixth of June, the Queen came to the house of lords, and made a speech from the throne. She observed, that though the making of peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, she was resolved, in consequence of her promise, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the treaty, before the same should be concluded. That, with regard to the concerns of Great Britain, the French King had agreed to acknowledge her title, and the eventual succession of the family of Hannover to the throne. That the works and harbour of Dunkirk should be demolished, Gibraltar and Portmahon remain in the possession of Great Britain; that the island of St. Christophers should be ceded, the Straights and Bay of Hudson restored, the island of New-

She lays the
treaty

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foundland, with Placentia, delivered up, and all Acadia or Nova-Scotia yielded for ever to the British nation. That the trade and commerce of Great Britain should be settled in the best and most permanent manner; and that the assiento or contract for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, should be granted to the subjects of Great Britain, for the term of thirty years.

before her
parliament.

WITH regard to the States-General, she told them, that France had agreed to almost the same barrier that had been offered in the negotiations of the year 1709. That the Spanish Low Countries were to be secured to the Emperor. That the Rhine should be the barrier of the Empire; that Brisac and the fortresses of Kehl and Landau should be ceded; that the Protestant interest in Germany should be settled on the plan of the treaty of Westphalia. That, on the side of Italy, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the dutchy of Milan, the Spanish territories on the Tuscan shore, should be yielded to the house of Austria; that the fate of Sicily remained still undecided; but that all disputes were for ever removed, with regard to the cession of that island by the Duke of Anjou. That the difference between the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy, in the year 1709, and that offered at present by France, was very inconsiderable; besides, that she herself was endeavouring to procure for his Royal Highness still greater advantages. That, in return for all, Spain and the West-Indies were to remain to King Philip; but that, to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain upon one head, that Prince was to renounce for ever, in the most solemn manner, all pretensions to the French monarchy^b.

Arguments
against

THIS speech was received by the nation, as individuals were attached to one or other of the parties, that strove for the management of public affairs. The adherents of the Whigs affirmed,

^b Journals, June 6, 1712.

that,

that, should these conditions of peace be accepted, they could not perceive why the war was at all begun. That the grand confederacy was intended to depress the exorbitant power of France, by the accession of a Prince of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain; but that, by the present treaty, that power was left in the same state as when hostilities commenced. That the renunciation of Philip, offered as a security, was rather a matter of ridicule, than any serious proposal. That the promises and oaths of Princes were but weak obstacles in the way of their ambition. That France herself had been so just as to own, that any agreement of a Prince to break the succession of a crown was nugatory, as being contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. That, should King Philip think himself bound by his own renunciation, neither his posterity nor the French themselves would allow that he had a power to extend the obligation beyond his own life. That, however insignificant the rights of monarchy might appear to the people of Great Britain, who had broken the line of succession in their own country, the thing was regarded with another eye in France, where the descent of the crown was deemed the first link of that great chain which kept together the vast body of the monarchy.

ON the other side, it was affirmed, that, since the commencement of the war, the face of things was totally changed; that France, broken by a series of uncommon misfortunes, had ceased to be dangerous; that, as the state of affairs now stood, fresh expedients and measures were not only proper, but even necessary. That when the war began, King Charles the Third was only a titular monarch, without a revenue, without power, and without importance. That the case was now much altered, as that Prince had obtained the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, together with the Imperial crown. That it would be the height of folly to revive, in the person of the present Emperor, the power

and for the
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which endangered Europe in the days of Charles the Fifth. That, should the confederates resolve at any rate to place the crown of Spain on the head of the Emperor, the success would at best be doubtful. That it would be extremely idle, and highly impolitic, to throw away blood and treasure on an undertaking, which, by being accomplished, would destroy that very balance for which the maritime powers had so long contended with the house of Bourbon. That, as to Philip's renunciation, though a slender thing in itself, it derived great force from the efforts of those who were to enjoy its benefits; that, as matters were situated, the best means had been used for answering the end for which the war began; that there was at present but a bare possibility that the succession of France should fall to the share of the King of Spain; but that there was a certainty of present danger, from the union of the Spanish monarchy to the power of the house of Austria, strengthened by the influence derived by that family from an uninterrupted possession of the Imperial crown.

The commons vote an address of thanks.

IN the house of commons, an address of thanks was voted, without one dissenting voice*. But the lords adjourned the business to the next day; and, when they met, fell into warm debates. Though the Whigs affected to despise the articles of the proposed peace, these were well received by the body of a nation already groaning under the burden of an unprofitable war. The terms were deemed by the dispassionate favourable to the kingdom. In the treaty of the year 1709, upon which the excluded party highly valued themselves, no specific advantages to Great Britain were proposed. In the present, she had not only obtained a security to her commerce, but even an accession of territory. The truth is, that the whole was very inadequate to the expence of the war, and unsuitable to its uncommon success. No doubt can now be entertained, that, had the confederates

* Journals, June 6, 1712.

continued

continued to press France on the side of Flanders, but the crown of Spain must have been relinquished by the house of Bourbon. But it is extremely doubtful, whether the British ministry were acquainted with a circumstance, which the French only owned when the season for redressing the evil was past. The opposition in the house of lords, despairing to prevent the address, endeavoured to clog it with an amendment. They proposed an addition to the motion for obtaining the guarantee of the Allies to the treaty: but, upon a division, it was rejected by a great majority^d. A protest, entered by several lords, upon this question, was, after a warm debate, expunged out of the books of the house^e.

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THEIR approbation of the articles of peace was the last business of importance transacted in this session of parliament. Besides the great business of the treaty, and the consequent contests of parties on that subject, some other affairs, that deserve to be mentioned, fell under discussion in the two houses. The act for a general naturalization of all foreign Protestants was repealed^f. This law, which had been passed by the Whigs when in power, had been always odious to the high church party. They said, that as most Protestants abroad differed from the church-government established in England, so the naturalizing bill was calculated to increase the number of Dissenters in the kingdom. But, after the surmises of a projected invasion were carried to the ministry, one other essential reason was added to the former, for repealing the act. The party affirmed, that when that law subsisted, no importation of foreign Protestants could be deemed illegal; that a foreign Prince might become, when he pleased, master of the kingdom, by sending judiciously his subjects before him into a country where they became denizens, at the expence of a shilling a head, the common price of an oath to the government. That, should such a Prince, which was likely to be soon

Other transactions

^d June 7.

^e June 13.

^f Feb. 9,

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the case, ascend the throne of Great Britain, he might, without any breach on the laws of the kingdom, enslave the nation with an army of his native subjects.

of parlia-
ment.

THE repealing of the act of naturalization was considered by the Dissenters in the light of an attack upon themselves. But this was not the only invasion on their established opinions, of which they chose to complain. The commons, in their attachment to the church of England, extended their protection to the episcopal clergy in Scotland. A bill was introduced, for granting a toleration to all such as should use the liturgy of the church, in that part of the kingdom. The thing seemed so reasonable, that no opposition was made. But a clause in the bill required the civil magistrates to execute none of the sentences of the judicatory of the church of Scotland. The Presbyterians were alarmed at a circumstance, that annihilated their ecclesiastical authority. The bill, however, passed with little opposition in either house. It was followed by another, which was contrary to the Presbyterian principles. The courts of judicature in Scotland were commanded, by an act, to discontinue their sittings, during some days at Christmas, though the observing of holidays is contrary to the tenets of Presbytery. But the most mortifying act of all, was that for restoring patronages, which had been abolished in King William's reign. In vain was it urged, that such an invasion on the church of Scotland was a breach upon the union of the two kingdoms, by which the rights of Presbytery were unalterably secured. The bill passed with little opposition, notwithstanding the complaints and petitions of several of the Scottish clergy.

Campaign of
1712.
Inactivity of
Ormond.

WHILE the nation were in a state of suspense, with regard to the negotiations carried on between Great Britain and France, the

* Burnet, vol. iv.

confederates

confederates took the field in Flanders. The Prince of Savoy had received a reinforcement of Germans, that increased the army to the number of one hundred and twenty-two thousand men. The Duke of Ormond, who had succeeded Marlborough in the command of the British forces, and such troops as were in British pay, arrived in the camp near Douay, in the end of April. That nobleman found himself extremely uneasy in the high station in which he was placed. He had carried orders from the Queen to hazard, by no means, a battle, unless he perceived an apparent and great advantage. He was sensible of the extreme difficulty of executing such undecisive orders, and, at the same time, of concealing the real motive of his conduct from the penetrating eye of the Prince of Savoy. He, however, resolved to obey her Majesty's commands, and to prevent, as much as possible, the cause of his conduct from being even suspected^a. The strong situation of the French army, under the Marechal de Villars, who had posted himself behind the Scheld, had induced the Duke to hope that no action could happen. The Prince of Savoy, however, finding that the enemy had not occupied with entrenchments the small space between the source of the Somme and that of the Scheld, made dispositions for attacking Villars. His design was to decide the fate of the war by a battle, or to force the French to retire, and to leave Cambray exposed to a siege. He communicated his intentions to the Duke of Ormond, on the twenty-eighth of May. His Grace declining to give an immediate answer, confirmed the Prince in the suspicions which he had for some time entertained. The deputies of the States sent an immediate account of Ormond's inactivity to the Hague. The States sent an express to the court of Great Britain. The Whigs brought the affair into the house of lords. But the ministry were neither moved with the representations of the Dutch, nor the

^a M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

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Consterna-
tion of the
confederates.

majority of the peers persuaded by the clamours of the excluded party¹.

DURING this state of altercation and suspense, the Prince of Savoy resolved to sit down before Quesnoy. This siege was but of short continuance. The town surrendered after a weak defence, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The spirits of the confederates, depressed by the inactivity of Ormond, were greatly exalted by this success. But as the proposed cessation of arms between Great Britain and France was no longer a matter of mere suspicion, the former dejection of the allies returned. They pretended to make no doubt, but that all the troops in British pay would follow the British forces. They dreaded, that the Marechal de Villars would take advantage of the separation, and attack the Prince of Savoy. The States, in particular, were afraid of a terrible reverse of fortune, at the end of a prosperous war. Their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht reproached the Bishop of Bristol with the odious conduct of his court. They perceived themselves exposed, in a defenceless state, to the vengeance of an enemy whom they had treated with haughtiness and contempt. They exaggerated the perils of their condition. They even mixed threats with expressions of despair. But their former courage returned, when they understood that the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain refused to follow the Duke of Ormond.

Intrigues of
Marlborough
with the
Dutch.

THIS measure, so distressful to the British ministry, proceeded from the assiduity of the Duke of Marlborough. That nobleman wrote to the pensionary Heinsius, and the Prince of Savoy, to hinder the foreign troops from obeying the Duke of Ormond. He hoped to prevent, by this contrivance, the French King from delivering up Dunkirk to the British forces. That circumstance, which was likely to happen, would infallibly raise the clamours

¹ Journals. Publications of the Times.

of the populace against the ministry, terrify the Tories in parliament, and give a plausible pretext to the Whigs to send the authors of the ineffectual peace to the Tower. The Duke, in conjunction with the Lords Halifax and Somers, proposed another scheme, more decisive in its consequences, but less easy to be accomplished. They advised the States to assist the Elector of Hannover to pass with a force into Great Britain. The project was to spread a report, that the Pretender, at the instigation of the ministry, was preparing to invade the kingdom with a French army; and, at the same time, to declare in a manifesto, that his Electoral Highness was arrived, to secure the succession of the crown in the Protestant line^k. They affirmed, that the people, alarmed for their religion and liberty, would flock round his standard; and that the Queen, like her father, would make her escape to France. This plausible project is said to have been transmitted to the Princess Sophia. But the less violent Whigs are reported to have advised her clandestinely to refuse her consent; as that measure might furnish the Tories, already averse from the interests of her family, with a pretence for altering the succession^l.

THE refusal of the foreign troops to obey the Duke of Ormond transferred the perplexity of the other confederates to the British court. They had agreed with the French, that the Queen's troops, consisting of twenty-five battalions and ninety-four squadrons, should separate themselves from the army under the Prince of Savoy. But when Ormond communicated his orders for that purpose to the generals of the auxiliaries, they refused to obey. One battalion and four squadrons of the Duke of Holstein, and two squadrons of Walif's regiment of dragoons of the country of Liege, were the only foreigners that seemed ready to follow the British general^m. The intelligence was received in London by

The auxiliaries refuse to obey the Duke of Ormond.

^k Stuart-papers, 1713.

^l Ibid.

^m De Torcy, tom. ii.

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different persons, as they were variously inclined to the contending parties. The joy expressed by the Whigs was unbounded. The indignation of the Tories was equally excessive. Reports were spread, that a design was formed by the Prince of Savoy to disarm the British forces, and to confine the Duke of Ormond. This question had certainly been agitated at the consultations of the malecontents with Prince Eugene, in the month of February^a. But whether it was ever intended to be put in execution, is rather to be suspected than proved.

The French
refuse to de-
liver up Dun-
kirk.

THE refusal of the auxiliaries to obey his orders, reduced the Duke of Ormond to a state of the utmost perplexity and uneasiness. He delayed his march, till he should receive positive commands from his court. The ministry were thrown into a degree of consternation, by fresh complaints on the subject from the French King. They had lost the confidence of the allies. They had fallen under the distrust of the court of Versailles. The principal terms of the stipulated cessation was the delivery of Dunkirk, and the immediate confirmation of the renunciation made by King Philip, of his eventual succession to the crown of France. Lewis the Fourteenth informed the Queen of Great Britain, that he understood the proposed cessation to be general between the two armies. That, should he even satisfy himself with a particular cessation, he wished to be understood, that all the troops in British pay should quit the rest of the confederates. That, till this condition should be fulfilled, he thought proper to suspend his orders for admitting the British troops into Dunkirk. Mr. Secretary St. John soon removed this difficulty, by the express orders of his mistress. He wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, that the Queen was resolved to unite herself effectually with France, to defeat this last effort of men, who, to satisfy their private resentment, wished to protract the calamities of war. That, to shew

^a Stuart-papers. De Torcy. Swift's four years.

the firmness of her mind and sincerity of her intentions, she had commanded him to signify to the ministers from those Princes whose troops were in the British pay, that, should they persist to separate themselves from her native troops, they should expect no more of her money^o. That positive orders were, in the mean time, sent to the Duke of Ormond, to separate the British forces from allies that neither deserved nor should receive her support.

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THE court of France were too eager for a tranquillity that was so necessary to their affairs, not to suffer themselves to be convinced by St. John's letter. They foresaw, that the confederates, upon being deserted by Great Britain, would either seriously think of peace, or become subject to a sudden reverse in war. Orders were immediately dispatched for delivering Dunkirk to the British troops. The obstructions experienced already by the Duke of Ormond induced the ministry to place the fate of the peace in a kind of independence upon accident. They sent Sir John Leake to take the command of the fleet in the Downs. They ordered him to provide transports for carrying troops to occupy Dunkirk from Great Britain. On the eighth of July, Brigadier Hill took possession of the place. Two days before this event, the Prince of Savoy separated himself from the British troops, and sat down before Landrecy. The Duke of Ormond, directing his route to Avesne le Seiq, declared, at that place, a suspension of arms. In his march toward Ghent, which city, together with Bruges, he intended to occupy, he was refused by the confederates a passage through Bouchaine. He was treated with the same disrespect and distrust by the garrisons of Douay, Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lille. On the twelfth of July, the Duke took possession of Ghent, and, soon after, of Bruges; and thus, by commanding the navigation of the Lys and

They, however, yield; and a suspension of arms is declared.

* M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

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The allies
defeated at
Denain.

Scheld, became the umpire of the operations between the contending armies ^p.

The good-fortune of the confederates ceased at the separation of the British forces from their army in Flanders. The happy rashness of the Duke of Marlborough, in the preceding campaign, had rendered the Prince of Savoy, the only rival of his glory, more enterprising. Having opened the trenches before Landrecy, he placed a body of his troops at Denain, to favour the passage of his convoys from Marchiennes ^q. His own camp was fortified, and independent of insult. But the Marechal de Villars, however, had the address to render the Prince afraid of being attacked; which induced him to weaken the body of troops commanded by the Earl of Albemarle at Denain. That lord's force, at last, consisted of fourteen thousand men. Villars, having made a feint of advancing towards his right, on the side of Landrecy, turned suddenly to the left, and arriving at Neuville in the morning of the twenty-fourth, threw at once three bridges across the Scarpe. The Prince of Savoy, apprized of the unexpected march of the enemy, hastened to the lines between Denain and Neuville. He reinforced the Earl of Albemarle with six battalions. He went in person to hasten the march of his right wing. He had scarce quitted the lines, when they were entered, almost without resistance, by the Count de Broglio. Four battalions of Palatines and other German auxiliaries threw down their arms and fled. The whole French line, having passed the Scheld, were led by Villars against the camp of the Earl of Albemarle. He marched up to the enemy, without firing a single shot. He entered the intrenchments, cut those who resisted to pieces, and forced the survivors to fly. But their retreat was cut off by the precaution of the French general, who had occupied a bridge, which they had built behind, on the Scheld.

^p Publications of the Times.

^q Hist. d'Angleterre.

THE loss of the confederates was considerable, in an action which decided the fate of the war. One thousand were slain in the engagement and flight. Fifteen hundred were drowned. Two thousand five hundred fell into the hands of the victors. Many officers of great distinction were taken, killed, or lost in the Scheld. The Prince of Savoy had the mortification to arrive when his friends were incapable of receiving relief. He attempted, in vain, to force the bridge occupied by the French. This, however, was only the beginning of a long chain of misfortunes. Marchiennes, where all the magazines of the confederates were deposited, was taken, in three days. Prince Eugene, instead of annoying the enemy, was not able to defend himself. He raised the siege of Landrecy. Douay^r, Quesnoy^s, and Bouchain^t, were successively taken, in his sight. The taking of Marchiennes, in depriving the Prince of the means of war, enabled the enemy to prosecute their operations with vigour. A success so uncommon and so unexpected elevated the French beyond measure. The joy of the British ministry was equal, but less obvious, than that of the court of Versailles. They were glad to see the haughtiness of the Whigs humbled, their hopes disappointed, their opposition to the peace, as it were, punished in a signal manner, their affected contempt of their own nation, since they ceased to be commanded by a general of their party, all revenged by a defeat, which could not fail to be followed by consequences fatal to their views^u.

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1712.
Rapid pro-
gress of
France.

THE signal events of this campaign were confined to Flanders. No enterprize of consequence was undertaken, no action of renown happened on any other side of the war. In Italy, the Imperialists besieged and took Porto Hercole. In Spain, the Count de Staremberg, though delivered from a formidable enemy by the death of Vendôme, attempted nothing important. King

Campaign in
Spain, Italy,
Dauphiné,
and on the
Rhine.

^r August 27.

^s Sept. 23.

^t Oct. 7.

^u Hist. d'Angleterre. Hist. de France. Kane's Mem.

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Philip, having a near prospect of peace, permitted the war to languish on his side. In Dauphiné and Savoy, the summer was spent by the contending armies in observing each other's motions. An inactivity, which bore every appearance of a perfect tranquillity, prevailed on the frontiers of Portugal. The Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the army of the Empire on the Rhine, formed a project, toward the end of the campaign, to force the lines of Weiffembourg, and to penetrate into Alsace. Having detached two bodies of his troops, by two different roads, they were deceived by their guides, and, meeting in the night, charged one another as enemies, and returned, in the utmost confusion, to their own camp. Thus ended, in misfortune and disgrace, the operations of a war, which had covered the arms of the confederates with so much renown^u.

Tendency
toward a
peace.

THE disappointments on the part of the allies diminished their hopes. But the time for putting an end to the war was not yet arrived. The Queen of Great Britain herself, though she appeared anxious for peace, endangered the success of that measure, by peremptorily insisting upon the cession of the kingdom of Sicily in favour of the Duke of Savoy^{*}. Mr. Secretary St. John, who had been raised to the peerage, on the seventh of July, by the title of Viscount Bolingbroke, had demanded that article, in terms more likely to create a quarrel, than to facilitate the conclusion of the negociation. But when the court of France was embarrassed about the answer most proper to be made to his Lordship, he informed them, by letter, that he was commanded by the Queen to go in person to France. He accordingly arrived at Paris, in the end of the month of August. His instructions furnished his Lordship with full powers to bring the negociation to a speedy conclusion. But this power was annexed to the indispensable condition of obtaining Sicily for the Duke of Savoy.

^u Hist. of Europe. Hist. de France, tom. iii.

^{*} M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

The Queen of Great Britain expressed a particular attention to that Prince, which might be considered unaccountable upon any other grounds, than her deeming his family, after herself and the Pretender, the next in blood to the succession of the crown, upon the ancient form. But though she insisted upon obtaining an immediate kingdom for the Duke, her principal object in his favour was the eventual succession of the house of Savoy to the throne of Spain, after the failure of King Philip and his posterity.

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1712.

THIS sudden resolution of sending Bolingbroke to France proceeded from the earnestness for peace expressed upon every occasion by that lord. He had advised the Queen to prefer a separate treaty to a suspension of hostilities, as the most certain means of obviating the difficulties which the enemies of peace opposed to a simple cessation of arms. The example of Great Britain, he affirmed, would be soon followed by the confederates. The Kings of Portugal and Prussia, he said, as well as the Duke of Savoy, and the Dutch, were too prudent to continue the war after the separation of such a powerful ally as Great Britain; and, should the Emperor and empire sacrifice their convenience and interest to their resentment, he assured her, that they would soon drop a contest which they could not maintain with any effect. The Earl of Oxford opposed the advice of Bolingbroke, to avoid giving offence to the Elector of Hannover. Though he was attached from principle to that Prince, he was apprehensive of being called to an account whenever he should ascend the British throne. This event seemed to be at no great distance, as the Queen daily declined in her health. This was the cause of all those delays and uneasinesses which might have been prevented by a definitive treaty between Great Britain and France. This conduct was extremely impolitic in the minister, as it gave an appearance of timidity to his measures; a circumstance which exposed him to

Bolingbroke
sent to
France.

all.

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1712.

Terms settled
between him
and de Torcy.

all the machinations and intrigues of his own enemies and those of the peace⁷.

WHEN Bolingbroke arrived at Paris, he entered into conferences with the Marquis de Torcy on the object of his embassy. The two ministers, possessed of unlimited powers from their respective courts, soon agreed: That the Duke of Savoy and his descendants should be called to the throne of Spain, in default of King Philip and his male posterity. That this substitution should be inserted in all the public acts, with regard to the renunciation of Philip's right to the crown of France. That the renunciation itself should be registered in the books of the parliament of Paris, and admitted solemnly by the cortes or states of Castile and Arragon. That the cession of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy should for the present remain a secret for various reasons. But that he should never be suffered to alienate that island for any other territory. The article of the barrier to this favoured Prince was not so easily settled. The French minister refused to grant more for that purpose than Exilles, Fenestrelles, and the valley of Pragelas. This whole affair was therefore referred to the general congress at Utrecht. The two secretaries of Great Britain and France having settled these terms, the Viscount Bolingbroke had an audience of the French King. He was received with the utmost politeness by that Prince; and was treated by the whole court with a respect suitable to the earnest desire of the kingdom for peace. The cessation of arms was prolonged for four months; and Bolingbroke, having left Prior to manage the affairs of his nation in France, returned to London, highly satisfied with the success of his embassy⁸.

States eager
for peace.

THE change of affairs in Flanders had rendered the confederates sensible that they were incapable to maintain the war should Great Britain desert the grand alliance. The Dutch, who had

⁷ M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart papers, 1712.⁸ M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

most to lose by a continuation of hostilities, were the first who seriously thought of peace. The defeat at Denain, the subsequent misfortunes, the disappointment of the projects of the Prince of Savoy, had blasted their hopes and humbled their pride. Their eyes were opened to the true state of their affairs. They descended at once from that haughtiness with which they had been inspired by the success of the war. Instead of prescribing terms to the house of Bourbon, they solicited the good offices of Great Britain, for renewing the conferences, which had been long interrupted by their own obstinacy. They dropt their pretensions of receiving all the answers of the French plenipotentiaries in writing. The latter, therefore, agreed to renew the conferences, upon condition that the Queen of Great Britain's speech to her parliament should be admitted as the plan of the treaty. The ministers of the other allies were alarmed at the pusillanimity of the Dutch. Count Zinzendorff, the Imperial minister, repeated his exhortations and promises. He assured them, that the Prince of Savoy was on his march to fight Villars. That he was sure of victory. That, as there was no risk in suspending the conferences, the States ought to temporize, by waiting for the result of events*.

ZINZENDORFF prevailed. The conferences under various pretences were delayed. But when time brought no favourable change, the Dutch fell into their former fears. They redoubled their solicitations for the renewal of the conferences of Utrecht. A silly quarrel between the servants of M. Menager, one of the French plenipotentiaries, and those of the Count de Rechteren, deputy of the province of Overijssel, interrupted again the great work of peace. The French King took advantage of the folly of Rechteren, as it was not his interest to confer with the allies till he had settled his measures with the Viscount Bolingbroke. The pretence itself was plausible. He insisted that the States should

An incident
interrupts
the con-
ferences.

* Swift's four years. De Torcy, tom. ii.

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declare whether Rechteren followed their orders in his insolent conduct, or whether he had pursued the dictates of a passionate mind, inflamed by the arts of the house of Austria. If he acted in obedience to his masters, there was no safety, he said, for his ministers at Utrecht. If he had no guide but his own passion, the States were called upon to disavow the conduct of a servant who had abused their confidence. The French King therefore told them, that Rechteren should be recalled by his constituents, and another deputy be appointed in his place. This dictatorial conduct, so contrary to the abject behaviour of the court of France in the year 1709, was not capable to raise the indignation of the States. The haughtiness which assumed the name of spirit at that period, had vanished with their good fortune; and they suffered an enemy whom they despised to retort upon them their own wanton insolence with impunity.

The Queen
interferes for
the Dutch.

THE abject behaviour of the States was, at present, of some advantage to their affairs. Their submission to the French reconciled the court of Great Britain to their interest. The resentment of the British nation ceased, with the obstinacy of the Dutch. The ministry resolved to interfere in their cause. They pressed, therefore, the court of France to a separate peace. They desired them to register immediately the renunciations, as on them the peace of Europe depended. That, upon the fulfilling of this essential article, the Queen of Great Britain should declare, that she could obtain no other plan but that offered by France. That it was the business of the confederates to determine upon this head. That they should have three months to consider; but that the French King should be no longer obliged to grant even these terms, after the expiration of the time. The Queen insisted, in return, with the court of Versailles, to depart from their claims, on the restitution of Tournay^b. That town, she said, as it was

^b M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

the great object of the States, was also necessary to their barrier. Though Lewis had resolved to retain Tournay, he yielded prudently to her request. He found, that by the bad state of the Queen's health, there was reason to fear she might die in the midst of an unfinished war. He knew that the ministry must fall with her life. That their enemies and his own would again possess themselves of the whole power of the kingdom. That a Prince, who had declared himself averse from peace, was to mount the throne, and was likely to renew or rather to continue the war^c.

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1712.

THIS prudential concession of Lewis the Fourteenth, smoothed the way for a treaty which was not destined to be soon concluded. But though the clandestine measures, for restoring peace, employed much of the time of Queen Anne, a part of her attention was turned to views that were still more secret. Those who were most about her person, perceiving her inclinations, urged her perpetually with regard to the interest of the Pretender. She seemed willing to favour his views. But she perceived obstacles in his way, which he himself had not the strength of mind to remove. In her own attachment to the church of England, she signified her inclinations that the Pretender should relinquish Popery, and place himself in a capacity of being served. When she was urged, by the Duke of Buckingham, to endeavour to break the succession in the Protestant line, her answer, though it conveyed a regard for her brother, was suitable to good sense and prudence. "How can I serve him," she said, "my Lord? He makes not the least step to oblige me, in what I most desire. You know a Papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace. But the example of the father has no weight with the son. He prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom. How, therefore, can I

Secret views
of the Queen

^c M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

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1712.

with regard
to the Pre-
tender.

undo what I have already done? He may thank himself for his exclusion. He knows that I love my own family better than that of any other. All would be easy, should he enter the pale of the church of England. Advise him to change his religion, as that only can change the opinions of mankind, in his favour ^d.”

THOUGH Buckingham had assured the family of Hannover, that he had been persecuted by the Whigs, for his attachment to the Protestant succession^e, he conveyed his intelligence to the court of St. Germain. He, at the same time, seconded the request of the Queen. But his arguments were lost on the Pretender and his servants. Though that unfortunate Prince was in no danger of becoming an apostle, like his father, he was, perhaps, equally attached to the Romish faith. Under a pretence that his conversion would be deemed insincere, he evaded the request of his friends. He affirmed, he had so little prejudice against the religion of his country, that he intended to carry along with him to the place of his exile, a Protestant clergyman, to officiate to his Protestant servants. That when he should be permitted to return to Great Britain, he would be ready to hear such arguments as might induce him to change his present faith. That it was even the interest of England to have a Prince on the throne, whose religion would lessen the power which the constitution had placed in his hands. That, as he was ready to relinquish, during his own time, the prerogative of nominating Bishops, and of appointing clergymen to livings, no danger could be apprehended by the established church. That he was willing the present tests, so far as they regarded Popery, should continue; and, as he entertained no prejudice against the doctrines of the church of England, he was ready to have no servants but such as were of the Protestant persuasion^f.

^d Stuart-papers, July 1712.^e Hannover-papers, passim.^f Stuart-papers, 1712.

THESE

THESE professions might be honest; but they were an irrefragable proof of weakness. A man who relinquished his hopes of a great kingdom, for a speculative tenet of faith, discovered a degree of enthusiasm that ought never to be trusted. Insincerity itself is less a crime in a prince than folly. He who wishes to govern nations, must rule them through their principles; otherwise his government becomes a tyranny, and only lasts as long as it is not opposed. Among a people accustomed to monarchy, the Sovereign only is capable of shaking his own throne. To differ from his subjects, in their religious opinions, is almost the only prerogative which he may not, without danger, employ. Of all mankind, HE has the least right to be singular in his faith. If he is not willing to go to heaven in the same way with his people, they will scarce acknowledge the legality of his authority on earth. That public affection, which is the chief support of his throne, must be changed for suspicion and jealousy. A mutual distrust prevails, which will soon degenerate into that unforgiving aversion, that invariably follows a difference of faith, in feeble minds. When society is even mellowed down into an indifference, which borders on infidelity, the worst consequences are to be expected and feared. Indignation against the weakness of a bigot will, even then, supply the place of religious zeal; and violence itself becomes just, in a certain degree, when it is opposed to folly.

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1712.
Reflections.

THE generality of the Tories, in their vehement zeal for the hereditary descent of the crown, overlooked the attachment of the Pretender to the Popish faith. Afraid only of the violence of the common people, they recommended to him to make a show of changing his religion. They assured him, that should he declare himself a member of the church of England, without the formality of a public conversion, they would endeavour to obtain the repeal of the act of settlement, in the present parliament.

The Tories
urge the Pre-
tender

That,

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That, however, the Pretender could not be mentioned in the new law. That the disposal of the crown, according to the precedents of former times, should be vested in the reigning Queen. That, however, she must be restricted to leave her throne to a Protestant. That, as her affection for her brother was not to be suspected, they had no apprehensions of her not making a will in his favour. That, in the mean time, to obviate every danger of disappointment, he should be permitted to live in Scotland. That they expected, from his own prudence, a moderate comportment, during his sister's life. That, considering the bad state of her health, the possession of the crown could be no distant object; and that an outward compliance with the forms of worship established by law, in Great Britain, was only wanting to the completion of the whole design^s.

to change his
religion.

THOUGH the hopes of the Tories were too sanguine to be so very easily accomplished, there was a degree of good fortune in the religious obstinacy of the Pretender. Had he been less prejudiced, or, perhaps, more dishonest, he might, at this period, break, or, at least, greatly endanger the succession of the family of Hannover to the crown. Though men of distinction and eminence have ascribed the success of the Revolution and Protestant succession to their own abilities and patriotism, the benefits of both were derived from the happy zeal of the common people for the established religion. Though the excluded family were guilty of many follies, they were only odious on account of their Popery. A popular cry against their bigotry, which was far from being ill-founded, was more fatal to their hopes, than the act of settlement. The most zealous of their abettors were unable to stop this torrent. When they planned their measures, in secret, for the restoration of their favourite line of Kings, they were terrified from all their schemes, by the clamours of the populace.

^s Stuart-papers, 1712.

Those,

Those, therefore, who wished, at this period, that the Pretender should change his religion, were his best friends. Without reconciling the lower sort, in some degree, to his person, by his adopting their faith, it is extremely doubtful, whether the abrogation of the act of settlement, the zeal of his sister, or the efforts of all his friends, could render him secure upon the throne^h.

BUT though the Whigs suspected these secret intrigues, and conveyed insinuations concerning them to the public, with many aggravating circumstances, they were not able to gain the people to their views. They affirmed, that by a secret article of the separate peace between Great Britain and France, Scotland was to be immediately ceded to the Pretenderⁱ. They carried their surmises, with unabated diligence, to the press. But there they met the enemy upon disadvantageous ground. The Earl of Oxford had the good fortune to be supported, before the public, by able and persevering writers. He owed this circumstance, like his power, to the state of the times, and neither to his own liberality nor conduct. The dangers of domestic conspiracies, from the Whigs, and even of an invasion from abroad by the confederates, were inculcated with vivacity and force. Though no effectual measures for carrying into execution either of these designs, had been taken by the discontented, they failed more from the want of opportunity than inclination. The excluded party, and especially the Duke of Marlborough, who still preserved an influence with the Dutch, continued to urge the confederates to continue the war. They were even said to have eagerly suggested an attempt, similar to that which had proved so successful at the late Revolution. They affirmed, that the fleet and army were both averse from the Queen's measures; and that a change in the

Designs of
the Whigs.

^h Stuart-papers, 1712.

ⁱ Stuart-papers, July 1712.

throne,

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1712.

Oxford pays
court, in
vain, to the
house of Han-
nover.

throne, and consequently an alteration of measures, might be accomplished, without drawing the sword^k.

DURING schemes, formed by the two parties, the Earl of Oxford pursued a secret line of his own. Perceiving the declining health of the Queen, he was anxious to stretch beyond her life the term of his power; or, at least, to insure his safety. To this point was directed all his care and attention, in times sufficiently agitated with more important concerns. To accomplish his purpose, he endeavoured, by deceiving the court of St. Germain, with his mysterious conduct, to gain the favour of the house of Hannover^l. In both he was equally unsuccessful. The Jacobites formed some hopes, on the necessity of his situation, but none upon his attachment to their cause. The Electoral family, swayed by the misrepresentations of the Whigs, became insensible to all his submissions and earnest professions^m. To solicit their good opinion, he had ordered Mr. Thomas Harley from Utrecht to the court of Hannover. To bespeak a favourable reception, Harley carried to the Princess Sophia the act, passed in the last session of parliament, for settling the precedence of her family, as the next heirs of the crown of Great Britain. Harley, who from the station of an assistant to the secretary of the treasury, was thus raised to the character of ambassador-extraordinary, arrived at Hannover, in the month of July. If he was charged with any thing but professions of attachment from the minister, he had not the good fortune to succeed. The Elector continued, with all his influence, to oppose the peace; and made, at the same time, no secret of his distrust of the Queen and her principal servants.

Duke of
Hamilton ap-
pointed am-
bassador to
France.

WITH regard to the latter, the Elector was certainly deceived. But a doubt can scarce be formed, that Anne herself was extremely

^k Stuart-papers, July 1712.^l Ibid.^m Hannover-papers.

averse

averse from the succession of his Highness to the throne. She was no stranger to the attachment of the lord-treasurer to the house of Hannover. She knew that Bolingbroke had never brought any principle in competition with his own interest. She was resolved to trust neither, in an affair which seems to have engaged the greatest part of her thoughts. With a natural jealousy of her own authority, she declined to gratify the Jacobites by calling her brother into the kingdom. But she was extremely anxious to settle, with France, some plan to secure his eventual succession, after her own death. To accomplish her purpose, she had, very early in the present year, fixed her eyes on the Duke of Hamilton, as a proper person to be sent ambassador to the court of Versailles. Bolingbroke, who managed the treaty, hitherto, frustrated this design, by taking that province to himself, in the preceding summer. But, soon after the return of that nobleman from Paris, she appointed the Duke her ambassador-extraordinary to the French King.

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AN accident, fatal to the Duke of Hamilton, disappointed at once the designs of the Queen and the hopes of the Jacobites, from his embassy. The Duke and the Lord Mohun, a man of an infamous character^a, who had been twice tried for murder, had been engaged in a tedious law-suit, for many years, the circumstances of which had kindled between them, the most bitter animosity and enmity. Being both present at the examination of witnesses, at the chambers of a master in chancery, Hamilton threw a kind of reflection on one of the persons examined, which seemed to glance at the Lord Mohun. His Lordship, urged by one General Macartney, a person attached to the Whigs, and especially to the Duke of Marlborough, sent a challenge to the Duke; and they met, in Hyde-park, in the morning of the fifteenth of November. Hamilton killed his adversary, on the

He is unfairly killed in a duel.

^a Swift's four last years.

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1712.

Duke of
Marlborough
quits the
kingdom.

spot, though he himself was wounded. When, faint with the loss of blood, he was leaning in the arms of his second, he is said to have been barbarously stabbed in the breast by Macartney^o. He died, in a few minutes, in the field. Macartney made his escape. A proclamation was issued against him by the privy-council. The Tories ascribed the Duke's death to the malice of the Whigs. The Queen was terrified. The populace were variously affected; and the writers of government accused, in open terms, their political enemies of murder^p.

THE current running violently against the Whigs, upon this occasion, the Duke of Marlborough, who was, perhaps unjustly, accused of being privy to the challenge, thought proper to retire from the kingdom. The Earl of Oxford is said to have embraced this favourable opportunity, for ridding himself of an enemy whom he had reason to fear. He informed his Grace, that he was well acquainted with his correspondence abroad, and his intrigues at home. That he knew of his secret applications to the States, his clandestine measures to induce the troops to desert the Duke of Ormond, his secret designs against the government, his dangerous consults with the Prince of Savoy. That he had long been no stranger to his correspondence with the court of St. Germain. That he had been apprized of his negotiations for selling the peace to France, on a former occasion; and his present project for invading the kingdom with a foreign force. That, notwithstanding the proofs in his hands, he meant nothing less, than to seek his life or to ruin his fortune. That, however, for his own security, he must request his Grace to quit the kingdom, as the only means to put an end to his own suspicions and the fears of the Queen^q. They had a meeting on this subject at the house of Mr. Thomas Harley; and Marlborough left London,

^o Swift's four last years. Examination before the council.

^p Publications of the Times.

^q Stuart-papers, 1712, 1714.

on the twenty-fourth of November. Having passed from Dover to Ostend, he was received with distinguished honours by all the Dutch garrisons, on his way to Antwerp, where he fixed his residence.

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1712.

THE death of the Duke of Hamilton made way for the Duke of Shrewsbury, as ambassador to the court of Versailles. The jealousy of the lord-treasurer is said to have raised his Grace to this dignity. Both Shrewsbury and Buckingham were much attached to the cause of the Pretender. They had great influence with the Queen, and they led the cabinet-council. To remove them from office was beyond the lord-treasurer's power. Yet they were great checks upon the execution of his own designs. He apprehended from Shrewsbury, though a Jacobite, no danger in France; as the timidity of his character was a sufficient security against his principles. Though the peace with the house of Bourbon was not formally concluded, acts of confidence and friendship had passed, for some months before, between them and the court of London. The Lord Lexington, having been appointed ambassador-extraordinary to Philip the Fifth, had arrived at Madrid, in the middle of October. The professed business of Lexington was to be present at the King of Spain's solemn renunciation of the crown of France, for himself and his posterity; which ceremony was performed in the presence of the council of Castile and Arragon. Philip, in return to the embassy of Great Britain, ordered the Marquis de Monteleone to repair to London in a public capacity. No Prince could owe more to another, than the King of Spain to Queen Anne; and, therefore, the politeness of the ambassador was expressive of his master's gratitude.

Duke of
Shrewsbury
sent to
France.

WHILST the war in the West of Europe was hastening to a period, that in the North and East was carried on with various

Affairs

* Publications of the Times.

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1712.

turns of fortune. The obstinacy of the King of Sweden detained him still at Bender. His kingdom was pressed on every side by powerful enemies. His intrigues at Constantinople effectuated various changes in the Ottoman ministry. In the year 1711, the Turks, by his influence, declared war against the Russians. An army of one hundred and fifty thousand men passed, in seven columns, the Danube. They advanced to the southern bank of the Pruth, eleven leagues from the mouth of that river. The Russians, led by Czeremetoff, under whom the Czar served in person, in quality of lieutenant-general, had the imprudence to suffer themselves to be surrounded, in a narrow pass formed by the Pruth. Peter was now in the same desperate condition with Charles himself at Pultowa. But though he was equally unfortunate, he was more prudent. He desired to capitulate. He strengthened his request with large presents to the Vizier. He obtained advantageous terms, when he had nothing to expect but misfortune. Charles, who had declined to attend an army which he was not suffered to command, hearing of the situation of the Russians, hastened to the Ottoman camp. He arrived just in time to see his mortal enemy relieved from his distress. He reproached the Vizier. He demanded a detachment for pursuing the Czar. He could obtain nothing. He returned, in a furious manner, to Bender.

of the North.

THE Czar, unexpectedly relieved from his misfortunes on the side of Turkey, resolved to turn his whole force against the kingdom of Sweden. The kings of Denmark and Poland entered Pomerania with their united forces. But their success was not answerable either to the fears of the Swedes, or their own expectations. Having sat down before Stralsund, they could make no impression on the place. They attacked Wismer, with no success. They retreated to their respective dominions, and closed the cam-

• Hist. du Nord, tom. ii.

paign of 1711 with disgrace. In the summer of the present year, the King of Denmark turned his arms against the dutchy of Bremen. He crossed the Elbe, with a numerous army. He sat down before Stade. His troops, in the mean time, held Wismer in blockade. The Swedish general, Steinbock, assembled his army, fortified Stralsund, and came to battle with the enemy. Though the Danes had all the advantage of superior numbers, and of the weather and ground, they were totally routed and put to flight. The unfortunate King Stanislaus had the satisfaction to be present in an action where his allies acquired so much renown.

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1712.

THE affairs of Great Britain consisted more of the secret intrigues of parties, than of transactions that commanded the attention of the public. The hopes of the adherents of the Pretender, and the jealousies of the friends of the house of Hannover, were encouraged and fomented, with great industry, by the violent leaders of both sides. The year 1712 closed with the arrival of the Duke d'Aumont, as ambassador from the court of Versailles to that of London. Though the defection of Great Britain from the grand alliance promised a certain end to the war, the progress toward peace was made but by very slow degrees. The resolute conduct of the British ministry gradually overcame the delays of the allies. The Earl of Strafford, repairing to the Hague, with orders from the Queen to settle a new barrier-treaty with the States, induced the Republic to accede to the plan of pacification settled between Great Britain and France. Their example was successively followed by the Duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. The first owed too much to the Queen to oppose longer her pacific measures. The latter, already tired of the war, was forced suddenly to patch up a peace, by a Spanish invasion of his kingdom. The Emperor, though determined to continue hostilities, found himself incapable of supporting any military opera-

1713.
Progress toward a general peace.

* Hist du Nord, Dec. 20, 1712.

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tions in Spain. He, therefore, agreed to the evacuation of Barcelona; and thus, though indirectly, seemed to own the title of Philip the Fifth^u.

Secret designs
of the Whigs.

DURING these advances towards a peace, the parliament was prorogued from day to day. The Queen, daily expecting the conclusion of the treaty, was willing to prevent all further animadversion on its progress from the opposing party. In this state of suspense, a kind of unsettled tranquillity prevailed. The Whigs made in secret every preparation for opening, with effect, the operations of the political campaign. Disappointed in their violent measures, they resolved to pursue the line of opposition, in a less dangerous and more legal way. The jealousy which they had raised in the court of Hannover, continued to distract the councils of the Electoral family. Ignorant of the bigotry of the Pretender, they were beyond measure alarmed at the report of his intentions to change his religion. They were no strangers to the solicitations of the Tories to induce him to place himself in a way of being served in parliament. Should even the report of his conversion prevail, they were persuaded, that a bill to repeal the act of settlement was likely to be proposed. They were informed from Paris, that the pretended Prince, by dismissing his Popish servants, was preparing for an alteration in religion. They determined, therefore, to use every measure, that prudence could suggest, to defeat his designs on the British throne^{*}.

Projects of

THE Baron de Grote, his Electoral Highness's resident at London, was directed how to proceed in this delicate affair. He was desired to consult the leaders of the Whigs, particularly the Lord Halifax, upon the subject of proposing a bill for excluding the Pretender from the throne, and his posterity, even though he

^{*} Hist. of Europe. Hist. d'Angleterre. Report of the secret committee, &c.

^{*} Hannover-papers, 1713.

should

should become a Protestant. The house of Hannover hoped to derive a double advantage from this unnecessary project. Should the act pass, a material point would be gained. Should the bill be opposed by the ministry, that conduct would unmask them to the nation. They observed, as a great defect in the act of settlement, that no clause was inserted for excluding the Pretender, should he relinquish the Romish faith. They averred, that, upon the slightest appearance of a feigned conversion, the whole fabric, which the Whigs pretended to have reared for the Princess Sophia, would fall at once to the ground. These fears had made so much impression, that they were willing to be reconciled to the Earl of Oxford, though they distrusted his principles and views. The Lord Halifax, who was, in some degree, in his confidence, was requested to sound the treasurer on a point, which was deemed important to the highest degree.

THE new act, for the security of the succession, was not the only subject that was to employ the embassy of Halifax to the Earl of Oxford. He was desired to discover his sentiments on the subject of a pension to the Princess Sophia. A provision, and even a household to the next heir of the crown, was thought neither an extravagant nor unreasonable demand. In the present situation of the Elector's affairs, a fresh supply of revenue was much wanted. His agents every where complained of their too scanty allowance. The Whigs, with all their patriotism, were soliciting for pensions². Some lords, who were zealous for the Protestant succession, were, it seems, too poor to follow their consciences. They had sold their votes to the ministry. But they would take smaller sums from his Electoral Highness. The Earl of Sunderland, in his attachment to the family of Brunswick, had advanced three hundred pounds to one of these poor conscientious lords¹. The Earl wished to see this sum repaid. Though the

the house of
Hannover.

¹ Hannover-papers, Jan. 3—6, 1713.

² Hannover-papers, 1713.

³ Ibid.

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Electors might be willing to gratify such faithful friends, he had reason to expect that they would help to serve themselves. They were, therefore, desirous to promote, with all their influence, the pension demanded for the Princess. His Highness was no stranger, upon the present occasion, either to the abilities or poverty of the Duke of Argyle. The whole world knew his love of money. He desired that nobleman, and his brother the Earl of Ilay, to promote the allowance to the Electress, as they might expect good pensions to themselves from that fund ^b.

Their jealousy of the Queen and ministry.

THE bill for establishing the pension for the Princess Sophia was to furnish another trial of the intentions of the lord-treasurer. But, in the opinion of the Elector's servants, no further trial was necessary. They were already convinced of that minister's attachment to the Pretender. Had his professions in favour of the succession been even sincere, the court of Hannover concluded, that he was too far engaged with France and the Queen to retreat. They supposed, that his prudence, and even his safety, dictated a firm adherence to the cause of the pretended Prince of Wales. The Queen, they said, was too much attached to her brother, to be ever brought back to proper measures. "Should Oxford attempt to change her views, he must fall like Godolphin and Marlborough." He had too much regard, they thought, for his own interest, not to profit by the misfortunes of his predecessors. He must not, they thought, be trusted. They affirmed, therefore, that the friends of the succession ought to ruin his power, by exposing his conduct to the nation. That no measure was better calculated for this purpose, than the new bill of exclusion and the pension. "But what need have we of further proofs?" they said. "We have long known that Oxford is irrecoverably devoted to the Pretender. His cousin endeavoured to impose on the Electress and the Electoral Prince, with empty professions of

^b Hannover-papers, Jan. 27, 1713.

zeal. But, though he might deceive them, his treachery could not escape the penetrating eyes of the Elector."—"Both Oxford and Bolingbroke," says Robethon to Grote, "are inviolably attached to the Prince of Wales. But the sentiments of these two JACOBITE lords ought not to be attributed to the memorial of the Baron de Bothmar."

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WHILE his servants entertained such suspicions of the British ministry, the Elector himself seems to have become indifferent concerning the succession of his family to the throne. Teased by the unmeaning professions of the Tories, and harassed by the demands of the Whigs, he dropt all personal correspondence with both parties. He suffered his servants to continue their intrigues in London. He listened to their intelligence. But to the requisitions of his Whiggish friends for money he turned a deaf ear. He was, however, persuaded, at length, to order six hundred pounds to the Lord Fitzwalter, to enable that needy peer to repay a debt of three hundred pounds to Sunderland^d. He allowed forty pounds to the author of a news-paper, for conveying to the public paragraphs favourable to the Protestant succession^c. He added ten pounds to that sum, after various representations from his council and servants. The difficulty with which he was brought to grant such trifles, furnishes a strong proof that his Highness was either disgusted with such pitiful demands, or very indifferent with regard to the throne.

Elector indif-
ferent about
the succe-
sion.

WHILST the Elector was harassed with demands of money from London, the Duke of Marlborough suggested another article of expence, from his retreat at Antwerp. He informed his Highness of the necessity of having a spy in the Pretender's court, to observe the motions of that Prince. He offered, for fifty

Marlborough
a spy on the
Pretender.

^c Hannover-papers, Feb. 17—21, 1713.

^d Ibid. Feb. 14, 1713.

^e Ibid. Feb. 10, 1713.

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louis-d'ors a month, to find a proper person to execute that important service. He took, in the mean time, a part of this necessary function upon himself^f. He conveyed some intelligence to the court of Hannover. But his want of information seems to prove, that his Grace was no longer trusted with the secrets of the excluded family. The servants and the friends of the Elector were ill informed concerning the Pretender. They were persuaded, that he was resolved to enter into the communion of the church of England. They heard, that he had left all his Roman Catholic servants at St. Germain's, when he retired to Chalons sur Marne. That none but Protestants were in his train, but the Earl of Middleton, who had yielded to convenience, more than to conviction, in his conversion to the Romish faith. Their fears increased in proportion to their ignorance of the Pretender's bigotry. They could not, for a moment, suppose, that he would sacrifice his prospect of the British throne to a speculative tenet of religion^g. The excluded party in Great Britain harassed, at the same time, the Elector, with proposals of his invading the kingdom with a body of troops. They suggested, that, should the Dutch refuse a squadron of men of war, some ships of force might be obtained from Denmark. But the Elector rejected the scheme, as utterly improper, as well as impracticable^h.

Secret views
of the Pre-
tender, and
of the trea-
surer.

DURING these intrigues on the part of the court of Hannover, the agents of the Pretender were equally busy, and still more anxious, in their negotiations and intrigues. He himself had retired from St. Germain's, in the preceding summer. Having obtained a safe-conduct from the Emperor and the Duke of Lorraine, he now resided at Bar. Though he entertained suspicions of the Earl of Oxford, upon much better grounds than the house of Hannover, he built much on the affections of the Queen and the zeal of the Tories. The lord-treasurer, however, broke art-

^f Hannover-papers, Feb. 21, 1713.^g Ibid. March 21.^h Ibid. March 7.

fully

fully the designs of the first. He frustrated the schemes of the latter, by dividing their councils. While the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Buckingham remained in the cabinet-council, he deemed justly that the Protestant succession was in danger. But he had removed the first, by appointing him ambassador to France. The second was broken with infirmities, and weighed down with years. Oxford endeavoured, in the mean time, to gain the most moderate Whigs. He laid schemes for obtaining a moderate parliament. The sheriffs, pricked for the counties, were of the low-church party. He endeavoured to impress the electors with the necessity of chusing such representatives as should favour the succession in the Protestant line. Though he was on the point of losing the Tories by this conduct, he was so unfortunate as not to gain the Whigs. While he made the most vehement professions to the Electoral family, they were firmly persuaded, that he was an obstinate and determined Jacobite. Though he was courted by the Pretender, that Prince knew him to be an inflexible Whig.

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THESE secret intrigues on both sides fill a period remarkable for no public transaction. The parliament continued to be prorogued, as the tedious negotiations at Utrecht had not yet been brought to a close. Great Britain, who first began the negotiation, was destined to conclude the treaty. The Duke of Shrewsbury and the Marquis de Torcy settled the plan of a general peace at Paris, which a courier carried to Utrecht, in the middle of March. The Portuguese and Dutch had already agreed to put an end to their part of the war. Others prepared to follow their example. On the twenty-seventh of March, the lord privy-seal and the Earl of Strafford acquainted the ministers of the allies, that they had appointed the thirty-first for signing a treaty of peace, and one of commerce, between the Queen of Great Britain and France. They requested, therefore, the plenipotentiaries of

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the confederates to be prepared, at the same time, to sign their respective treaties. The conditions of peace to be allowed to the Emperor and the Empire had been settled by the Queen of Great Britain and the French King. These were delivered, in form, to the Count Zinzendorff, his imperial Majesty's minister. But the Emperor, yielding to his resentment, resolved to continue the war. The British and French plenipotentiaries were the first who signed for their respective sovereigns. Their example was followed, in the space of a few hours, by the minister of the Duke of Savoy, and by those of Portugal and Prussia. The States were the last who signed the treaty; the French plenipotentiaries having insisted, that the ministers of such Princes as their master had acknowledged as Kings, should take place of the ambassadors of a republic¹.

¹ Swift's four Years. Publications of the Times. Boyer's Queen Anne.

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Reflections on the peace of Utrecht.—Critical situation of the lord-treasurer.—He is hated by both parties.—His views and intrigues.—Queen averse from the house of Hannover.—Parliament meets.—Their proceedings.—Treaty of commerce examined.—Discontents of the Scots.—Character of the Duke of Argyle.—Motion for dissolving the Union.—Lord-treasurer terrified.—Address against the Pretender.—Parliament prorogued.—Intrigues and dissensions in the cabinet.—Cabal of the Whigs.—They demand money, in vain, from the Elector.—Views of the Pretender.—Campaign of 1713.—A ferment in England.—Seditious conduct of the Scots.—Affairs of Ireland.—Jacobitism of Sir Constantine Phipps.—Dissensions between the Queen's servants.—Intrigues of Bolingbroke with Marlborough.—Marlborough corresponds with the Pretender.—Whigs demand money for poor lords.—The friends of the house of Hannover despond.—A general panic.—Mr. Harley sent to Hannover.—Some Tories join the Whigs.—Peace of Rastadt.—Treaty with Spain.—Parliament meets.—Ministry reform the army.—The Elector refuses to gratify the Whigs.—Their unmanly fears.—Their conspiracy to seize the Tower.—Succession voted out of danger.—Motions of the Whigs against the Pretender.—Their vain fears.—Their scheme to embarrass the Queen.—A writ for the Electoral Prince demanded.—The Queen's anxiety.—The Elector's demands.—Intrigues of the lord-treasurer.—Views of the Pretender.—Proclamation against him.—The Queen endeavours to gain the Elector.—Death of the Princess Sophia.—State of the ministry.—Parliament prorogued.—Open rupture among the Ministry.—Concert

—*Concert between Bolingbroke and Marlborough.*—*Their views.*—*Dismission and character of the Earl of Oxford.*—*Death and character of the Queen.*

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Observations

THE peace, signed at Utrecht on the last day of March, 1713, has been stigmatized as disgraceful by the most of those writers who have recorded the events of the times. The great success and enormous expence of the war could suggest no demands that were not likely to be granted, by an enemy reduced to the last extremity. The French nation, unsuccessful in all their efforts, were broken by disasters. Their sovereign, destitute of resources for action, became timid and undecisive in his counsels. He had implored the pity of the confederates, in a manner that, by exposing his own weakness, contributed to augment their demands. Instead of deriving spirit from indignation and despair, the court of Versailles yielded to those unmanly complaints, that deprive even misfortune itself of regret. In this untoward state of their affairs, the fate of the house of Bourbon depended upon the Queen of Great Britain; and, as the humanity, which ought ever to be extended to private distress, is frequently sacrificed to utility in public transactions, she could scarce be blamed for making a more rigorous use of the advantages which fortune had placed in her hands.

and reflections

BUT though more splendid conditions might certainly have been obtained, the peace of Utrecht was neither dishonourable nor disadvantageous. Great Britain, it is true, bore the greatest part of the weight of the war. But she was manifestly the sole arbitress of peace. She imposed terms on the victors, as well as on the vanquished. Without gratifying the pride of France, she checked the insolence of the confederates. She favoured those the most, who first acquiesced in the plan she proposed. She treated with neglect, or punished with disappointment, such as
were

were either obstinate or slow. The advantages which she obtained for herself, though neither adequate to her victories nor her expence, were solid, and even splendid. She secured the dominion of the Mediterranean, by obtaining Gibraltar and Minorca. She strengthened her limits and extended her dominions in America. She forced France to relinquish all pretensions to Newfoundland, to cede Hudson's Bay, and to yield St. Christopher's. She obliged the French King to acknowledge the Protestant succession, and to cease to protect, and even to abandon the Pretender. She reduced him to the humiliating necessity of destroying Dunkirk, whose very ruins were to remain as a monument of his disgrace. As the last triumph over his pride, she terrified him into the greatest concessions to the Duke of Savoy, whom, of all the allies, he hated the most.

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WITH regard to the confederates, the most of them were highly satisfied, and none had any great reason to complain. The King of Prussia obtained all his demands. The Duke of Savoy was recompensed beyond his most sanguine hopes. He had obtained the cession of Savoy, the district of Nice, with all that he had received in Italy, from the Emperor Leopold. He was raised to the regal title and to the throne of Sicily; and he was eventually to succeed to the crown of Spain, in default of Philip the Fifth and his issue-male. The King of Portugal had contributed little to the carrying on of the war, and his demands from the peace were few, and, without hesitation, granted. Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, together with the other cities already in their possession, were given, as a barrier, to the States. Their commerce with France was placed on the foundation established by the tariff of 1664. With regard to the Empire, the Rhine was to form its limits on the side of France. All fortifications, either possessed or raised by the French, beyond that river, were

on the peace
of Utrecht.

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were to be restored to the Emperor, or destroyed. The kingdom of Naples and the dutchy of Milan were ceded for ever to his Imperial Majesty; and the rest of the dominions of Italy, that had changed masters in the course of the war, were to return to their former sovereigns. There was a considerable difference, it must be confessed, between these terms and those offered by France in the year 1709. But a change of circumstances may justify an alteration of sentiments. Without abandoning the project of reducing the too great power of the house of Bourbon, the British ministry might allege, that there was an equal necessity for prescribing limits to the vast claims of the family of Austria.

Perilous situation of the Earl of Oxford.

THE lord-treasurer obtained a triumph over his enemies, by concluding the treaty of Utrecht. But he still stood upon very dangerous ground. Distrusted equally by both sides, he was destitute of friends; and his whole security rested in the implacable jealousy of the two parties, who were alike his enemies. In this tottering situation, he endeavoured to support himself, by flattering the Tories in private, and by taking publickly the ground of the Whigs. In the political farce, he was, in some measure, the sole actor; and the populace were the spectators, who were to decide his merit, and even his fate. To the common people, the appeal of the rivals for power had been made, for many years. The terrors of the vulgar for Popery, and their principles in favour of the protestant religion, had been the great support of the established form of government. The bulk of the nation were hitherto favourable to the ministry. To retain their confidence was a matter of the last importance to the Earl of Oxford; as, by the triennial act, the present parliament was near its end. The Whigs, to influence the approaching elections, had propagated, with more assiduity than success, an opinion, that the Queen and her servants were irrecoverably in the interest of

of the Pretender. To prevent the bad consequences of this dangerous impression, was a measure of necessity; and it employed the whole attention of the leaders of the Tories.

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THE boldest and the least politic proposed the passing of a septennial bill, as the best and most decisive means of securing the continuance of their own power^k. The lord-treasurer was too timid, or, perhaps, too prudent, to follow their advice. He perceived, that a measure so unpopular would deprive him of the support of the vulgar, and place an uncontrollable power in the hands of the high-flying Tories. The cabinet-council were his enemies. He knew, that the most vehement of those who supported his measures in the two houses, wished only for the continuance of their present influence in parliament: That, should they attain their purpose, they would be willing to join with his avowed enemies, the Whigs, and to send him to the Tower^l. To amuse the Jacobites, he admitted the agents of the Pretender into his conversation and privacy^m. He endeavoured to persuade them, that all his measures tended to the accomplishment of their wishes and views. But he had the misfortune to be as little believed by the excluded family, as he was by the legal heirs of the crown. His caution, his slow measures, his mysterious character, were by no means calculated to create in others any confidence in his conduct. His only hold of his power, was the ascendant which he had obtained over the Queen. By terrifying that timid Princess with reports of danger, and by insinuating artfully, that she could be safe only in his own hands, he reduced her into a state of dependence on himself, and generally subservient to all his designsⁿ.

He is hated
by both parties.

IN one important instance, her habitual obedience to the minister is said to have yielded to her prejudices. To secure himself

His secret
views and
intrigues.

^k Stuart-papers, 1713.

^l Ibid. Feb. 1713.

^m Ibid. Feb. 27, 1713.

ⁿ MSS. passim.

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with the populace, the lord-treasurer resolved to take the ground of the Whigs. The danger of the Protestant succession, from the Queen and her servants, had been long a favourite topic with that party. They were at great pains to inform the public, that the courts of London and Hannover were upon the very worst terms. Though this was a notorious fact, they had hitherto found it difficult to persuade the populace on that head. To remove every impression of this kind, the minister formed a design of inducing the Queen to assure her parliament, in her speech from the throne, that the utmost harmony subsisted between her and the presumptive heirs of her crown. He even attempted to reconcile the Jacobites to the propriety of this measure. He told them that, should the house of Hannover, upon these assurances, desert the Whigs, that party, who were ready to sacrifice their professed principles to their passions, would declare for the Pretender. That this circumstance would ruin their importance with the populace; and enable the real friends of the excluded Prince to secure for him the succession^o.

The Queen
averse from
the house of
Hannover.

THOUGH the adherents of the Pretender were too zealous and sanguine to be incredulous, they gave little faith to the assurances of the Earl of Oxford^p. But though they relied in nothing upon his attachment to their cause, they affected to place the utmost confidence in his measures. The Queen, however, was not so easily won to his project of assuring the nation of her zeal for the Protestant succession. Either from a returning affection for her own family, or rendered averse from the interests of the presumptive heirs of the crown, by the intrigues of their agents in London, she, for some time, refused to make any mention at all of the house of Hannover in her speech^q. The lord-treasurer made the strongest representations against this unexpected resolution. He applied to her prudence. He alarmed her fears.

^o Stuart-papers, March 1713.^p Ibid.^q Hannover-papers, May 16, 1713.

He told her, that the safety of her government, and perhaps of her person, depended upon her quieting the minds of people with regard to the Protestant succession. That her silence upon the present occasion, would confirm the reports industriously spread by the Whigs. That, by expressing zeal for the family of Hanover, she would defeat the designs of their adherents; and that by taking the only ground upon which the Whigs fortified themselves against her authority, she would reap all the benefit of their situation, and ensure to her servants every advantage in the approaching elections¹.

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SWAYED by these arguments, or yielding to her own fears, the Queen at length consented. She opened the session of parliament, on the ninth of April, with a speech from the throne. She informed the two houses that the negotiations of peace were brought to a happy conclusion. She mentioned what she had done for the security of the Protestant succession. She expressed her hopes, that the perfect friendship which subsisted between her and the house of Hannover, would effectually disappoint such persons as made a merit of separating their interests. She demanded of the commons the necessary supplies. She earnestly recommended the cultivating of the arts of peace, as the best means for repairing the losses sustained by the enormous expence of the war. She complained of the licence of the press, and the dangerous growth of the impious practice of duelling. She mentioned the necessity of restraining both these evils, with new laws; as the old were inadequate to that salutary purpose. She left, she said, the force necessary for the protection of the nation, to the wisdom of her parliament. As for herself she wanted no protection but the loyalty of her people; no guarantee but the interest she had in their hearts. Having recommended unanimity in their councils, and requested them to use their endeavours to

April 9th.
Her speech
to her par-
liament.

¹ Hannover papers, May 16, 1713.

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The Whigs
disconcerted.

calm the minds of her people, she concluded with a reflection on the party-rage which had so long disturbed the repose of her kingdom^a.

THIS judicious speech disconcerted the Whigs in all their projects. In the house of commons an address of thanks was voted, with but one dissenting voice^b. It was carried with a great majority in the house of lords^c. Disappointed in their public exhibitions, the party had recourse to their secret intrigues. Sunderland, Orford, Townshend, Halifax, Somers, Cowper, and the Lord-Chief-Justice Parker consulted together for two days^d. But they could contrive no probable means for preventing the lord-treasurer's designs. The Lords Townshend and Halifax went twice, in the name of the rest, to Kreyenberg, the Hanoverian resident. They affirmed, that the Queen's speech had given a fatal blow to the influence of the Whigs, and the Protestant succession. That the authority of the Sovereign had overturned all the designs of their party. That the nation gave implicit credit to the Queen; and construed into party-rage all insinuations against the existence of a perfect friendship between her and the court of Hannover. That the Elector only could undeceive the people. That, therefore, a decisive step was necessary; otherwise, the interests of his family and the hopes of his friends would be for ever lost^e.

Their in-
trigues with
the Hanno-
verian resi-
dent.

IN this distressful situation, they implored Kreyenberg to lay their humble solicitations at the feet of the Elector. They entreated his Highness, for the sake of God^f, to send over the Electoral Prince. Without the presence of one of the family, they solemnly averred, that the succession must inevitably be defeated. This request they had frequently made, to no purpose,

^a Journals, April 9th, 1713.^b Stuart-papers.^c 78 against 43.^d Hannover-papers, 1713.^e Ibid. April 14, 1713.^f Hannover-papers, 1713.

before

before the meeting of parliament. They now renewed their entreaties with more confidence, as their own condition was more helpless, and the juncture itself more favourable. They desired the Prince to take advantage of the Queen's declaration. To feign to believe her sincere, and to come under pretence of returning thanks, in person. They said, that without his presence, they could move nothing effectually in parliament. That they could not even mention the pension expected for the Princess Sophia. That the only question of party they could propose, was the removal of the Pretender from Lorrain. "But," say they, "if the Electoral family shall not interfere decisively, the Earl of Oxford will save us the trouble of that motion. He has gained the people by the artifice of the Queen's speech. He will also succeed in the approaching elections; and establish the Pretender in the kingdom, as the eventual successor to the throne^a."

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WHILE the Whigs were thus disconcerted, the ministry carried all their measures, with little opposition, in parliament. Though no communication of the treaty had been made to the two houses, they had returned general thanks for the peace. The commons granted the demanded supplies^a. They reduced the troops and navy, according to the directions of the court. They gained the army by allowing half-pay to the officers. They secured their influence with their constituents by reducing the land-tax to two shillings in the pound. In the midst of this attention to the nation, they shewed their attachment to the ministry. The commissioners for examining the accounts of the army made a report that bore hard on former mismanagements. Some instances of corruption and embezzlement of public money were detected. But it soon appeared that the house was more eager to expose the enemies of the prevailing party, than to punish the guilty. One

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.^a Hannover-papers, 1713.^a Journals, April 13.

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William Churchill, a member, was slightly censured. A vote was passed against the Earl of Wharton, for having sold an office for a thousand pounds. But, as this instance of corruption happened before the act of general pardon, the house took advantage of that circumstance, and resolved to proceed no farther in the matter^b.

Treaty of
commerce
before the
house.

THIS appearance of unanimity in the house of commons, was soon interrupted, by an important debate. Though the terms of the treaty had not hitherto been communicated to parliament, the proclamation of the peace, on the fifth of May, had been attended with the loudest acclamations of the populace. The nation in general were highly pleased, that a period was put to a war whose excessive weight had rendered them insensible to its renown. The treaty which settled the cession of territories between her Britannic Majesty and the French King, was accompanied by a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France. The ratifications of the two treaties had been exchanged at Utrecht, on the twenty-eighth of April. On the ninth of May, Mr. Benson, chancellor of the exchequer, delivered to the commons a message from the Queen. She informed the house, that though it was the undoubted prerogative of the crown to make peace and war, she had resolved from the beginning to communicate to her parliament the treaties she had now concluded^c. The house appointed the fourteenth of May, for resolving themselves into a grand committee, to consider the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of navigation and commerce. A conversation, rather than a debate, passed between the parties, on the treaty of peace. The Whigs found, in the treaty of commerce, the best ground for opposing the court, with any prospect of success.

Arguments
for and a-
gainst it,

WHEN the house met, on the fourteenth of May, a motion was made to bring in a bill to make good the eighth and ninth

^b May 16.

^c Journals, May 9th.

articles of the treaty of commerce. A violent debate arose between the friends of the minister and the leaders of the Whigs. The first endeavoured to prove, that a great advantage would result to the nation from a free commerce with France. The latter affirmed, that a trade with that kingdom would prove extremely prejudicial to the woollen, silk, and paper manufactories; and above all, to the commerce with Portugal, which brought annually so much bullion into the kingdom. The friends of the ministry deduced their arguments from an enumeration of the vast quantities of British commodities exported to France before the two last wars. The Whigs averred, that since the Revolution, the state of commerce was entirely changed. That France had set up and encouraged woollen manufactures of her own. That Britain had learned, in the course of so many years, to accommodate herself without the product of France. That the French, having the work performed for less money, could sell their goods at a cheaper rate. That, should Britain even be capable of balancing her own trade with France, she could not prevent the latter kingdom from engrossing the commerce of other countries. That the increase of the trade to Portugal, the most valuable branch of British commerce, was owing to the high duties, which amounted to a kind of prohibition of French wines. That should the duties on these wines be reduced to an equality with those on the wines of Portugal, the trade with that kingdom would be lost; as men in general would prefer the wines of France, when they could be purchased at the same rate^d.

THE adherents of the ministry advanced arguments equally solid and conclusive. But when parties are inflamed against each other, passion decides in the place of reason. Upon a division of the house, the bill was ordered to be introduced, by a great majority^e. The Whigs, adhering to their purpose of distressing the

Bill concerning it rejected.

^d Debates, printed.

^e 252 against 130.

minister,

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minister, called the prejudices of the nation to their aid. They carried their arguments to the press. The lord-treasurer opposed them, on the same ground. But the fate of the bill was not ultimately determined by this public contest. Many of the Tories, to the last degree offended at the trimming conduct of the Earl of Oxford, had resolved to join the Whigs, on the present occasion, to accomplish his ruin. Sir Thomas Hanmer, though he had been instrumental in concluding the treaty of commerce, opposed it, with vehemence, as the best ground for affronting the lord-treasurer. He was at the head of a society of forty members of the house of commons, who called themselves the October-club. This junto resolved to throw their whole weight in the scale of the opposing party; and to terrify the Earl of Oxford into decisive measures for the Pretender. They had frequently requested him, in vain, to remove the Whigs from the lieutenancy of the counties, the commissions of the peace, and the offices of the revenue. He had repeatedly made the most solemn promises upon this subject. But though the dissolution of parliament was approaching, he had hitherto done nothing in an affair upon which the success of the Tories, at the new elections, so much depended^f. When, therefore, the bill was brought to a debate, the most violent of the Tories, led by Hanmer, opposed its being engrossed; and, upon a division of the house, carried their point, by a majority of nine votes^g.

Discontents
of the Scots.

DURING the dependence of this bill, another matter of still greater importance employed the attention of parliament. The house of commons, in renewing the duty on malt, for another year, extended that tax to Scotland. The members for that part of the kingdom, unanimously opposed the measure. They complained, that the duty, in itself too great a burden for their country, was contrary to an express article of the union between the king-

^f Stuart-papers, June 23, 1713.^g 194 against 185.

doms.

doms. That it had been stipulated by that treaty, that no duty should be laid on malt in North-Britain during the continuance of the war. That, though hostilities had ceased, no formal peace was yet concluded with Spain. That, though a pacification between the two crowns was no longer a matter of uncertainty, yet it was a maxim in law, that odious things were to be literally understood. But that matters of favour were to be interpreted with more liberality. That as the tax itself was, by the express words of the bill, to be applied to deficiencies in the war, this act laid an impost on the Scots, from which they were evidently exempted by the treaty of Union^h. These arguments made a great impression on the house. But, on a division, a majority appeared on the side of the bill. The Scottish members, in both houses of parliament, were so much offended, that they met at a tavern, and having appointed two lords and two commoners to wait, in their name, upon the Queen, they requested her permission for bringing in a bill for the dissolution of the Unionⁱ.

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THOUGH the Queen expressed the greatest uneasiness at the address of the Scots, they resolved to proceed in their intended motion. Several of the Jacobite part of the Tories entered with eagerness into a measure, which was well calculated to distress the Earl of Oxford. The Whigs, for the like reason, were ready to throw their weight into the same scale. But the person who animated the whole opposition, on this subject, was the Duke of Argyle. This nobleman, espousing the principles or passions of his family, had uniformly professed his attachment to the Protestant succession, and his consequent aversion to a minister who was deemed to favour the Pretender. Careless and eager in his disposition, he neither concealed his resentment nor disguised his designs. With a commanding manner, which stamped

Character of
the Duke of
Argyle.

^h Burnet, vol. iv.

ⁱ MSS. passim.

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his very forwardness with an appearance of authority, he was feared by many, but beloved by none. Brave in his person, but not remarkable for his conduct, he might be considered, in his military capacity, as a bold partisan, rather than a judicious commander. In his civil character, his fire degenerated into a violence, that often defeated his views. In his public exhibitions in parliament, he was rather spirited than eloquent; better calculated to terrify his enemies, than to support his friends. His great defect was a love of money and emolument, which he could not effectually conceal, with all the efforts of his pride^{*}. His chief talent was an address in managing the prejudices of the vulgar. He marked their opinions as they changed, and fell dexterously down with the tide.

Motion for
dissolving the
Union

THE Earl of Oxford, no stranger to the importance of the Duke of Argyle, had resolved to gain him by promises of advantage. His object was to place him as a kind of spy upon the Whigs, and to terrify, upon occasion, that party, by his means¹. But the Duke declined to enter into the views of the minister, till he should obtain the office of master-general of the ordnance, vacant by the death of the Duke of Hamilton. The lord-treasurer was unwilling to trust a place of such importance in the hands of a man whom interest only could gain to his side. Disappointment heightened the Duke's resentment. He resolved to gain by force what he could not obtain by favour. He opposed the court with vehemence. He treated the minister with insult. He therefore entered, with great zeal, into the counsels of his countrymen, for the dissolution of the union between the two kingdoms. To carry a point of such great importance, was likely to introduce a confusion into the measures of government, that would prove fatal to the power of the Earl of Oxford. The resentment of the most violent Jacobites kept pace with the warmth

^{*} Hannover and Stuart-papers, 1713.

¹ Stuart-papers, 1713.

and

and vehemence of the Whigs. Both resolved to ruin the lord-treasurer, as each looked upon him in the light of an enemy. They flattered, therefore, the prejudices and fomented the resentment of the Scottish members¹.

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ON the first of June, the Earl of Finlater, having recounted, in the house of lords, the various grievances resulting to the Scottish nation from the Union, concluded with a motion for dissolving that treaty. Finlater was seconded by the Earl of Mar. The debate became general on this important subject. But the force of argument was less apparent, on both sides, than the irreconcilable spirit of the two parties. The violence of Argyle against the Earl of Oxford was ultimately serviceable to that minister, at the same time that it contributed to defeat his own designs. The Duke having, in the course of the debate, mentioned, with the utmost contempt, the Pretender, offended some lords, who secretly favoured his cause. Though they were willing to humble the Earl of Oxford, they were averse from the principles of his more open enemies. Two bishops, in particular, who possessed, between them, three proxies, by quitting the house^m, carried five votes from the Scots and Whigs. When the question for bringing in the bill was put, it was carried in the negative, by a majority of four voices. A circumstance, which preserved the kingdom from confusion, was highly favourable to the Earl of Oxford. Had the motion been carried in the affirmative, it was to have been followed by another, for sending the treasurer to the Towerⁿ. The Scots, disappointed by their want of success, and incensed by the speech of Argyle, fell again into the views of the court. Thus the precipitate zeal of one of their own number prevented the Whigs from regaining the power that had been so long the sole object of their intrigues and desire.

rejected by a
small majority.

¹ MSS. 1713.

^m MSS. passim, 1713.

ⁿ Ibid. Hannover and Stuart-papers, 1713.

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Lord trea-
surer terri-
fied.

THE desertion of his friends, upon the treaty of commerce and the motion for dissolving the Union, threw the Earl of Oxford into a kind of political despair. He saw that he was hated by the Tories, at the same time that he was proscribed by the Whigs. The irreconcilable animosity of the two parties had been hitherto the only support of his power. The predominancy of either was to him alike destructive. His prudence was now in arms against his principles. The most direct way to preserve his authority, was to gratify the more violent Tories, by abetting the views of the Pretender. But even that obvious path was beset with difficulties and dangers. Should his measures assume the appearance of Jacobitism, the jealousy of the people against Popery might throw them into the scale of the Whigs. To retain the favour of the populace, was now as necessary as to regain the support of the Tories. He had, therefore, recourse to the old expedient of giving private assurances to the Jacobites, while he marked his public conduct with a zeal for the house of Hannover. Though this artifice was too stale to deceive the Tories, the Whigs shewed such an intemperate joy for their success in the affair of the treaty of commerce, that the former resolved to support a minister they hated, to exclude a party whom they had great reason to fear^m.

Proceedings
of parlia-
ment.

IMPRESSED with this opinion, such Tories as had opposed the treaty of commerce endeavoured to give a proof of their resolution to change their conduct. Sir Thomas Hanmer, by whose influence the bill was rejected, moved for a palliative address to the Queen, approving of the treaties of peace and commerce. His motion was carried by a great majorityⁿ. The Queen's answer was full of art and address. She thanked the commons for their approbation of the treaty of commerce. She stated its advantages, and the great difficulties with which it had been obtained. The treasurer, by this victory over his enemies, became

^m MSS. passim, 1713.ⁿ 156 against 72.

more important in the eyes of his party and supposed friends. He resolved to profit by their zeal. On the twenty-fifth of June, a message from the Queen was presented to the commons, by the chancellor of the Exchequer. This message imported, that the civil list, prior to the year 1710, when the late changes in the ministry happened, had run greatly in arrear. That her Majesty, therefore, requested the house to enable her to raise a sum sufficient to pay her debts upon the funds of the civil list. As the message contained a kind of reflection upon the former ministry, the consequent motion was opposed with great vehemence by the Whigs. But they found, upon this occasion, that their late triumphs were not owing to themselves. A bill, empowering the Queen to raise five hundred and ten thousand pounds, for the payment of the debts of the civil list, passed the house, by a great majority. The Whigs complained, that advantage had been taken of the absence of many of their party, who had retired into the country when the business of the treaty of commerce was finished °.

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THE Whigs, sensible of their own inferiority, had hitherto declined to make any of the motions in parliament that had been recommended to their party by the court of Hannover^p. The bill for excluding the Pretender, should he turn Protestant, was neglected, as either useless or dangerous. The pension to the Princess Sophia was not proposed, though the success of that measure might have furnished the Elector with an opportunity of enabling some NEEDY LORDS^q to follow their conscience. To shew their attachment to the Protestant succession, or, more probably, to harass the Queen and her ministry, who were considered as averse from the house of Hannover, the Whigs resolved to move for an address, that the most pressing instances should be used with the Duke of Lorrain to remove from his dominions the Pretender to

Address for
removing the
Pretender.

• Journals, Burnet, vol. iv.

^p Hannover-papers, 1713.

^q Ibid.

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the crown of Great Britain. This motion was opposed in the house of lords by none but the Lord North. The commons voted the address, without one dissenting voice. This spirit of compliance defeated the views of the Whigs. They hoped, that their political enemies would have the imprudence to outvote them in their motion. That this circumstance would, to use their own expression, open the eyes of the nation. That the mob, who had hitherto supported their antagonists, would change sides, or, at least, entertain such jealousies of the Tories, as might be hurtful to that party, in the approaching elections for a new parliament.

Parliament
prorogued.

THE address for the removal of the Pretender concluded all business of importance in the present session. On the sixteenth of July the Queen prorogued the parliament, with a speech from the throne. She thanked, in a particular manner, the commons, for the supplies, by which they had amply provided for the public service. She hoped, at the next meeting, the affair of commerce would be so well understood, that the advantageous conditions obtained from France might be rendered effectual to her people, by law. She expressed how sensible she was of the affection, zeal, and duty of the commons. She recounted their former services. She enlarged upon their late favours. She acknowledged her gratitude for their having furnished her with supplies for continuing the war, and for strengthening her hands in obtaining peace. She said, that, at her coming to the crown, she found a war prepared to her hands. That God had blessed her arms with many victories in that war, which she had improved, by procuring an advantageous and honourable peace. She requested her parliament to make the people sensible of what they had gained by the late treaties. She entreated them to remove the groundless jealousies, which had been so industriously raised.

* Hannover papers, 1713.

* Ibid.

To prevent all unhappy divisions, that might not only weaken, but even endanger the advantages which she had obtained for her kingdoms. "There are some, very few, I hope," she said, "who will never be satisfied with any government. Shew, therefore, your love for your country, by obviating the malice of the ill-minded, and by undeceiving the deluded. Nothing can establish peace at home, nothing recover the disorders that happened during the war, but a steady adherence to the constitution in church and state. None but such as are true to these principles can be trusted. They have the best title to my favour, as I have neither interest nor aim, but to secure the religion of my country and the liberty of my people¹."

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THE Queen pronounced this speech with a kind of energy and vehemence, that sufficiently shewed the sentiments were her own². The enemies of the ministry were loud in their complaints against the reflections thrown, from such a height, on themselves. It was strange, they said, that the Queen, who confessedly knew nothing of trade³, should pass a censure on her parliament for rejecting the treaty of commerce. They made exceptions against the expression, that she found a war prepared to her hands, as an insult upon the memory of the late King. They observed, that, in the whole speech, no mention was made of the Pretender, none of the Protestant succession. But they were most offended at the contempt with which she treated the opposing party, and the impression which she gave to the nation of their conduct and views. The adherents of the Whigs carried their arguments and complaints to the press. The Tories and the ministry descended to meet their adversaries in the same field. The nation was overwhelmed with essays, papers, and pamphlets. Assertions, without proof, were on both sides improved into facts; and a suspicious people were rendered unhappy, by the

Whigs dis-
pleased at the
Queen's
speech.

¹ Journals, July 16, 1713.

² Publications of the Times. Burnet, vol. iv. ³ Ibid.

artifice.

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Intrigues and
dissensions in
the cabinet.

artifice and clamour of contending knaves. The object of the two parties was the same.—The parliament was dissolved; and each endeavoured to serve themselves with the people in the approaching elections.

THE speech, that gave so much offence to the Whigs, seems to have been fabricated without the advice of the Earl of Oxford. Though he was the ostensible minister, he guided no longer the cabinet. When he was, in a manner, proscribed by the two contending parties in parliament, he was violently attacked in the closet. The Viscount Bolingbroke, who had, from the beginning, traversed his measures, had long fixed his eyes upon his power. Having gained the Lady Masham, by gratifying her passion for the public money, he insinuated himself into the favour of the Queen, by entering, without hesitation, into all her prejudices. The lord-treasurer was equally hated by both the great parties. The Whigs pretended that he did too much, the violent Tories found that he had done nothing, for the Pretender. His manner and his opinions were alike disgusting to both sides. With a show of application to business, he never brought affairs to a period. He heard representations with an appearance of attention. But his answers were slight, undecisive, and vague. The Viscount Bolingbroke, yielding to his own intemperate ambition, or the natural violence of his character, despised Oxford, and thwarted his designs. When a division happened among the Tories, before the beginning of the last session, he endeavoured to place himself at the head of an independent party^r. The mortifications, which the treasurer experienced, proceeded from the machinations of his rival, more than from the inveteracy of his enemies. The treaty of commerce must be reprobated, as it was THEN supported, by the Earl of Oxford; and a breach upon the

^r Oxford to Queen Anne, June 9, 1714.

union of the two kingdoms was encouraged, as it was likely to prove fatal to their power^z.

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DURING these intrigues in the cabinet, the Whigs continued their own secret cabals. In their eagerness for power, they persuaded themselves that the Protestant succession was in danger. They continued their solicitations to the Elector of Brunswick, to send to Great Britain the Electoral Prince. They had represented, in the strongest and most decisive terms, that the Queen and her servants were irrecoverably attached to the Pretender. They threw his Highness, in the affair of the Succession, into a despondence, that degenerated into a kind of despair. He became careless and indifferent about a throne, which was represented so difficult to ascend. To humour, however, those who called themselves his friends, he agreed, at length, to send his brother Duke Ernest, to Great Britain. The Whigs, disappointed by this proposal, formed an opinion, that his Highness was jealous of the influence which might be acquired by his son, in Great Britain. They requested him, therefore, to come in person. But he absolutely refused to comply with a demand, that seemed at once impracticable in itself, and inconsistent with his own dignity^a.

Secret cabals
and

THOUGH the backwardness of the Elector threw a damp on his party, his servants continued, with a degree of eagerness, a correspondence with the Whigs. His Highness having positively declared, that he would not risk an expedition into Britain in a hostile manner, prior to the Queen's death, his ministers had begun to take precautions in expectation of that event. They had sent, early in the year, several queries to the leaders of the Whigs. The answers which were to form the line of their conduct, were given, by the lords Somers, Cowper, and Halifax. They declared, that no commission, granted either by the Princess

intrigues
of the Whigs.

^z MSS. passim.

^a Hannover-papers, 1713.

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Sophia or the Elector could be valid, should these be signed and executed during the Queen's life. They declined for themselves to act upon authorities neither established by precedents nor appointed by law. The Duke of Marlborough and General Cadogan who signified their inclination to have the eventual command of the troops, were not so scrupulous. They declared, that a writing in French, without any adherence to forms, would be sufficient. That the authority of the Duke of Marlborough was so great among the soldiers, that any piece of parchment was enough to ensure their obedience to his command. As for Cadogan, he wished only for a show of authority to take possession of the Tower, or to place himself in conjunction with the Electoral Prince at the head of the British troops, that still lay in garrison in some cities in Flanders^b.

They demand money
in vain from
the Elector.

THE Whigs had, in the beginning of the year, harassed the Elector with demands of pensions for poor lords. They had perpetually teased his Highness for money to political writers and for spies planted round the Pretender. Though their solicitations on these subjects had been attended with little success, they continued to make applications of the same disagreeable kind. When the session was drawing to a conclusion and a dissolution was foreseen, they demanded one hundred thousand pounds from the Elector, to corrupt boroughs, to influence the elections, and to return men of constitutional and Whiggish principles to the ensuing parliament^c. The magnitude of the sum left no room for hesitation in rejecting their request. One repulse, however, was not sufficient either to intimidate or discourage a party so eager in the pursuit of their designs. They diminished their demand to fifty thousand pounds. The Elector plainly told them, that he could not spare the money. That he had done the greatest service consistent with his own particular situation and the state of Europe

^b Hannover-papers, passim, 1713.

^c Ibid.

in general, to the well affected in Great Britain. That he had engaged the Emperor and Empire to continue the war against France. That he employed seventeen thousand of his troops against that kingdom. That this circumstance had deprived the French King of the power of sending an army into Great Britain with the Pretender. That, could he even advance the money, which was far from being the case, the secret could never be kept; and that a discovery might be dangerous, from the offence that the measure was likely to give to the British nations ^d.

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DURING these intrigues for the Protestant succession, the Pretender lived in great security at Bar-le-duc, under the protection of the Duke of Lorrain. Though he had declined to change his religion at the solicitation of his adherents, his servants were almost all of the Protestant persuasion. The Earl of Middleton, who had yielded to policy more than conviction, his former system of faith, was the only Roman Catholic of any consequence in his train ^e. A clergyman of the church of England had come from Britain at his desire, to exercise the functions of his order in his family ^f. In daily expectation of a change in his favour, he declined all correspondence, except such as solely conveyed intelligence of the state of opinions and the secret intrigues in government. The same distrust of the lord-treasurer that prevailed at Hannover, was entertained, with much more reason, at Bar-le-duc. But both agreed in the opinion, that his own safety would, at length, induce the Earl of Oxford to throw himself in the scale of the Pretender. The adherents of that Prince placed, however, their greatest hopes in the inclinations of Queen Anne. They knew that an interior cabinet was formed in opposition to the trimming conduct of the lord-treasurer. That Bolingbroke, who had long hated that nobleman, had flattered the prejudices of the Queen and her favourite, to ruin the minister. That the

Situation and
views of the
Pretender.

^d Hannover-papers, July 11, 1713.

^e Ibid. 1713.

^f Stuart-papers, 1713.

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Whigs encourage the Emperor to continue the war.

latter had applied to the principal Whigs for protection against his colleagues in office^e. That the Whigs had rejected his supplications; and that he was thrown into political despair. The Jacobites, therefore, hoped to derive from his situation an aid which they could not expect from his principles^h.

THE Whigs, in their eagerness for power and office, had extended their intrigues to the councils of foreign powers. Their expectations and their fears for themselves, had induced them to flatter the Emperor and Empire to the continuance of an unequal war. They insinuated through the court of Hannover, that one of two events, very likely soon to arise, would turn the balance against the house of Bourbon. That, should the Queen, already manifestly near her end, happen to die, the war would be instantly renewed by Great Britain, under the Electoral family. That, in case of the demise of Lewis the Fourteenth, who was now broken with infirmities and age, France, by falling under the dominion of a minor, would be rendered incapable to defend herself, and much less would she be able to keep Philip the Fifth on the throne of Spain. That the house of Austria might recover a crown, of which they had been unjustly deprived, by the timidity and sinister designs of the British ministry, whose power was to expire with the life of the Queen. That to accomplish this great design, nothing was necessary, but to remain on the defensive, on the Rhine. That to make conquests was of much less importance than to maintain the show of war; and, that even slight disasters might be of service, as they would contribute to alarm the British nation, by the progress made by the arms of Franceⁱ.

Campaign of
1713.

THE ambition of Charles the Sixth, coinciding with the representation of the Whigs and the court of Hannover, he resolved to prosecute the war. Foreseeing the event that deprived him of the

^e Stuart-Papers, 1713. ^h Ibid. ⁱ Stuart and Hannover-Papers, passim, 1713.

aid of his allies, he had accommodated the differences which had long subsisted between his family and the malecontents in Hungary. Preliminary articles, containing a general amnesty on both sides, had been followed by a formal treaty. The famous Ragotski, disappointed in his views, had fled to Poland, and twenty-two regiments of Hungarians, taking the oaths to the Emperor, passed into his army. The Prince of Savoy commanded the Imperialists. When he was making preparations for passing, with great caution, the Rhine, he was suddenly stopt, by the approach of a superior force, under the Marechal de Villars. The French had acquired their usual confidence, by the desertion of the maritime powers from the grand confederacy. They took Worms, Spire, Keiserlauter, and other places, with little resistance. They invested and took the important fortrefs of Landau. Villars, having formed greater designs, forced the passage of the Rhine, attacked and defeated the General Vaubonne, in his intrenchments, and took Fribourg, before the end of the campaign. The Emperor, unwilling to continue a disastrous war, began seriously to wish for peace. Conferences, that afterwards terminated in a treaty, were accordingly opened, at Rastadt, between the Prince of Savoy and the Marechal de Villars.^k

DURING these transactions abroad, riot, clamour, and confusion prevailed at home. The Queen, having dissolved the parliament^l, in terms of the triennial act, the two parties took the field. To influence the elections, they had long carried their disputes to the press. Each endeavoured, by their writers, to impose upon a credulous multitude. Positive assertions were advanced, according to custom, as facts; and declamation was substituted in the place of argument. The Whigs, disappointed in their expectations of money from Hannover, had endeavoured to gain the mob of London, through their habitual prejudices against

A ferment in
England.

^k Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

^l Annals of Queen Anne, 1713. MSS. passim.

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the French. The terrors from the Pretender were inculcated, in vain, against the positive assurances of the Queen, in favour of the Protestant succession. The imprudence and inattention of the Duke d'Aumont, the French ambassador, had furnished the discontented with an opportunity of inflaming the populace against his nation, and consequently against the ministry. To gain popularity, that minister had, upon his entrance into London, strewed whole handfuls of silver coin among the rabble. Their acclamations ended with his generosity. The crowds, whom their avarice had assembled before his house, disappointed in their expectations, gave free vent to their aversion to France and Popery. They were easily induced to connect the interests of the Pretender with the object of D'Aumont's embassy; and thus the Whigs contrived to instil a jealousy into the populace, to favour their own interests in the general elections.

Riotous behaviour of
the Scots.

THE ferment raised in England by the general elections, extended itself to Scotland, with equal violence. The Whigs, as well as the Tories, in that part of the kingdom, were averse from the minister. The first were offended at his opposing, with such success, the breaking of the Union. The latter could not forgive his slow councils in favour of the Pretender. The Scottish Jacobites, with their usual vehemence, carried their zeal into folly and imprudence. Some boroughs were induced, by their suggestions, to address the Queen upon the hereditary descent of the crown. Whole societies, as well as individuals, celebrated the birth-day of the Chevalier de St. George, and drank his health at their entertainments and carousals. Lockhart of Carnwath, an avowed Jacobite, was unanimously chosen member for Edinburgh. A great number of the inhabitants, upon this occasion, signed a petition to be presented to the house of commons, for the bringing in a bill to dissolve the Union. The populace, having assembled round the statue of Charles the Second, in the parliament-

parliament-cloſe, drank, attended with the loudeſt ſhouts of joy, healths to the Queen, the diſſolution of the Union, and the hereditary deſcent of the crown. They adjourned, in the ſame riotous mood, to the market-croſs, and filled the whole city with treaſonable acclamations and noiſe^m.

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IRELAND could not be ſuppoſed to remain free from the confuſion which prevailed in every corner of Great Britain. The Duke of Shrewſbury was appointed lord-lieutenant; and he arrived at Dublin, in the month of Octoberⁿ. Though his Grace had uniformly paſſed for a ſtaunch friend to the Revolution^o, he owed his preſent preferment to the miniſter's certain knowledge of his Jacobitiſm^p. The Earl of Oxford, thwarted in the cabinet by Shrewſbury's zeal for the Pretender, had wiſhed for his removal from the kingdom. He had ſent him, with this deſign, ambaffador to France; from which kingdom his Grace had returned, in the month of Auguſt. The lord-treaſurer found more difficulty in perſuading Shrewſbury to accept of the government of Ireland. The former, however, was aſſiſted in his ſcheme by his rival the Viſcount Bolingbroke. That Lord, having long formed the deſign of placing himſelf, in conjunction with the lord-chancellor, at the head of the high-church party, became as jealous of Shrewſbury as of Oxford^q. He therefore found means, through the Lady Maſham, to prevail with the Duke to accept of a government, more honourable in itſelf, than important in the great line of public affairs.

Affairs of
Ireland.

THE Duke of Shrewſbury, upon his arrival at Dublin, found that city in a ferment concerning the election of a lord mayor. The Whigs and Jacobites carried their conteſt, on this ſubject, to a degree of violence little ſhort of frenzy. The latter were

Duke of
Shrewſbury
lord-lieute-
nant.

^m Publications of the Times.
the Times.

ⁿ Oct. 27.

^p Stuart-papers, 1713.

^o Hiſtories and Publications of
^q MSS. paſſim.

ſupported,

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supported, with great zeal and address, by Sir Constantine Phipps, lord-chancellor of the kingdom, who was at no pains to conceal his attachment to the Pretender and his cause. The Duke of Shrewsbury profited by the violence of Phipps. He concealed, with success, his own principles in favour of the hereditary descent of the crown. He averred, in public, that he was still the same he was in the year 1688. He drank, with an appearance of zeal, to the pious memory of King William; though it is well known he deserted the cause of that Prince when alive. On the anniversary of King William's birth-day, his Dutchess, then in correspondence with the excluded family, gave a magnificent ball, and flattered the principles of the Whigs upon the occasion. The elections for members of a new parliament were, in the mean time, carried on with industry, contention, and animosity. The two parties of Whigs and Tories, as in Great Britain, opposed each other with violence, and even bloodshed. The troops were obliged to interfere in the elections for the city of Dublin, where force only could suppress the ungovernable fury of the voters, on both sides.

Proceedings
of the Irish
parliament.

THOUGH the advantage was visible, on the side of the Whigs, in the Irish elections, the Tories formed a numerous party in the house of commons. Upon a division, on the choice of a speaker, the former were found to possess only a majority of four votes. In the house of lords the interest of the latter seemed to prevail. The violence that had subsisted without doors, was carried into the debates and resolutions of the lower house. They inquired into the late riots in Dublin. They examined into the prosecutions in the court of Queen's Bench against the authors and printers of some treasonable publications. The object of the Whigs was to attack the Lord Chancellor Phipps; who, being at the head of the law, was averse from exerting its rigour against

Publications of the Times,

writers,

writers who favoured his own principles. The commons resolved, that a book, intitl'd, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George," was a scandalous and seditious libel. That the design of that libel was to impeach her Majesty's title to the crown, and the succession of the house of Hannover. That Sir Constantine Phipps, lord-chancellor of Ireland, had acted contrary to his duty and the Protestant interest, by representing the author as an object of the Queen's mercy. That the lord-chancellor had, in a speech to the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin^o, by declaring his opinion, prejudiced a cause depending in a court of law. That, therefore, an address should be presented to her Majesty to remove Sir Constantine Phipps from his place of lord-high-chancellor, for the peace and safety of her Protestant subjects in Ireland^o.

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IN the house of lords, principles similar to those of the chancellor, combining with the weight of government, obtained votes of an opposite kind. They resolved, that Sir Constantine Phipps had, in the several stations wherein he had served her Majesty, acquitted himself with honour and integrity. That a committee should immediately withdraw, and prepare an address to her Majesty, on the subject of these votes. The commons, offended at the resolutions of the lords, extended further censures to the conduct of Phipps. They accused him openly of abetting the views of the Jacobites, from his refusing his approbation, as chancellor, of a person elected lord mayor of Dublin, merely because that person was attached to the principles of the late Revolution. The flame could be only extinguished by a prorogation. The Duke of Shrewsbury, apprized of the declining health of the Queen, was willing, of himself, to put a period to the contests in Ireland, and to return to London. Though the indiscreet Jacobitism of the lord chancellor merited

They animadvert on the lord-chancellor.

^o Jan. 12, 1712.

^o Journals, Dec. 18, 1713.

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censure, the conduct of the Irish commons was much blamed by the British Tories. The figure which Phipps had made at the trial of Doctor Sacheverell, had gained the affection of the church-party. The Whigs were loud on the other side of the question; and the truth is, that the chancellor had been, in some measure, the cause of unhappy distinctions between the Protestants of Ireland.

Domestic
affairs.

DURING these transactions in Ireland, the ferment raised in Britain, by the arts of the two parties, continued. Though the Tories were, in general, the most successful, more Whigs found their way into the house of commons in the present than in the preceding elections. The new parliament, which was to have met on the twelfth of November, was further prorogued to the tenth of December. This measure was, at the time, ascribed to the manifest decline of the Queen's health and the squabbles among her servants. The Earl of Oxford, having received a repulse from the Whigs, in the month of August, had endeavoured to regain the confidence of the Tories. To gratify their prejudices, some changes were made in the principal departments of the state. To influence the elections in their favour, some alterations were made in the inferior offices of the revenue. With regard to the first, men, remarkable for the Tory principle, were placed in eminent stations, which had been rendered vacant by deaths, dismissions, or removals. The Earl of Mar, then actually in correspondence with the Pretender, was made third secretary of state. The Earl of Dartmouth, having received the privy seal, made a vacancy for Mr. William Bromley, as one of her Majesty's principal secretaries. Sir William Wyndham became chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Robert Benson, raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Bingley. The Lord Lansdowne, in his principles a Jacobite, had received the

Hanno ver-papers, 1713.

place of treasurer of the household, which had been for some time vacant by the removal of the Earl of Cholmondeley, the last Whig of any importance that remained in office^d.

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WHILST the lord-treasurer endeavoured to gain the Tories by these changes, he only strengthened the hands of his enemies against himself. Bolingbroke, encouraged by the accession of Secretary Bromley and Sir William Wyndham, continued his intrigues in the cabinet. The animosities between the members of administration were no longer unknown to the public. The writers employed by government were busy in preparing the nation for an approaching change^e. The Earl of Oxford himself, though fond of the distinction paid to his high station, was displeased at being deprived of its power. He thought seriously of retiring from business. But there was now no safety in retreating. He had too much offended the Whigs, to be either forgot or forgiven by that party. The Tories, should he join with their political enemies, would seek an opportunity, and they actually possessed the means of revenge. In this state of affairs, he sacrificed his pride to necessity. He resolved to bear with mortifications, rather than resign his office. His indignation against his rival might contribute to his present firmness. He saw, that the very person who had already ruined his interest with the Queen, wished to deprive him of the influence with the nation, which he still derived from his office^f.

Diffensions
between the
Queen's ser-
vants.

THE enmity subsisting between the treasurer and his rival in influence, was greatly fomented by the uninterrupted connexion between the latter and the Duke of Marlborough. The Duke, not remarkable for friendly attachments, seemed to have departed from the usual indifference of his character, with regard to the

Secret in-
trigues of
Bolingbroke.

^d Gazettes, August and Sept. 1713.

^e Nov. 16.

^f MSS. passim. Publications of the Times.

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Viscount Bolingbroke. He is said to have declared, upon the death of the Marquis of Blandford, that he had now no comfort left in the world, except in Henry St. John, whom he regarded and loved as his own son^a. During his campaigns abroad, he held an intercourse, by letters, with St. John, even when that gentleman was closely connected with Harley, his mortal enemy. When Harley, through the intrigues of Mrs. Masham and the changed opinions of the nation, brought about a change in the ministry, in 1710, St. John, without breaking with Marlborough, gratified his own ambition, by accepting the office of secretary of state. When, therefore, the Duke was on the worst terms with the court, he had a friend in the cabinet, who supported his interest when the current was not too strong to be stemmed. When the dangerous intrigues of Marlborough, in the end of 1711, furnished the lord-treasurer with an opportunity of removing him from all his employments, St. John yielded to the times, and approved of a measure which he could not oppose^b.

He takes advantage of the Queen's state of mind

THE difficult situation of the Earl of Oxford, the perpetual contest between his interest and principles, his awkward manner, and a conduct throughout undecisive, soon rendered him obnoxious to the Tories, and hated by the Whigs. He, however, retained, throughout the year 1712, his influence with his sovereign, by finding means to persuade that timid Princess, that he himself was necessary to her safety, against the dangerous designs of the Whigs. When time had expunged from her memory a part of her fears, she began to listen to the insinuations of Bolingbroke against the treasurer. Subject to frequent illnesses, and sensible of the decay of her own constitution, she became apprehensive, that she was fast approaching to her end. An enthusiast, like the most of her family, she became anxious for the eventual succession of her brother to the throne, from motives of religion.

^a MSS. passim.

^b Original Papers, passim.

Her

Her solemn promises to her father, a letter written to her by that Prince in his last illness^c, her having been, by her desertion, the obvious cause of his ruin^d, were always present to a mind enfeebled by sickness, as well as superstition. She deemed the death of her children a signal punishment, inflicted by Providence for her own injustice to a parent, as she was pleased to construe her conduct^e. Having left her father in his extremity, with a view of securing his throne to her own posterity, she weakly thought, that Heaven had interfered to disappoint her designs^f.

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BOLINGBROKE had long watched the emotions of her mind, and he endeavoured to turn them to his advantage. Having flattered her prejudices, by pretending to enter into her views, he gradually supplanted the influence of the lord-treasurer. He represented the languor of his measures. He gave insinuations concerning his secret intrigues with the Whigs. The artifice which he used with the Queen, he employed, with equal success, on the more violent Tories. In the beginning of the present year, he formed a serious design of placing himself at the head of a party, independent of the Earl of Oxford. But a well-grounded fear of the Whigs induced him afterwards to adhere to the lord-treasurer. He was, however, at the bottom of all the mortifications which that minister suffered, by the desertion of some of the high-church party in the last session of parliament. To humble his rival was suitable to his violent passions. To ruin him entirely, considering the times and his own precarious situation, was inconsistent with common prudence. His object was to strengthen himself, with the return of the Duke of Marlborough. That nobleman would have no objection to join with any party, who should contribute to the fall of his enemy, the Earl of Oxford^g. To feel the pulse of the Tories, and to sound the inclinations of the Queen, reports

with regard
to the Pre-
tender.

^c Hannover-papers, 1713.

^d Her letter to her father, Dec. 1691.

^e Hannover-papers, 1713.

^f Ibid.

^g MSS. passim, 1713.

were

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His intrigues
in favour of
Marlbo-
rough,

were industriously spread, in the summer, that the Duke was to return to Britain, at the express desire of the ministry^b.

THESE insinuations produced not the expected effect. The Queen was averse from the measure. The Tories expressed no desire for the Duke's return. His Grace, having spent the summer in making vain solicitations to the house of Hannover for sending the Electoral Prince to Britain, seemed to be suddenly seized with an impatience, not unnatural to his disposition, however much it was concealed. He represented to the Elector, that, being now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, he wished to pass the rest of his life in quietness, in his native country. That, as his Highness seemed so indifferent about the succession, it was time for his friends to take care of themselves. That, by coinciding with the views of the ministry, whose almost avowed intentions were to restore the Pretender, the friends of the house of Hannover might, perhaps, obtain security from a Prince, whose favour they could not, in reason, expect. These chidings, bearing the appearance of zeal, were neither regarded nor feared. In the mean time, Bolingbroke proceeded in his intrigues. He daily gained the ground which the unhappy manner of the treasurer was destined to lose. He had often complained to the Queen of his principles. He now loudly accused him of dilatoriness and indolence. He affirmed, that, by neglecting the power which the influence of government had placed in his hands he had permitted a greater number of Whigs, than was consistent with the safety of government, to obtain seats in the house of commons^d.

who corre-
sponds with
the Pretend-
er.

EXPECTING much from the intrigues of Bolingbroke, and tired of his own situation, the Duke of Marlborough again formed hopes of his speedy return. To regain his former power,

^b Stuart-papers, 1713.^d Ibid.

he

he seemed inclined to desert his present friends. He was willing to govern Anne, by yielding to her prejudices. Under a certainty that she was attached to her brother's interest, he endeavoured secretly to gain the confidence of the Pretender's adherents abroad. He wrote to the Dutchess of Berwick. He even sent a letter to the late King James's Queen. He dispatched one of his retainers to France. He empowered him to convey the most solemn protestations of his attachment to the Chevalier de St. George. He assured him, with an oath, that he would rather cut off his own right-hand, than oppose his views on the throne. That, provided he himself might be rendered secure, he would not hesitate a moment to use all his credit, both privately and publicly, for his service. He instructed the Duke of Berwick, he said, more largely on the subject; and he had reason to hope an answer suitable to his sincerity and zeal¹. These relents of Marlborough, if they were at all sincere, were prevented from having any effect, by the fears of the Queen. The dangerous intrigues of the Duke, in the preceding year, had made such a deep impression on her mind, that she was even terrified at the very mention of his name; and though she could not legally continue his exile, she resolved never to give her consent to his return².

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THE terrors of the Queen for Marlborough proved a fatal blow to her own views. To ruin the treasurer, by supporting himself with the prejudices of the sovereign, the Duke might have probably deserted the principles of the Whigs; which, like many of the party, he had only adopted to favour his own designs. But when he found that the Queen was obdurate, and that the Pretender himself treated his proposals with caution and even distrust, he fell back with vehemence into his former professions to the house of Hannover. He corresponded with that

Misrepresentations of the Whigs.

¹ Stuart-papers, Oct. 1713.

² Idid. 1713.

family.

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family. Without either ceremony or distinction, he accused the ministry of incurable Jacobitism; and in the general accusation even involved his friend Bolingbroke. He was joined in these assurances by most of the leaders of the Whig-party. The Duke of Argyle, yielding to personal resentment, affirmed to the envoy of Hannover, that he knew, from his own experience, the lord-treasurer was a false and deceitful man. That he exerted himself with all his might against the Protestant succession. That he was reforming the army, to facilitate the restoration of the Pretender; and that even his friends acknowledged, he was too far engaged to retreat. The Earl of Ilay extended his accusations much farther than his brother, the Duke of Argyle. He assured the Hannoverian resident, that the Presbyterians were the only friends of the succession of the Electoral family; and that all the members of the church of England, especially in Scotland, were Jacobites, without exception^m.

They demand money
for poor
lords, &c.

THE Whigs in general were impressed with uncommon fears. They again urged the Elector to invade the kingdom. They promised to furnish him with sums, upon his credit, to save their country, and to execute his own designs. But, with an inconsistency repugnant to these large promises, they reverted to their former demands of money from his Highness. They asked pensions for poor, conscientious lords, who were in want of subsistence. They demanded, with the most vehement entreaties, two thousand pounds, to carry the elections for the common-council of London. They represented, that, with that sum, they could chuse their own creatures; and terrify the Queen and parliament with remonstrances and addresses, throughout the winter. "Should we fail to engage," they said, "the Elector to agree to any of our proposals, we must, in prudence, provide for ourselves, and yield to the timesⁿ."

^m Hannover-papers, Dec. 1713.

ⁿ Ibid. Dec. 16, 1713.

THESE

THESE representations, though not sufficient to prevail with the Elector to make remittances, threw his servants into a kind of political despair. "If we shall do nothing ourselves," they said, "for the succession, we cannot expect to succeed, without a miracle. But our disappointment of a crown is the least evil we have to fear. Our troubles will only begin when our hopes shall come to an end. Having raised so many enemies, by our prospect of the British throne, we can enjoy neither peace nor safety in the Electorate. Those who either feared or envied our elevation, will never be satisfied, till we are so low that they may be assured they have nothing further to apprehend^b." During the terrors of the Whigs and the despondence of the Elector's servants, they fell upon an expedient, that seemed, for the time, to alleviate a part of their fears. A proposal, made by the Baron de Bernstorff, president of the Elector's council, was received by Marlborough and Cadogan with eagerness and joy. He insinuated, that his Electoral Highness might be induced to borrow to the extent of twenty thousand pounds from his friends in Britain. This sum was to be laid out on the poor lords and the common-council of London, during the three years the parliament was to sit. The first would be thus enabled to vote according to their principles: the latter might ply the government, and harass the Queen and her ministers with remonstrances in favour of civil liberty and the Protestant succession. Marlborough and Cadogan undertook to furnish the money, on the obligation of his Electoral Highness, provided the interest of five *per cent.* should be regularly paid^c. But his Highness would give no obligation, either for the principal or interest. He, however, signified to his agents, that his friends should advance the money, as they might be certain of being reimbursed, as soon as his Highness, or the Electress his mother, should come to the throne^d.

^b Hannover-papers, 1713.

^c Ibid. Dec. 30, 1713.

^d Hannover-papers, March 20, 1714.

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A general
uneasiness
and panic.

DURING these secret intrigues of party, the nation was harassed with vague rumours and idle reports. The Queen, whose health had long declined, fell into a dangerous illness, in the end of December. The minds of the two parties became strangely agitated, by various expectations or fears. The adherents of the Pretender fondly imagined, that the period of his restoration was near. The Whigs, foreseeing their danger, lamented the fate of the kingdom in their own. The malicious and interested, on both sides, were busy in this state of public suspicion and suspense. A report was industriously spread, that a squadron of fourteen men of war were fitting out in the ports of France^{*}; and that these ships were to take on board fourteen thousand troops. The public funds fell gradually in their price. On the twenty-ninth of January, a sudden panic seized the minds of monied men. There was a great run on the Bank. The directors, in the utmost terror, applied to the lord-treasurer for his assistance and advice. He endeavoured, in vain, to dispel their groundless fears. Nothing could remove their apprehensions, till the Queen herself wrote a letter, on the first of February, to the lord-mayor, announcing her recovery. The public melancholy and panic were changed at once into festivity and joy. The armies, reported to be assembled in the Bolognese, and the squadrons said to be preparing in the ports of France, disappeared like an idle dream; and the Pretender, whom fame had placed at the head of a powerful invasion, was found to have remained in his obscure retreat in Lorrain[†].

Mr. Harley
sent to Han-
nover.

THE dangerous state of the Queen's health induced the Earl of Oxford to endeavour to provide against the event of her demise. His own unhappy manner and the arts of his enemies has deprived of credit all his professions, in the minds of the Hannoverian agents in London. He resolved, therefore, to send again

^{*} Jan. 12, 1714.[†] Publications of the Times.

his relation, Thomas Harley¹, to the court of Hannover. He was as unfortunate in the choice of his messenger, as he was in the assurances which he intended to make to the Electoral family. Harley had rendered himself suspected of Jacobitism, by his never writing to the Princess Sophia after his former embassy², notwithstanding his warm professions of attachment to the Protestant succession. The Whigs and the Hannoverian agents put the worst construction on the advances made by the lord-treasurer. They were ignorant of his having lost a great part of his influence in the cabinet. They affected to consider his protestations of zeal as so many baits to deceive. They wrote to Hannover, that the object of Harley's commission was twofold: That either the Queen appeared to the lord-treasurer to be in such a bad state of health, as to render it prudent to pay court to her legal successor; or that his own measures were not yet come to maturity in favour of the Pretender³.

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THOUGH the Queen had, in some measure, recovered from her late indisposition, she was not capable to open, in person, the session of parliament. That assembly having met on the fifteenth of February, Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker, by the commons, without any opposition. Hanmer, who abetted in public the principles of the Tories, had privately made his peace with the Whigs. Under a promise, from the Hannoverian agents, of titles and preferments, when his Electoral Highness should mount the British throne, he had become suddenly a friend to the Protestant line⁴. The speaker was not the only Tory who closed in secret with the Whigs. The Earl of Nottingham, disappointed a second time in his views on the privy-seal⁵, laid it down for a maxim, that the lord-treasurer was averse from the Protestant succession, and a friend to the Chevalier de St.

Parliament
meets.

¹ Hannover-papers, Jan. 23, 1714.

² Ibid. 1712.

³ Ibid. Jan. 23, 1714.

⁴ Hannover-papers, 1714.

⁵ Stuart and Hannover-papers, 1713.

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George^z. He waited upon the resident of the house of Hannover. He endeavoured to prove, by various arguments, that the ministry were resolved to place the Pretender on the throne, during the Queen's life. "But though you are so negligent yourselves," said Nottingham, "your friends shall not fall, without employing their efforts to secure for you the crown. But as they see, that all their representations are in vain; that you do not design to believe their professions; that you even ascribe, perhaps, their conduct to their passions and regard to interest; they are determined to demand a writ for the Electoral Prince to take his seat in the house of peers. This measure will unmask your enemies, and discover to your friends what they are to expect from yourselves."

Some Tories
join the
Whigs.

THE Earl of Anglesea, whose principles, when not opposed to his interest, were inclined to Jacobitism, suffered himself to be guided by motives similar to those of the Earl of Nottingham. He met, in private, the leaders of the Whigs. He held conferences with the Hannoverian resident. He promoted with vehemence the measure of demanding the writ for the Electoral Prince. The whole party rested their hopes on this one article. They formed no other plan of opposition. They had nothing further to propose in parliament^b. But, notwithstanding the accession of so many Tories to the cause of the house of Hannover, their agents were extremely diffident of the succession. They informed their court, that out of ten, who were for the Electoral family, nine would accommodate themselves to the times. That whatever their principles might have been in speculation, they would hazard nothing in practice. That, in the affair of the succession, they would embrace the cause of the first of the rivals for the throne that should arrive in the kingdom. That those who expressed the greatest zeal for the Protestant line, flattered

^z Hannover-papers, Feb. 27, 1714.

^a Ibid.

^b Ibid. March 6, 1714.

themselves,

themselves, that the government of the Pretender, whom they looked upon as a weak Prince, would not be so great an evil as a perpetual civil war^c.

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THESE were certainly the sentiments of the greatest number of the Tories, and, perhaps, those of all the moderate Whigs. The Lord Guildford, who openly avowed the Tory principle, and was privately much attached to the pretended Prince of Wales, made no secret of the opinions of his own party. He told the Lord Cowper, that those Tories who were most attached to the house of Hannover, would hazard no part of their fortune against the Pretender. That though they might allow, their religion and liberty would be more safe by adhering to the present establishment, they flattered themselves, that, by good laws, both the one and the other might be very well secured. That, for his own part, he could solemnly swear, that he neither knew nor believed there existed any serious scheme in favour of the Pretender. "But I frankly acknowledge," he continued, "that, should ever matters be pushed to any length on that side, the greatest part of us Tories will submit; while some of you Whigs will, perhaps, be fools enough to expose the kingdom to a civil war, and suffer your country to be laid waste, on the one hand, by the French, and, on the other, by the Germans."

Sentiments of
both, with
regard to the
succession.

WHILE the two parties in Britain were harassing themselves with idle hopes and vain fears about the succession, a peace was concluded at Rastadt between the Emperor and the French King^d. The conditions of the treaty were little changed by the operations of the preceding campaign. Things were left on the confines of France and Germany on the plan delineated by the peace of Ristwick. With regard to the Netherlands, the two powers agreed to the terms settled at Utrecht. The Emperor consented to restore

Affairs of
Europe.
Peace of
Rastadt.

^c Hannover-papers, March 6, 1714.

^d March 6.

their

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their territories to the Princes of Italy whom he had stript of their dominions. He engaged to continue the neutrality, and not to disturb the repose of that country. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were re-established in their dominions and dignities. The title of the Elector of Hannover was recognised, in form, by the French King. The Emperor, moved by his resentment for having been, as he thought, deserted, had resolved to conclude the treaty, without either the participation or intervention of the maritime powers. To mortify the court of Great Britain, he set on foot a new treaty with the States-General for a barrier in the Netherlands; and, having brought to some maturity the business at the Hague, removed the negociation, soon after, to Vienna.

Peace with
Spain.

THE King of Spain might have concluded a peace with all the confederates, except the Emperor and Empire, at Utrecht. But he suffered that important work to be suspended till the present year, by the ambition of a foolish woman. The Princess Orsini, having obtained an ascendant over his counsels, employed her credit to make herself a sovereign. She wanted that a principality should be erected for her in the Netherlands. The court of Great Britain and the States-General had agreed to this preposterous proposal. The Spanish plenipotentiaries insisted strenuously with the rest of the confederates to consent to a condition deemed essential by their master. They were, however, forced, at length, to abandon their demand. The Emperor would never consent to the dismemberment of any part of the Netherlands. The French King interfered with his grandson. He persuaded that Prince to pay more regard to the repose of his people, than to the caprice of a woman. But, notwithstanding his remonstrances, the peace itself was not signed at Utrecht till the present year. The Princess Orsini, who had so long obstructed the great work of peace, fell,

* Anna's of Queen Anne, 1714.

soon

soon after, into a disgrace suitable to the magnitude of her own ambition and folly^f.

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ON the twenty-seventh of February, a messenger arrived from Holland, with the ratifications exchanged of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain. The peace between the two kingdoms was formally proclaimed on the first of March. The Queen had returned to London, in the middle of February, amidst the acclamations of the populace, who were overjoyed at the prospect of her recovery from her late dangerous illness. But as her health was not sufficiently restored to open, with the usual ceremony of a speech, the business of parliament, the two houses had adjourned to the second of March. The Queen, having gone to the house of lords on that day, addressed her parliament in terms suitable to the state of the times. Having animadverted severely on those who insinuated that the succession in the house of Hannover was in danger, she assured the two houses, that, to weaken her authority, and render her uneasy in the possession of the crown, could never be proper means to support the Protestant succession. She had done and should continue, she said, to do her best for the good of her subjects. She recommended to her parliament to follow her example, by uniting the differences of parties, and by improving jointly the benefits obtained by the treaty of peace^g.

Queen opens
the session of
parliament.

THE Whigs, having confined, by concert^h, their operations to the projected demand of a writ for the Electoral Prince, no opposition was made, in either house, to warm addresses to the throne. The commons followed their address with a vote of supply. In considering an article of the Queen's speech, with regard to libels, the two parties flew into their usual flame. A motion was made

They censure
political
writers.

^f M^r de Torcy, tom. ii.

^g Journals, March 6.

^h Hannover-papers, Feb. 1714.

in

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in the house of commons against a pamphlet, written with great acrimony and boldness, charging the servants of the Queen with mal-administration; and asserting, in express terms, that the Protestant succession was in danger, through their machinations. This performance, though the work of a Mr. Mooreⁱ, was ascribed to Mr. Richard Steele, a name well known in the republic of letters. Steele, who had obtained a seat in the house of commons, acknowledged himself the author of this obnoxious publication. After various and long debates, he was, upon a division, expelled the house^k. In the house of lords, the Whigs, foreseeing the severity against Steele, extended their animadversions to a publication, written in opposition to his pamphlet. This answer, which reflected severely on the Scottish nation, had been ascribed, by public report, to the famous Dr. Swift. It was chiefly levelled against the Duke of Argyle, who was hated by the Doctor's patron, the Earl of Oxford. But though the violence of the Whigs yielded not to that of the Tories, they were not equal to them in point of numbers, when the matter came to a vote. The ministry, however, chose to remove the whole affair from before the lords into a court of common law.

The ministry
dismisses several
officers.

DURING the contest between the parties in parliament, secret animosities subsisted in the cabinet. The two rivals for the Queen's favour were, however, united in their public measures against the Whigs, on account of their common fears. The ministry were no strangers to the designs of that party. They knew, that the Elector had been long solicited to undertake an invasion. They resolved, therefore, to be prepared against an event that threatened their own power, as well as the Queen's authority. It was upon this account, and not in favour of the Pretender, that they fell upon the specious measure of new-

ⁱ MSS. passim.^k March 18, 1714.

modelling the army. In the middle of March, the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair, and other officers of rank, whom the ministry suspected, were removed from all their military employments. The Queen, however, paid an equivalent, in money, to the dismissed officers. The measure furnished the artful with an object of clamour, and terrified the credulous and timid. The Viscount Bolingbroke, who was known to have obtained the ascendant over the lord-treasurer, was accused of being the author of these dangerous counsels. His enemies affirmed, that, despairing of the Queen's life, and excluded from every hope of the favour of the house of Hannover, he precipitated every thing to pave the way for the restoration of the Pretender¹.

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THE leaders of the Whigs, terrified by this appearance of decision in the ministry, fell into their usual despondence. They declared their opinion, that no hope remained, but in the death of the Queen or in that of the Pretender. They blamed the court of Hannover for having sacrificed their friends, as well as their own hopes of the throne. The Elector argued in vain against the propriety of yielding to their desperate requests. He knew, he said, that the Queen was averse from seeing any of his family in her dominions. That, notwithstanding her prejudices, he would have sent the Electoral Prince to London, had he not been persuaded, that the measure would bring matters to an open rupture. That, as it was impracticable to bring the lawful successor into the kingdom, they ought to secure the succession, by removing his competitor. That he had already made repeated instances to the Queen on that subject. That he was resolved to renew his remonstrances. That, as to their unceasing demands of money for poor lords, common-councils, bribery of members, and private pensions, he would hear no more of that affair. That, from the narrowness of his own income, he could not enter

The Elector
refuses to
gratify the
Whigs.

¹ Publications of the Times.

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Unmanly
fears of that
party.

upon these heads, into any competition with his antagonist, the lord-treasurer. But that, except in the article of expences, he was willing to support to the utmost their party^m.

THESE assurances on the part of the Elector neither answered the hopes, nor removed the fears of the Whigs. Though such Tories as were in the interest of the house of Hannover, though the lord-treasurer himself, though the concurring voice of the whole ministry declared, that the Protestant succession was in no danger, the leaders of the party gave way to their own unmanly terrors. They drew inferences from uncertain facts. They improved into strong realities idle rumours. They even believed, that preparations were already made for sending several of their leaders to the Tower. In this state of doubt and uneasiness, they resolved to make one other effort to gain the people, by awaking their fears. The lords having taken the state of the nation into consideration, the Earls of Wharton, Nottingham, and Sunderland, with other peers of the same party, represented, in the strongest terms, the danger that threatened the Protestant succession. They moved, that an address should be presented to her Majesty, on the subject of the removal of the Pretender from Lorrain, and on other points, calculated to raise the resentment of the populace against the ministry. On this occasion the Earl of Oxford made a motion, which seemed preposterous, as the motive was then unknown. He moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further security of the Protestant succession, by making it high-treason to bring any foreign troops into the kingdomⁿ.

Their con-
spiracy to
seize the
Tower, &c.

MEN who ascribe to policy every measure of a minister, will find it difficult to account for the motion made by the lord-treasurer. If, as he averred, in the house, he only meant to

^m Hannover-papers, March 20, N. S. 1714.

ⁿ Hannover-papers, passim, 1714.

preclude

preclude the adherents of the Pretender from invading the kingdom, his expedient was altogether nugatory and unnecessary. Such troops as should attend that Prince, would have been open enemies, if foreigners, and rebels, if natives. The treasurer seems to have had reasons for his present conduct, which he did not chuse to reveal. The States-General, alarmed by the terrors of the Whigs, and the zealous representations of the agents of Hannover, began to make preparations for aiding effectually the Elector in his views on the British throne. Some ships of war were made ready for sea, in their ports. Some troops, especially the Scots in the service, had received orders to march toward the coast. The Whigs at home were ready to second the projected invasion from abroad. A set of inferior conspirators were prepared to support with action the deliberations of their leaders. Measures were concerted, by a society called the kit-cat club, to seize the Tower, to declare for the family of Hannover, to secure the persons of such as were suspected of favouring the Pretender. In this number the lord-treasurer himself had the misfortune of being comprehended by his enemies; and he awkwardly chose this preposterous motion, as a kind of proof of his being no stranger to the designs of the Whigs^p.

IN all states that possess any portion of public freedom, the appeal of parties is always made to the people. Though the body of the nation enjoy but a very small share of any government, they make up with their weight and numbers, what they want in authority as individuals. The candidates for office endeavour to gain their favour, by applying to their principles, but oftner to their prejudices; and those succeed the best who impose with the most address and dexterity upon their credulity and fears. The good opinion of a people is therefore the citadel, if the expression may be used, to which factions direct all their irregular

Reflections.

^p Hannover-papers, passim, 1714. Publications of the Times. MSS. passim.

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Protestant
succession
voted out of
danger.

attacks; and when a party happens to possess themselves of that strong hold, they overawe their antagonists, and govern, at discretion, the noisy populace, by whose suffrages they have ascended to power. The domestic history of the present reign contains little more than a continued series of such political hostilities. In this clamorous contest, as well as in real war, the combatants acquire an experience, from length of time, that frequently suspends the fate of the conflict, when a decision is most to be apprehended.

THE Whigs, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, than any design on power and office, had long continued their attacks on the Tories. The weight of government, the efforts of the church, and the great popularity of the Queen herself, had hitherto frustrated all their efforts. Disappointed in their public conduct, they had lately recourse to private measures, and succeeded in gaining over such Tories as were discontented with the ministry. The agents of the house of Hanover, at the suggestion of the leading Whigs, had prevailed with the Earl of Anglesea, and his followers in the house of lords, to desert the Tories, upon promises of future advantage^a. Sir William Dawes, though spontaneously raised by the Queen to the see of York, promised, upon the like assurances, to desert the measures of the court, and to carry over to the Whigs a majority of the bench of bishops^b. Encouraged by this unexpected defection, the party introduced a warm debate, in the house of lords, on the fifth of April. After various speeches, the question was proposed, whether the Protestant succession was in danger? On a division, the court-party prevailed, by twelve votes^c. The Earls of Abingdon and Jersey, the Lords Ashburnham, Herbert, and Carteret, who had uniformly supported the ministry, joined the Whigs, on the present occasion. The same question being

^a Hannover papers, 1714.^b Ibid.^c 76 against 64.

agitated before the commons, was carried, by a greater majority, for the adherents of the court ¹.

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THOUGH the desertion of so many Tories from the ministry may be ascribed, in some degree, to the promises of the Hannoverian agents, they had motives of another kind. The most of those who joined the Whigs, had been highly irritated against the Earl of Oxford. They knew that a party had long been forming against him in the cabinet, and that a defeat in parliament was only wanting to the completion of his ruin. He was abandoned by his brethren in office. He was no longer supported by the Queen herself. The scanty majority, in a question on which his power depended, was equal to a partial defeat. Every body expected to see him next day without his staff as treasurer. He himself offered to resign ². But he contrived to insinuate to the Queen, by one of his friends, that her ruin would succeed his fall. Struck with this application, her usual fears began to return. Though at the solicitation of the Lady Masham, she had consented to dismiss the treasurer, she became again reconciled to that minister, upon certain conditions ³. The Earl of Nottingham, who hoped to succeed Oxford in the treasury, was again disappointed ⁴; and thus was forced, by his resentment, to abet a party of whose principles he secretly disapproved.

Cause of the
desertion of
some Tories.

THE Whigs, encouraged by the late accession to their party, carried farther their opposition against the crown. On the subject of the Chevalier de St. George only, they could raise the fears of the people. They moved, therefore, for an address to her Majesty, for renewing her instances with the Duke of Lorrain, to expel the Pretender from his dominions. An addition made to their motion, seemed levelled against the suspected feelings of the

Motions of
the Whigs
against the
Pretender.

¹ 256 against 208.

² Hannover-papers, April 1714.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

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Queen's mind. It was proposed to request her Majesty to issue a proclamation, setting a price on her brother's head. The Lord North and Grey, seconded by the Lord Trevor, opposed, with vehemence, this latter measure^z. They represented, that the motion was as inconsistent with common humanity, as it was repugnant to the Christian religion. That, to set a price on any man's head, was to encourage assassination, by public authority. That, for their own parts, should ever the case come before them, as peers and judges, they would think themselves bound, in justice, honour, and conscience, to condemn such an action as murder. The Whigs argued upon the ground of expediency. But the Tory lords who had joined them, some days before, deserted them on this occasion. The bishops, either from principle or decency, were averse from this sanguinary measure; and, upon a division, the addition to the first motion was rejected^a.

Their fears
superfluous
and vain.

THE address to the Queen was presented only by a few Whig lords. Could a judgment be formed of the state of things, from the conduct of parliament, one might suppose, that the nation was then in imminent danger. That the Pretender was ready to make a descent upon Britain, with a powerful army; or that he was invited by a formidable party at home. That his friends only waited for his arrival, to dethrone the Queen, and utterly extirpate all the Whigs in the kingdom. The contrary of all this was the truth. The French, who could only support the Pretender, were unwilling to plunge into those disasters from which they had been lately extricated by a species of miracle. Lewis the Fourteenth, never hearty in the cause of the excluded Stuarts, was now more averse than ever from giving them any effectual support. His ambition and his love of glory had vanished with his power. He felt the decline of years. Though still eager to live, he foresaw his own approaching death. The

^z April 8, 1714.^a Journals, April 8.

prospect

prospect of French affairs was gloomy, beyond that period. He was to leave the scepter in the hands of a sickly infant, under the tuition of an unprincipled relation, who, from the very misfortunes of the late war, had perhaps extended his views to the crown. In this melancholy state at home, Lewis thought of nothing less, than to kindle a war abroad, by assisting the Pretender.

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WERE then the fears of the Whigs an idle dream? Or aimed they only at the persecution of an unfortunate woman, already driven to the verge of the grave by solicitude as well as disease? To save the honour of that party, the answer to these questions must be made at the expence of their understanding. Having first endeavoured to alarm the populace with the fears of Popery and the Pretender, they began at length to be the dupes of their own arts; and to believe seriously what they had so often averred. Their precipitate schemes had created the only dangers that now threatened the object of the act of settlement. Had the Queen been less timid, or the minister more violent, or even more regardless of his original principles, the first to preserve her authority, and the latter to secure his power, and, perhaps, ultimately his life, might have entered into measures that would have proved fatal to the succession in the house of Hannover. The conduct of the Whigs was, throughout, more calculated to irritate than to intimidate, had the ministry carried into their councils that contradictory boldness and obstinacy, which bad treatment invariably raises in the minds of the spirited and proud.

Observations
on their con-
duct.

THOUGH the Whigs, in a fit of despondence, had threatened to the court of Hannover to abandon their principles and to shift for themselves, their success in the late questions had animated them to further attempts against the Queen and her servants. They had proposed to the Hannoverian resident, in the beginning of

Their scheme
to embarrass
the Queen.

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of the session, to demand a writ for the Electoral Prince to sit in the house of peers, as Duke of Cambridge. The resident, without any direct orders from his court, communicated his design to the lord-treasurer, who had uniformly made the most violent, yet the least effectual, professions of the zeal for the Protestant line. That minister plainly told him, that to bring over any of the family of Lunenburgh, would be to place her coffin before her Majesty's eyes; and that those who had any respect for her friendship, or hopes from her favour, should never propose a thing so utterly disagreeable to her mind^b. The Elector himself was as much averse from the measure as the Queen. He had uniformly refused his consent to the sending over the Electoral Prince, in the preceding year; and his refusal was so peremptory, that the Whigs, and even his servants, made no scruple of ascribing his conduct to a jealousy of his own son^c.

A writ demanded for the Electoral Prince.

THOUGH the Elector had not probably changed his sentiments, he yielded, in part, to the earnest instances of the Whigs. He permitted Schutz, his envoy at London, to demand, in the name of the Electress, a writ for the Electoral Prince, as Duke of Cambridge. Schutz, whose eagerness had frequently extended his measures beyond the limits of his instructions, took the first opportunity for executing his commission. On the twelfth of April, he waited upon the Lord-Chancellor Harcourt, and demanded the writ, in form. Startled at this unexpected request, the chancellor declined to give any answer till he should consult the Queen. He hastened to the palace. A cabinet-council was immediately called. The Queen exhibited, upon the occasion, every symptom of violence and passion. She commanded the chancellor to write instantly to Schutz. She ordered him to signify, that, as she had heard nothing of the matter from the court of Hannover, she could not persuade herself that their minister

^b Hannover Papers, 9 March, 26 Feb. 1714.

^c Ibid. 1713. passim.

acted,

acted in the present case by their instructions^d. This was the only answer the resident could obtain to his demand. The exultations of the Whigs increased the resentment of the Queen. She declared, in the most peremptory manner, that she would rather suffer the last extremities, than permit any Prince of the Electoral family to come to Britain to reside during her life. That she considered the conduct of the resident in the light of a personal affront. As a mark of her ultimate displeasure, she sent the master of the ceremonies to forbid Schutz to appear any more at her court. She ordered that officer to declare, at the same time, to the envoy, that she intended to solicit the Elector and Electress for his instant recall^e.

THE lord-treasurer, terrified at an incident that was likely to create an open rupture between the Queen and the presumptive heirs of the crown, began to make fresh professions of zeal to the latter. He assured them, that he was entirely and unalterably devoted to the interest of the house of Hannover. That this proceeded not only from the conscience of his oaths, but out of a profound respect for their many virtues. That he might without vanity say, he had the chief hand in settling their succession to the crown. That the Lady Masham was for the Protestant line. That he was sure the Queen was inclined to the same side. That nothing therefore could endanger the succession, but the sending over any of the Electoral family without her Majesty's consent^f. He, however, altered his language in a few days. He declared, that he never thought matters would have been pushed so far. That he was apprehensive of his own speedy disgrace. That he was desirous to enter into the views of the Pretender; and that the Queen was more determined than ever to strengthen the interest of her brother, and to secure for him the throne^g.

The lord-treasurer's professions.

^d Hannover-papers, April 24, N. S. 1714.

^e Ibid. April 29.

^f Ibid. April 25.

^g Ibid. May 4.

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The Queen's
anxiety.

IF Anne was before attached to the eventual succession of the Pretender, the present incident was calculated to hasten her designs. She was alarmed, on the subject of the writ, to a degree that gave an unusual animation and even vehemence to her conduct. She wrote to the Princess Sophia. She sent letters to the Elector and the Electoral Prince. She expressed to each her surprise at the design of sending the Prince to England. She, almost openly, threatened, that his coming to Britain might endanger, if not prevent, the succession of his family to the throne. In this determined conduct, that timid Princess seems to have been chiefly supported by her own fears. She found, that the attachment of her subjects to her person declined with the state of her health. That, though she had many servants, she was totally destitute of friends. That those whom she trusted the most were the least likely to adhere to her cause. That a minister, who derived his claim to her favour from his pretending to support her measures, was making terms for himself with her political enemies. That her authority, and even her very title, as sovereign, would depend upon the moderation of her successor; and that she would be either forced to resign her crown, or to exert its prerogatives, in subserviency to a party whom she both hated and feared¹.

The Elector's
demands.

DURING the convulsions in Britain, the lord-treasurer's cousin arrived at the court of Hannover. The Whigs, and especially the Duke of Marlborough, had, by letters, raised prejudices in the mind of the Elector, with regard to the real object of Harley's embassy. His Highness received him with manifest coldness. He paid little attention to his professions. He, however, ordered a memorial to be given to Harley, couched in the most decent terms. He informed the Queen, that he was sensible of her former favours; but that something still remained to be done.

¹ MSS. passim.

He

He represented to her Majesty, that it was necessary to oblige the Pretender to retire to Italy. That his remaining in Lorrain was dangerous, as his Highness was well assured, that he meditated a descent in North-Britain. That, for the security of her royal person, her kingdoms, and the Protestant religion, it seemed necessary to settle in Britain some Prince of the Electoral family, who might be attentive to such important concerns. That he took the liberty to renew his instances for a pension and establishment for the Electress, as the nearest heir to the crown; and that he hoped her Majesty would grant the titles belonging to the Princes of the blood to such sons of the house of Hannover as were not already raised to dignities^k.

THOUGH the lord-treasurer had the misfortune to procure no credit to his professions, he continued to make advances to the court of Hannover. To retain the confidence of the Queen, he was forced to declare publicly against the coming of the Electoral Prince. But he, at the same time, insinuated to the Hannoverian agents, that he would not be sorry to see the Prince arrived in Britain. He took, however, advantage of the present terrors of the Queen, to recover the influence he had lost. He assured her, that it was the violence of Bolingbroke that induced the Elector to demand the writ^l. He pretended to have gained, with promises of advantage, the Lady Masham. His emissaries privately accused Bolingbroke and Harcourt of a fixed design for establishing the Pretender on the throne^m. He even boasted to his friends, that he would soon compel both his antagonists to resign. But, notwithstanding these pretences, he found that his credit with the Queen was greatly upon the decline. He, therefore, entered into secret negotiations with the Whigs. He expressed his fears for the succession. He represented their own

Intrigues of
Oxford.

^k Hannover-papers, May 7, 1714.

^l Ibid. May 8.

^m Ibid. May 18.

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Affairs in
parliament.

apparent danger. They accepted his offers, promised to forget the past, and to maintain for the future his authorityⁿ.

DURING this suspicious, rather than busy session of parliament, the two houses passed two bills of considerable importance°. The first limited to a certain number the officers, civil and military, that should be capable of becoming members of the house of commons. The second was calculated to prevent the growth of schism, in a manner deemed extremely severe, by the Dissenters. This last bill furnished an ample field of contest for the two contending factions. It was said to have been introduced by Bolingbroke to harass Oxford, who favoured the Dissenters; and to gain to himself the support and affection of the high-church party. In matters of religion, men are frequently as inconsistent with themselves, as in politics. The leaders of the ministry, who supported the bill with all their own eloquence, as well as with the weight of government, were themselves bred Dissenters. The Earl of Nottingham, deemed inviolably attached to the church of England, forgot his religious principles in his political resentment. Though he had made the bill against occasional conformity the price of his joining the Whigs, he opposed with vehemence the present bill^p. The lord-treasurer himself retired, without voting upon the question. This conduct was, at the time, ascribed to his religious principles. But it is now known, that it proceeded from his secret coalition with the Whigs^q.

Situation and
views of the
Pretender.

WHILE the courts of Great Britain and Hannover, the two houses of parliament, and the whole British nation, were distracted with hopes and fears about the succession, the Pretender lived, in a state of anxious obscurity, in Lorrain. Foreigners, judging from the fears of the friends of the house of Hannover, formed

ⁿ Hannover-papers, May 26, 1714.^o Journals.^p Publications of the Times.^q Hannover-papers, May, 1714.

no doubt of his speedy restoration to the throne. They concluded, that his sister was heartily in his interest: That her servants were forming effectual schemes for securing his succession to the crown. The Duke of Lorrain, gained by the softness of his manners, touched with his misfortunes, or forming hopes upon his future prospects, entered heartily into his cause. Perceiving the indifference of France, he endeavoured to gain the Imperial court to the interest of his guest. He even directed his envoy at the court of Vienna to ask for him in marriage one of the daughters of the Emperor Joseph. Charles the Sixth was so little offended at this request, that the only objection he made was the disparity in their age. The arch-dutcheſs was but twelve years old; but the Pretender was in his six and twentieth year. The Emperor recommended his own ſiſter, as a more ſuitable match. He, however, prudently obſerved, that the times were too critical to come to a determination on this head. But that, when an occasion ſhould offer, he was much diſpoſed to give to the Chevalier de St. George ſolid marks of his eſteem and regard.

MANY zealots in Britain maintained, in the mean time, a correspondence with the Pretender and his ſervants. The miniſtry continued to admit his agents into their converſation, to ſerve or ruin his cauſe, as might beſt ſuit with their own intereſt. But, amidſt inſinuations of attachment, and, perhaps, profeſſions of zeal, they were betrayed into a meaſure, which might convince him, that his hopes from their favour were ill-founded. An information having been obtained, by the vigilance of the Earl of Wharton, againſt ſome Iriſh officers, who inliſted men for the Pretender, they were ſeized by a warrant from the Queen's Bench. The people were alarmed. The Whigs added artfully to their fears. The adherents of the miniſtry were terrified. The lord-treaſurer now, in concert with the Whigs, had wrought

A proclamation againſt him, offering a reward.

* Stuart-papers, Feb. 22, 1714.

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so much upon the natural timidity of the Duke of Shrewsbury, that he joined him in an important measure upon the present occasion^s. The discovery made by Wharton having fallen under the deliberation of the cabinet-council, it was carried by a majority of votes, that a proclamation should be issued against the Pretender. Shrewsbury deserted his principles of Jacobitism, and his political friend Bolingbroke, upon this point^t. A proclamation was accordingly issued, on the twenty-third of June, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he should land or attempt to land in Great Britain. The two houses voted an address of thanks to the Queen; and the commons, in their zeal for the Protestant succession, extended the reward to one hundred thousand pounds^u.

The Queen
endeavours to
soothe the
Elect^r.

THE conduct of the Queen, upon the present occasion, seemed inconsistent with her suspected attachment to the interest of the Pretender. But her fears from the family of Lunenburgh had suspended her affection for her own. Her object was to soothe the Elect^r, to agree to her request of keeping the Prince at home. She had taken early precautions for this purpose. Soon after the writ was demanded, she appointed the Lord Paget her ambassador to the court of Hannover. But his Lordship having declined that service, she conferred that character on her own cousin, the Earl of Clarendon. The Elect^r, on his part, ordered the Baron de Bothmar to repair to London, to supply the place of Schutz, who, upon being forbid the court, had left the kingdom. Bothmar endeavoured to defeat the object of Clarendon's embassy, by raising prejudices against that nobleman in the mind of the Elect^r. He informed his court, that Clarendon was a selfish and presumptuous fool^x. That, when he was governor of an American province,

^s MSS. 1714.

^t Hannover-papers, ^{25th June,} 1714.
^{6th July,}

^u Journals, June 24, 1714.

^x Hannover-papers, June 16, 1714.

he

he dressed himself as a woman, the better to represent the Queen's person. That this fool, to use Bothmar's words, was appointed without the treasurer's knowledge. That Bolingbroke had acquired the superiority; and that Oxford had made, through Kreyenberg the resident, the most servile advances to Bothmar himself: "A sure sign," says he, "of his approaching fall."

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DURING these transactions, the Electress Sophia died suddenly at Hannover, in the eighty-fourth year of her age². She retained her faculties to the last. But there is reason to believe, that, had she even survived Queen Anne, she would not mount the throne. She was a Princess possessed of great prudence, good sense, lively parts, and a considerable degree of knowledge, with an affability of disposition that rendered her much beloved. Though she was the only person mentioned by name in the act of settlement, her great age had prevented her from being the principal object of attention. The Elector, without consulting her, seems to have instructed his envoys in her name; and the parties in Britain, who strove to pay their court to the family of Lunenburg, had, for several years, much neglected the Princess. Her demise, as it was not unexpected, was regarded as a common occurrence. Scarce any mention is made of that event in the papers of the Hannoverian agents in Britain, except where it is announced in form to the Queen. Her death, therefore, could produce no change on the present state of affairs.

Death of the
Princess So-
phia.

BUT though the Elector was now one step nearer the throne, his efforts to secure the succession were far from keeping pace with the sanguine hopes of his friends. He made no preparations for sending the Electoral Prince to Britain. To gratify the Whigs, to put an end to the teasing entreaties of his servants, and, perhaps, even to terrify Queen Anne, he had given per-

State of the
ministry.

¹ Hannover-papers, June 16, 1714.

² May 28, O. S.

mission

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mission for demanding the writ. But there is no reason to believe, that he altered his first sentiments on that subject, or that he ever seriously designed to permit his son to depart from his dominions. This conduct would have thrown back the Whigs into their former despondence, had not their hopes of power been, from time to time, revived by the dissensions in the cabinet. The common safety of the two candidates for the Queen's favour had hitherto preserved a kind of union in their public counsels. The measures of the crown, though languidly supported, were carried forward with a degree of unanimity. The jealousy of the Tories, except in a few questions, on which some of their leaders joined the Whigs, from motives of private interest or resentment, had cemented them together, in a manner not to be disjoined by the squabbles between Oxford and Bolingbroke. But as the quarrels of these men were likely soon to accomplish the fall of the one or the other, the Whigs looked forward to the confusion expected from that event. They watched with eagerness the cabals of the two rivals; and hoped, through the dissensions of their political enemies, to resume the reins that had been struck from their own hands.

Parliament
prorogued.

THE supplies being granted, and the public business, in some measure, finished, the Queen came in person to the house of lords, on the ninth of July. In her speech from the throne, she made no mention either of the house of Hannover, or of the Protestant succession. Her fears from the coming of the Electoral Prince were dissipated. But her resentment was not yet abated. She told the two houses, that her chief concern was to preserve the liberty and the religion of her subjects, and to secure the present and future tranquillity of the kingdom. That, to attain these desirable ends, her parliament ought to shew the same regard for the just prerogatives of the crown, and for the honour of government, as she had always expressed for the rights of her people.

people^a. Having finished this speech, she ordered the chancellor to prorogue the parliament to the tenth of August. Men, who ascribed to some design all the measures of Anne, put various constructions on a prorogation which was not so suddenly expected. Those, who argued with most decisiveness on this subject, attributed the measure to the manifest decline in the health of the Queen. They affirmed, that a dropsy, under which she laboured, increased from day to day: That the ministry had their reasons for wishing that parliament might not be sitting at her death. Besides, that their projected schemes now demanded all their time and their care^b.

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IN reasoning in this manner, mankind must have supposed, that the ministry were united, by the same principles and the same views. Nothing, however, could be more contrary to truth, than this supposition. The chief servants of the crown were divided between two irreconcilable rivals; men obstinately resolved on each other's destruction. During the sitting of parliament, the animosities between Oxford and Bolingbroke were, in some degree, restrained by their common fears. Their mutual friends established, from time to time, a temporary reconciliation between those rivals for power. But, when the parliament was prorogued, they observed neither moderation nor common decency in their contests. The first could bear no equal in the Queen's favour. The latter was resolved to yield no longer to a superior. They descended into altercation, personal reflection, and mutual accusation. The lord-treasurer made no scruple to declare, that he could produce evidence that Bolingbroke was a determined Jacobite. Bolingbroke, on his part, openly affirmed, he had proofs in his hands, that Oxford was in the interest of the Pretender. Though the allegations of neither seem to have been well founded, they had both the misfortune to be believed^c.

Open rupture
among the
ministry.

^a Journals, July 9, 1714.

^b Hannover-papers, July 1714.

^c Ibid. 1714.

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Immediate
cause of their
quarrel.

THOUGH the difference in their characters, and a perpetual struggle for power, had rendered the treasurer and secretary irreconcilable enemies, a late incident in parliament was the obvious cause of their present fury. A few days^d before the prorogation, the lords took under consideration the trade to Spain and the West-Indies, as lately settled by the treaty concluded at Madrid. This examination was suggested by the lord-treasurer, now secretly in the interest of the Whigs, to procure the fall of Bolingbroke. The Queen had reserved for herself the fourth part of the assiento or contract for negroes. This share was privately divided into sixteen parts. Five were designed for the lord-treasurer, five for Bolingbroke, four for Lady Masham, and two for one Arthur Moore, the agent of the junto in this affair^e. The Earl of Oxford, perceiving the dangerous state of the Queen's health, sacrificed an uncertain interest for certain revenge. In the course of the examination, he made himself a party against his associates in spoil. He joined those lords who insisted to hear the Spanish merchants against the treaty^f. He encouraged an address to the Queen, requesting her Majesty to apply to the use of the public her part of the profits of the assiento contract. Bolingbroke dictated an answer, that gave great offence to the lords. Neither he nor the Lady Masham could forgive the treasurer for a measure, which, in hurting their interest, had deeply wounded their pride.

Concert be-
tween

THIS incident hastened the fall of the treasurer. But it was far from being the sole cause of his disgrace. Though Bolingbroke had failed in his project of bringing Marlborough into office, in the preceding winter, he never lost sight of that object. During the whole session, he is said to have held a correspondence with the Duke, whose only objection to the present men and measures was an irreconcilable aversion to the Earl of Oxford.

^d July 2.

^e Hannover-papers, July 24, 1714.

^f Ibid.

That

That minister, by his suggesting no difficulties in any measure, was a servant calculated to please a weak sovereign, that was always haunted by political fears. He had, therefore, obtained a dominion over the Queen, which neither the arts of Bolingbroke nor the influence of Lady Masham could remove. The demand of the writ, made by the envoy of the house of Hannover, was one of those few incidents that had raised any appearance of spirit in the mind of Anne. Bolingbroke had the address to persuade her, that this measure was privately promoted by the Earl of Oxford. His cabals with the Whigs, his vehement professions to the Electoral family, his mysterious conduct, which she had now, for the first time, remarked, confirmed the insinuations of Bolingbroke. She, therefore, resolved to dismiss a servant, whom she could no longer consider in the light of a friend^e.

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BOLINGBROKE, on the other hand, humoured the Queen in all her prejudices. He suggested to her, that to pay any attention for the future to the house of Hannover, was incompatible with her service^h. Her resentment had placed her in the scale of the Pretender, as far as she was permitted by her own timidity and jealousy. The principal object of Bolingbroke was to perpetuate his influence; that of Marlborough to regain his former power. The first knew that he could not support himself alone, after the removal of the lord-treasurer. The latter had no objection to his entering into any measures, should that minister be removed from the cabinet. The views of both were turned to their own interest. Should the Queen live and continue her favour for the Pretender, they would probably have paved his way to the throne. Should she happen to die, before matters were ripe, the Duke had established an interest with the family of Hannover, that might preserve his friend. Though no decisive proofs of their intrigues can be now produced, a probable

Bolingbroke
and Marl-
borough.

^e MSS. passim.

^h Hannover-papers, July 20, 1714.

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conjecture may be made. They designed, perhaps, to serve the Pretender, by the means of Sweden. The ambassador of that kingdom made no secret of his expecting REAL assistance, through the means of Bolingbroke, from the British court; and he openly expressed his wishes, that the Pretender were already arrived¹.

Their views.

THE Duke of Marlborough, assured of the projected disgrace of Oxford, hastened to Ostend, to embark. But he was detained there for a fortnight by contrary winds. In this interval of suspense, the difficulty which Bolingbroke found in forming the show of a ministry, was the cause of the delay in the treasurer's fall. His own object was to continue secretary of state to command all the foreign correspondence. He was, however, to dismiss Bromley, his colleague in office, and to place the seals in the hands of Sir William Wyndham. The treasury was to have been put in commission. The Earl of Anglesea was to have been at the head of the board^k. But either some of these men declined the offices allotted for them, by Bolingbroke, or he himself became undecisive, through the weight of his own power. He, however, resolved to remove the Earl of Oxford, and to trust the rest to fortune. On the twenty-seventh of July, when the treasurer came to court, he was deprived of his staff. He was, however, permitted to fall gently from his high station, being suffered to retain all his other offices^l.

Dismission and
character

THE character of the Earl of Oxford has been described in all its singularities as the incidents arose. But the throwing into one view its most striking features, may give a more complete portrait of the man. The talents bestowed upon him by nature were neither extensive nor obvious; and these seem to have been little improved by education, though he has been called a patron of learning and of learned men. His whole progress in literature

¹ Hannover-papers, July 31, 1714.^k Ibid. July 20.^l Ibid. 1714.

was confined to that flight knowledge of the dead languages, which men intended for public life generally bring from school. He neither understood foreign languages, nor wrote, with any degree of elegance, his native tongue. In the disposition of his mind he was reserved, distrustful, and cold. A lover of secrecy, to such a degree, that he assumed its appearance in mere trifles; fond of importance, without any dignity of manner; so full of professions, that he was always deemed insincere. In his public measures he was rather tenacious of his purpose, than either firm or resolute in his conduct: yet much more decisive in the means of annoying his enemies, than in those calculated to gratify his friends. With a facility of temper that could deny no request, but with a defect of mind that could bestow nothing with grace, he offended the disappointed, and even lost those whom he served. The disposal of offices, which gives influence to other ministers, was a real misfortune to the Earl of Oxford. He often promised the same place to five persons at once; and created four enemies, without making the fifth his friend.

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BUT if the Earl of Oxford was not remarkable for striking virtues, he had the good fortune to be free from glaring vices. Though undecisive in the great line of business, he was not subject to personal fear. Though thoroughly ambitious, he was a stranger to haughtiness and pride. Though persevering in his opposition to his enemies, he was not in his temper revengeful; and though he made no scruple to tempt the honesty of others, with money, he himself cannot be accused, with justice, of the least tincture of avarice. In his public measures he can never deserve the character of a great minister. There was a narrowness of sentiment, a vulgarity of policy, and even a meanness in his conduct, that frequently excited the contempt of his best friends. In his private intrigues for power, in his dexterous management of two parties, by whom he was equally

of the Earl of
Oxford.

hated,

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hated, in his tempering the fury of the Jacobites, in his amusing the vehemence of the Whigs, in his advancing the interests of the house of Hannover, when most distrusted by themselves and their adherents, he shewed a considerable degree of address and political knowledge. The nation owed to a defect in Oxford's mind, a greater benefit, than they could have derived from a minister of more splendid talents. Had he been possessed of the pride inseparable from great parts, his resentment for the ill usage, which he experienced from the Whigs and the agents of the house of Hannover, might have induced him to defeat the Protestant succession, and bring about those very evils of which he was unjustly accused.

Observations.

IN a country where freedom prevails, extensive talents are far from being the nearest path to the possession of power. Their prior condition must place mankind in the line of preferment; otherwise their abilities, instead of being employed by the state, become, through want of use, a burden to themselves. The most intelligent sovereign, at the head of a popular government, is extremely circumscribed in the choice of his servants. He must govern his people through the medium of persons whom some accident, independent of themselves, have fixed in a certain rank in the community. But, as the advantages which favour ambition, are enemies to the toil necessary for improving and enlarging the mind, men frequently come to the management of the concerns of a great kingdom, with abilities scarce sufficient to regulate the affairs of a private family. Hence, and not from a want of talents in a nation, proceed the confined systems, the vulgar policy, the uniform undecisiveness of public councils. A minister, instead of moving the whole machine of government, suffers himself to be carried forward by its inherent motion; and should no accidents happen, the praise must be given to providence. These observations may be applied, with a degree of justice, to the

Earl of Oxford; who carried into his public conduct, all the narrowness of his private character.

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THOUGH the Viscount Bolingbroke had the address to remove the lord-treasurer, he was not able to seize the reins which he had struck from his hands. Wild, visionary, and vehement, in all his projects, he had not foreseen difficulties, or he was found incapable to surmount them, when they came. During three days of anarchy and confusion in the cabinet, the minds of men were agitated with the vicissitudes of hopes and fear. The Queen herself, in a dangerous state of health before, had increased the violence of her distemper, by the agitation of her spirits. Having assisted at a council of her principal servants, in the night of the twenty-ninth of July, she became perplexed, beyond measure, at their differences in opinion, and want of decision. The usual discharge, from an imposthumation in her leg, was stopped. The gouty matter, translating itself to the brain, threw her into a dozing insensibility, in which she expired, at Kensington, on Sunday the first of August, about seven of the clock in the morning. In a transient interval of her lethargy, she delivered the treasurer's staff to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been recommended to that high office by such of the privy council as were assembled, upon the occasion, at Kensington.

Confusion in
the cabinet.

Aug. 1.
Death of the
Queen.

THUS died Anne Stuart, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, in the fiftieth year of her age and thirteenth of her reign. In her person she was of a middle stature, and before she bore children well-made. Her hair was dark, her complexion sanguine, her features strong but not irregular, her whole countenance more dignified than agreeable. In the accomplishments of the mind, as a woman, she was not deficient. She understood music: She loved painting: She had even some taste for works of genius. She was always generous, sometimes liberal, but never profuse.

Her person
and character.

Like

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Like the rest of her family, she was good-natured, to a degree of weakness. Indolent in her disposition, timid by nature, devoted to the company of her favourites, easily led. She possessed all the virtues of her father, except political courage. She was subject to all his weaknesses except enthusiasm in religion. She was jealous of her authority, and fullenly irreconcilable toward those who treated either herself or her prerogative with disrespect. But, like him also, she was much better qualified to discharge the duties of a private life, than to act the part of a sovereign. As a friend, a mother, a wife, she deserved every praise. Her conduct, as a daughter, could scarcely be excused by a virtue much superior to all these. Upon the whole, though her reign was crowded with great events, she cannot, with any justice, be called a great Princess. Subject to terror, beyond the constitutional timidity of her sex, she was altogether incapable of decisive councils; and nothing, but her irresistible popularity could have supported her authority, amidst the ferment of those distracted times.

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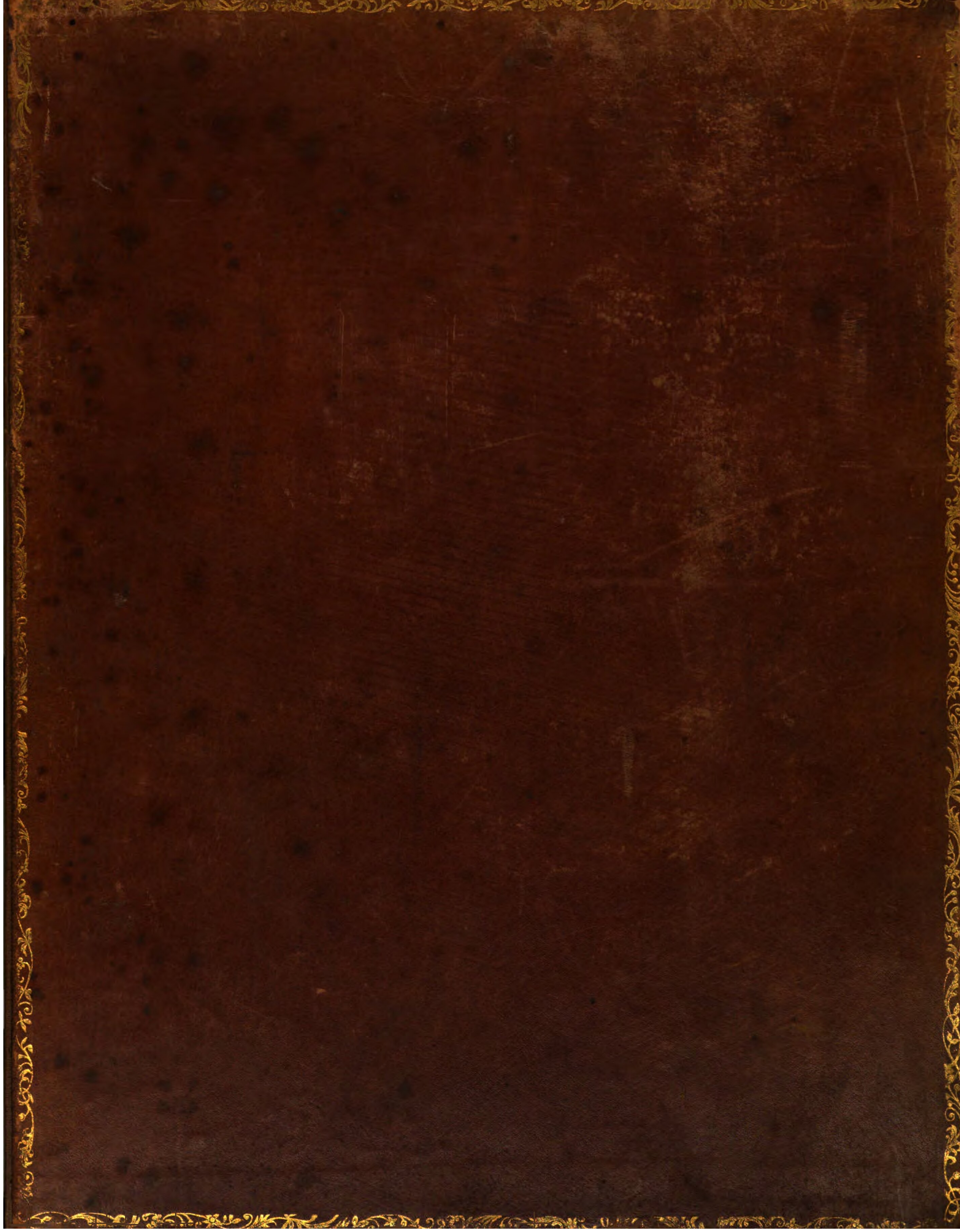
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THE END.





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